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OF

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Girgaon—BOMBAY.



Sir NARAYAN G CHANDAVARKAR, Kt.
Vice Chancellor of the Bombay University.

T H E
SPEECHES & WRITINGS

OF

Sir NARAYEN G. CHANDAVARKAR, Kt.

Judge of the Bombay High Court

AND

Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University.

EDITED BY

L. V. KAIKINI, L. Ag.,

Servants of India Society, Poona.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

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Editor, Indian Social Reformer.

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INTRODUCTION.

The problems arising from the contact between the East and the West are at the present time exciting an amount of interest which they did never before. Of these problems, few are of deeper interest than those ensuing from the presence of British rule in India. One of the most obvious results of that rule and of the English education imparted under its auspices, has been the growing demand for reforms in the administrative system so as to make it increasingly responsible to the people. There is no question here of any conflict with tradition or custom. But not so in the sphere of social and religious life. The working of the new ideas in this sphere has often been obscure and sometimes seemingly incoherent. The value of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's speeches and writings which are collected together in this volume, is that they give us an insight into the social forces that have been set in motion, and throw light on what is dark or unintelligible in their operation. They have also the further value that we can trace in them through many a forgotten episode the history of social and religious reform in Western India from its early beginnings in the last century. The first four papers in the volume, which are devoted to an examination of the position of social reform in 1887, are a model of what such enquiries should be. By a close and careful statement of facts, the writer shows that there is no real reaction and that "the so-called educated reactionaries among the Hindoos are, in spite of themselves, feeling the need of progress and wish to show that it is they who are the true reformers." It is interesting to note, in view of the reforms which have been introduced in the University courses of study during Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's vice-chancellorship, that twenty-four years ago he noted that the reactionary talk of the time in social matters was "simply illustrative of the fact that our students are taught to cram and not to think." "It affords" he added, "no ground whatever for the condemnation of the policy of higher education, which is doing, however slowly, what its promoters intended it should first do—it is creating a spirit of enquiry and discussion, which is a hopeful sign."

The two papers which follow are of considerable importance to the student of Indian social reform. The path of social reform has

often been sought to be hindered by the doctrine of "the line of least resistance"—a phrase which the late Mr. Justice Telang had used in one of his speeches. The doctrine is heard even nowadays in association with Mr. Telang's name. It may be hoped that the publication of the paper entitled "the Telang school" in this volume, will have the effect of putting an end to this wide-spread misapprehension. Sir Narayan Chandavarkar tells us that Mr. Telang explained to him that he (Mr. Telang) had meant to emphasise in his lecture nothing more than an ordinary tendency of individuals and societies to move forward, avoiding conflict and inconvenience as far as possible, and not to lay down "reform along the line of least resistance" as a principle of action. "I asked him," continues Sir Narayan, "whether he meant to convey that reformers who rose high above their fellows in spite of opposition and difficulties, and dared to follow their convictions, regardless of resistance, were men who wasted their energies, and also whether he did not believe in the law of social progress—the law that progress has been generally achieved through the insistence of the prophet of individualism. He said he fully believed in the individual force of great reformers and the force of individual example as a factor of social or any other reform." Mr. Telang gave practical proof of his belief in individuality by his conduct on some critical questions at a later date. It is difficult at this day to understand how Mr. Telang came to bring in a mechanical law, true only of bodies which have no self-directing principle in them, in a discourse on social reform. It is not along the line of least resistance but rather along that of most resistance that mankind has progressed from savagery to civilization. Every secret wrung from Nature, every step in man's moral advancement, has been at the cost of persistence against difficulty and opposition. "All progress," as Sir Narayan finely says, "is through conflict, and once feed a people on the idea that they must avoid struggle and inconvenience, you rob them of the prospect and capacity of that which forms the best part of its *wealth*—the prospect and capacity of breeding great and true, high and heroic, suffering and struggling characters, who serve their people by being the conscience of their country."

The paper on "the Mandlik school" brings out forcibly Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's attitude towards genuine orthodoxy. "At heart," he says of Mr. Mandlik, "he was a man of the old school. He worshipped his idols, believed in caste, and hated

III

change. But he was a man of convictions. There was no eye-wash in his idol-worship, and he did not try to make a trade of idolatry, as some do who praise it as the only true mode of worship, though they believe in neither God or gods. He was true to his faith in the caste system, for he did not know the art of dining in hotels and at the same time posing as a pure casteman." Rao Saheb Mandlik was, perhaps, the most determined opponent whom social reformers had to face in his time, but he was an honest and downright opponent and the opposition of such a man does no harm to a great cause. "The Rao Saheb by his opposition enabled the reformers to search their own conduct and their conscience and to see more clearly than before that they must be prepared for solid work and self-sacrifice if they wanted to win..... To have an opponent of Rao Saheb Mandlik's stamp must help and does help rather than retard the cause of social reform." But this generous appreciation of the man does not conceal from the writer the essential weakness of the policy of looking solely to the past for inspiration. He says: "Not to break off our moorings, not to break away from the past, to be cautious and slow, are all fine phrases and good advice, so far as they go. But human nature is full and fond of the past, at least in India, so inert and supine that there is no danger of any reformer running headlong and revolutionising society. Rather, it may and must do good to have advice offered the other way—it is so much needed where a Himalaya of superstition has to be moved." Not that Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has no appreciation for the teachings of our sages and thinkers in the past. He speaks again and again of them with profound reverence. But he protests against the spirit of "blind patriotism" and exhorts his countrymen to cultivate the broad nationalism preached by Raja Ram Mohan Roy and other leaders of the modern theistic movement in India.

The address delivered at the annual meeting of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association in 1896, is a comprehensive survey of the several problems connected with social reform. Mr. Chandavarkar, as he was then, had accepted the invitation with the promptness with which he has allied himself with every struggling cause which appealed to his sympathy. That was the first occasion on which the writer of this Introduction met him personally. The meeting was held in the Anderson Memorial Hall attached to the Christian College, which was filled from floor to

ceiling. Mr. Ohandavarkar's address made an impression not easily forgotten. This is one of the most important speeches in the volume for the reason that it is practically a statement of the problem as a whole from all stand-points. Mr. Ohandavarkar asks the social reformer not to despair because of the failure of the religious and social reformers of the past to effect any abiding improvement. "While old difficulties exist, new instruments are at his (the modern reformer's) disposal." The influences amidst which the modern reformer has to work out the social problem, are peculiarly his own. They had never any counterpart in the past. The passage dealing with the question, namely "should social reform precede political reform," has at present a purely historical interest. Even extreme politicians have come to realise that the social system has to be remodelled at important points in order that it may sustain a higher type of political organization, and that we cannot think of democratic institutions so long as the depressed classes remain where they are and so long as the religious differences among Hindu, Mahomedan, Parsi and Christian people involve differences of intellectual outlook and social ideals. Mr. Ohandavarkar deprecates putting one kind of reform forward to the exclusion of others for, he says, the ruling impulse at different times differs and conscience awakened in one direction rarely fails to be awakened in other directions also. "The fact is," he observes, "that when the politician talks of our rights, our nationality and our claim to be ruled justly and equitably—when he says that the times have changed and with them political institutions and laws must change, the social reformer is able to put his own claim forward and bring to his aid the progressive spirit generated by a desire for political advancement."

But though reforms of all kinds are helpful, Sir Narayan Ohandavarkar himself has been more drawn to social and religious reform than to politics. This is the logical consequence of his conception of the method and meaning of progress. The individual can do something himself in social and religious reform whereas in politics he must wait upon his fellows. And this doing of something by the individual, this reaction of the individual to his own idea, is the mainspring of all social progress. "The notion that because a man who firmly stands up for his own convictions is ex-communicated, he ceases to exercise any influence over his caste and retards the cause of reform," he says "is amply

borne out to be erroneous by all the movements of history..... No reformer wishes to be separate from his people; but because the people separate from him by proclaiming the ban of ex-communication against him, it is not to be supposed that the separation causes a destruction of his personality and the influence of his example." The individual is the only instrument which society has for giving effect to an idea. If the individual is paralysed and prevented from responding to his highest impulses, it is society which suffers most in the long run.

In this as in almost every one of his speeches on social reform Sir Narayan Ohandavarkar gives expression to his intense faith in the capacity of Hindu women to respond to the demands that modern life may make on them, if only they are afforded adequate opportunity. This faith in Indian womanhood and faith in the Indian masses are the sheet-anchor of his social philosophy. In his essay on "Hindu Protestantism" he tells us that it is one of the most striking features of the country that caste-ridden as the people are, even among the most degraded of Sudras, who have been known as Mahars, we come across men who are remarkable for their spiritual insight, and who elevate us as we hear them by their simple and soul-stirring way of reciting the songs and recounting the doings of some of the best and greatest of our saints.

Among the addresses delivered at the Social Conference, the one delivered at the Benares Conference in December 1905, is worthy of special notice. Taking the ancient Gâyitri prayer as his text, he there develops the idea that Hinduism is a religion of Light, that the pursuit of Light was its highest aim, and that the salvation of India lies in accepting Light from whichever side it may come. "Are we children of Light now?" he asks in a thrilling passage. "Institutions and customs, good enough perhaps for times for which they were devised, intended to meet the wants, the necessities and surrounding circumstances of particular ages, as suited to the environment, according to the Light that then shone in the minds of our ancestors, have exalted themselves at the sacrifice of their end; and the central ideal of the people, the yearning for the Light which discovers a new age, new necessities, new aspirations, has been obscured by the ideal of blind usage and custom, with the result that we have become seekers after the *very darkness* which we are taught by the Rishis to avoid." The Benares address attests to

the almost passionate love which Sir Narayan Chandavarkar bears to whatever is highest and best in Hindu culture, and to his deep-rooted belief that the ancient ideals, if loyally and intelligently applied, can give us all the strength and support needed to face the problems with which we are or may hereafter be confronted.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar has often spoken warmly of the family life of the Parsis. The paper on "Religious and Social Reform among the Parsis" contains much which the present generation has forgotten. At a time when reaction in social and religious matters is showing itself among them it is stimulating to be reminded of the courage and conviction with which the first generations of Parsi reformers overcame the forces of prejudice and superstition.

The next section in the volume consists of "Addresses to Students." Students have always had a warm corner in Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's heart. His address on "The Responsibilities of Students" reads to-day as fresh as it was when spoken twenty-five years ago. This paper is not so much a set address as the speaker thinking aloud for the benefit of the young men who heard him. He gives his views here on social, political and religious matters with the same freedom as if he were speaking to himself. "Political activity, political agitations," he says, "are certainly good. They have their value and I do not for one moment mean to ignore their value. But what we do with one hand let us not undo with the other. Let not the principle of elevation which we try to infuse into our people by means of our political activities, be allowed to be counteracted by the principle of fatalism which our present social arrangements and our present religious beliefs teach them. Let us reform and correct the latter, so that our political activities may be helped and supported, instead of being opposed by them." Political aspiration, in other words, is not sufficient: it must be sustained and supported by action in the social and religious field. And he exhorts the young men as he has exhorted them scores of times since to have moral courage which means "that a man who thinks and feels that a certain thing is right, stands by his opinions and convictions, adheres to them faithfully and unflinchingly, looks to no public applause or favour, but does his best to act up nobly and fearlessly to his principles." Again, in the paper on "Aims of

Life," he says "each individual is a force, whether for good or evil, however poor and humble he might be." Be strong, be brave, be modest, this is the burden of his message to young men.

The address on 'Mr. Justice Telang as a Student' is a very good illustration of Sir Narayan Ohandavarkar's gift of biography. With a few simple touches, he calls up the figure of Mr. Justice Telang as he was, a student to the end of his life. The various influences which went to make up the charming personality of the distinguished man, are analysed and explained. And all this is so naturally done that the reader does not feel that here is one man sitting in judgment over another.

I must not pass over the two Convocation addresses without pointing out that, while Sir Narayan Ohandavarkar knows better than almost any one else the weak points of the educated Indian, he has been most emphatic in protesting against the wholesale charges of moral and religious corruption that have been brought against young India by some excited publicists. "I have no concern," he says in the first address, "that we are or ever shall be a godless people. Godlessness is not a charge that can be justly brought against either our youth or our educated men. The spiritual faculty is innate in us and the sense of the Supreme Soul which we drank in as it were with our mother's milk, if I may say so, cannot disappear merely because the education we are given is secular." These addresses were delivered at a time when great changes in the University courses of study were being considered, the main object of which was to give Science a more important place than it had occupied in the past. Sir Narayan sympathised with this object but, as against the extremists of physical science, he points out that, properly taught, literary studies are of no less educational value than scientific studies. He maintains that both, in fact, are capable of the same benefits and liable to the same abuses and, further, that no amount of scientific instruction can impart the same moral stimulus as poetry and literature.

The speeches given in the Political section are few but they include the important pronouncement which Mr. Ohandavarkar made at the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in 1886 on Council Reform. The history of the subject is traced here and it is maintained that there is nothing in the Indian character which

unfits it to work a system of representative Government. The Presidential address at the Lahore Congress, delivered as it was on the morrow of a great famine, deals almost exclusively with the position of the ryot and the means of improving it. The speeches made in England as a member of the Congress deputation of 1885, are briefly summarised. They made a great impression on the audiences to which they were addressed by their sobriety, moderation, and fairness as much as by the ready eloquence of the speaker.

The next section is not very happily headed "Miscellaneous Section." The first paper in this section, written during the height of the agitation on the Bill to raise the age of consent to 12 years, contains a historical review of the instances in which the British Government had legislated on customs which have a religious or social bearing. This paper is a valuable contribution to the history of social reform in India, and will be frequently consulted by social reformers. The twelve papers on Wordsworth's "Prelude" at the end of this section, are discourses addressed to weekly classes in the Students' Brotherhood. In them Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's love of Nature and love of books have free play. Wordsworth is the poet nearest his ideal, though he does not fail to see, as he recently said to this writer, that a study of Wordsworth has a tendency rather to confirm Indian students in their instinct for contemplative quietism. Wordsworth's philosophy has much in common with Hindu conceptions of the Universe, and the points of resemblance are brought out in a very striking manner in some of these papers. The paper on the Woman-Soul in this Section, calls for special mention. The important part which woman has always played and is destined to play in the evolution of humanity towards higher ideals, is a favourite theme, and the lecture, which was delivered at a meeting of the ladies of the Bombay National Indian Association, may well form the first of a series on Indian heroines.

The contents of the Religious Section are, in one sense, the most important of this collection. To Sir Narayan Chandavarkar religion is not a matter of set forms, but a matter of life. In his addresses, social, political and literary, the religious motive is always very near. Some of the principal thoughts which appear again and again in his religious utterances may be mentioned. Nature gives us the clue to God's ways. In society God's ways are

best revealed in the manner of little children and in the simple, unsophisticated lives of the common people. The small things of life count for more in spiritual development than the great things of which people talk most. There is no distinction between men's duties as religious, social and so on. Every duty is a religious duty and the realization of religion is through faithful dealing in everyday life. Some of the summaries of the sermons are fragmentary. Moreover they convey no idea of the force and power which impressed the audience at the time when they were spoken. One of the best illustrations is the last noble sentences in the sermon on the late Mr. Justice Ranade, closing with the calm assurance that "He watches us from his place above, from his place

Where meteors shoot, clouds form,
 Lightnings are loosened,
 Stars come and go ! Let joy break with the storm,
 Peace let the dew send !
 Lofty designs must close in like effects ;
 Loftily lying
 Leave him —still loftier than the world suspects
 Living and dying."

The aptness and felicity of these grand lines of Browning in the context, may be said to be typical of Sir Narayan Chandavarkar's happiest vein of quotation.

Bombay,
August 1st 1911. }

K. Natarajan.

ERRATA.

Page.	Line.	Incorrect.	Correct.
9	40	studing	studying
10	12	adaptability	adaptability
13	14	people	people,
13	20	hat tall	that all
13	21	widow	Widow
14	14	dispair	despair
17	33	all	well
20	21	British is	British Court is
23	9	casts	castes
27	36	with	at
27	37	aud	and
32	6	Nandlik	Mandlik
32	21	pay	say
32	36	idoltary	idolatry
34	22	the that one	the one
35	13	in Elphinstone	in the Elphinstone
37	31	hear	here
41	1	an	and
41	21	he	the
42	26	Him	him
43	31	Upani hads	Upanishads
53	12	that	their
53	38	necessary. Even	necessary, even
57	33	superficial	superficial
73	25	perventing	preventing
74	28	bounds	bonds
78	18	invitations	invitations of
80	29	child-widow	child-widows
80	33	on e	one
81	37	reformer	reformers
82	34	Nepolean	Napoleon
83	4	loosing	losing
83	4	loose	lose
85	20	sunday	Sunday
86	40	professor	Prof
88	3	loose	lose
90	23	loose	lose
92	8	ofa	of a
96	23	the.....Reform	" the.....Reform "
96	31	works	worked
97	10	lives	lives—
97	19	so	so,
97	20	thing	thing,
98	4	friend; the	friend, the
99	11	forefathers'	forcfathers?
99	33	he	He
99	34	who	Who
100	26	stu-	steep-
	27	pid	ed
104	31	who	Who
104	32	who	Who
104	32	his	His

II

Page.	Line.	Incorrect	Correct.
105	37	heaven	Heaven
105	37	heaven	Heaven
107	13	from	in
107	13	through	throughout
109	31	prejudice	prejudices
111	6	justify	justifies
111	7	required	acquired
111	20	revive ? "	revive ?
111	21	that ?	that ? "
114	10	she	it
114	15	land	lady
144	31	according	accorded
115	13	bow	row
118	20	was	as
120	28	discretion, the	discretion. " The
121	30	whether	whether
122	37	welcome	welcomed
123	34	this for	... for
125	14	industrials	industrial
125	18	plot	blot
133	7	Machiawalli	Machiavelli
153	4	class	class,
153	24	ge neral	general
153	35	t ha	the
153	35	Bombay time	Bombay Time
153	39	and t	and
153	40	ou	out
176	21	become	became
192	21	a stationary	as stationary,
194	31	graduate's	Graduates'
200	2	surrounding	surroundings
200	9	cuch	such
203	25	so	to
203	4	only one	only at one
214	10	tyndall	Tyndall
214	25	<i>pa: adise</i>	<i>Paradise</i>
214	26	<i>lost</i>	<i>Lost</i>
216	27	French	Free
224	20	words—	Words—
224	33	go not	not
225	3	wholo	whole
226	31	Here	here
227	29	Macdougall	MacDougall
232	2	believes	believe
242	19	<i>Mriduha</i>	<i>Mriduha,</i>
253	30	obedience,	obedience '
255	28	and and	and
255	32	and and	and
270	20	sasy	easy
271	4	Counci.	Council
271	5	reform	Reform
273	3	Panchaye	Panchayet
278	11	twenty	Twenty

III

Page	Line.	Incorrect	Correct.
273	12	four peigunnahs	four Peigunnahs
275	5	state	state
275	40	wood	Wood
276	25	of Punja l	of the Punjab,
276	30	for we really	for really
278	15	1833	1853
278	35	peisereve	persevere
290	16	Europe	European
299	4	presidencies,	Presidencies,
301	4	starting	staring
303	8	lit'igation	litigation
304	13	his	His
309	9	lassez	laissez
309	9	policy	policy
310	22	discreet	discreet,
311	14	year,	years,
316	23	Presidency	Presidency
324	28	labors	labours
324	31	perfectly	perfectly
329	25	discours-	discuss-
331	2	montn	month
331	39	loose	lose
342	1	hims	himself,
343	2	officei'	officer's
345	32	parihian	Parthian
347	8	has	had
353	9	Writ-	writ-
353	39	nigh-	night
353	40	self-rest	self-re-
354	1	trained	strained
355	19	allusion	illusion
361	6	dialogues	Dialogue
362	36	nature	nature
364	28	is	in
365	8	hygeinic	hygienic
373	10	The	This
386	40	Paravara's	Parasara's
389	7	on	no
392	21	fiame	frame
393	33	Mensfield	Mansfield
393	34	ment	merit
398	36	lie—	lar
399	31	freely d nd	freely and
405	38	providence,	Providence,
408	22	He	he
408	26	it	it,
409	5	aspiration s	aspirations
409	7	his	His
410	32	very	very
411	39	note	not
413	34	countrymen	countrymen,
413	36	acquiring	acquiring,
414	39	with	which

IV

Page.	Line.	Incorrect.	Correct.
432	16	preceive	perceive
455	20	uable	payable
466	28	to him,	him,
467	10	pray	pray,
467	10	But	but
473	17	properly,	properly
473	17	book	book,
475	6	quiescence	quiescence
475	20	obtains	obtains
478	16	त्वरः	त्वरः
495	25	teached	teaches
499	38	Convent	Covent
500	17	He	he
500	24	they	they
523	13	"affinites"	"affinities"
525	18	pre-eminent and through	pre-eminent through
526	27	authors	author
532	9	punished n	punished in
534	23	unconsciously	unconsciously
535	8	delicate	dedicate
540	6	"May	May
541	17	any or other	any other
541	39	for the centuries	for centuries
542	13	endureth things	endureth all things
545	27	They	There
548	1	loscope	horoscope
548	26	and is it	and it is
553	10	older	older
564	4	guest	guests
564	8	dow,	dow
564	36	who were animated	who animated
565	32	is this	is with this
568	4	her	our
568	39	affecat-	affecta-
573	17	petrefied—	petrified—
588	32	is useless	is as useless
592	30	things present	things at present
593	32	and and struggling	and struggling
596	31	देवाजीचे	देवाजी हे
610	26	circutious	circutious
623	4	Napolean	Napoleon
633	5	ths	tho
633	11	Napolean's	Napoleon's
635	3	race, prejudice	race prejudice
635	10	Oh ! God	O, God ?

Hindu Social Reform.

I.

EDUCATION & REACTION.

(*Times of India*, dated 8th December 1887.)

There are various problems concerning the people of this country, the study of which presents very interesting and instructive features to the inquisitive foreigner. Among those none seems to me to require closer attention than the problem of their social progress. It is remarkable how widely different views prevail upon the subject, and that, too, among intelligent and thoughtful men. Some, for instance, are apt to regard the question of social reform among the Hindoos as a most complicated question, on which it is extremely difficult to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. They think that the social life of the Hindoos is and will long remain an enigma to Englishmen, because the customs and manners of the former are entirely different from those of the latter. We often hear it said that the Hindoo is steeped in the conservatism of bigotry of some centuries, and that it is, therefore, almost a hopeless thing to expect that he will take in the progressive idea of the West. There are others, who are known to say that, in spite of all that the Englishman has done and is doing for the intellectual and social advancement of the country, he will never be able to achieve success, and that England's social mission in the East at least is bound to be a failure. We are told that while English education has produced a comparatively small number of writers and speakers, who are ready to speculate about the political destinies of the country, it has failed to supply it with men, who will apply their knowledge to the social improvement of their countrymen. We have, it is said, shoals of political prattlers, but where, you are asked, are your social reformers? The educated Hindoo is represented as still clinging to the customs and beliefs of his superstitious ancestors without having faith in them. He still observes the rules of caste, still gives his infant daughters in marriage, and is still afraid of raising his hand against enforced

widowhood. Among the men who take so gloomy a view of the subject, there are several, who declare that however much you may educate and enlighten the Hindoo, he will remain wedded to his old and inveterate customs, and refuse to move out of the path of his forefathers unless you disturb him out of it by the application of legislative force.

In proof of all this we are asked to look at the retrograde tendency, which is said to be just now observable among the majority of educated Hindoos, and our attention is pointedly called to the manner in which a large number of native writers and speakers—men cultured in the arts and sciences of the West—are at this moment defending the customs of infant marriage and enforced widowhood. Undoubtedly, if we looked to the passing events of the present day alone and based our judgment as to the prospects of social reform among the Hindoos on them exclusively, we should find much to dishearten us. When a little more than fifty years ago the battle between English *vs* Vernacular Education was fought with great energy in India, several authorities of repute predicted that English education would fail to liberalize the native intellect and effect the social emancipation of the Hindoos. The celebrated Orientalist, Dr. Horace Wilson, was one of them and in a letter on "The Education of the Natives of India," dated the 5th of December, 1855, published in a periodical called the *Asiatic Journal*, he expressed his views in the most candid terms. He said :—"There are well-known instances of individuals of rank and education, who have acquired the elegancies of language, who are not the less bigotedly devoted to their national belief. If it is expected that a knowledge of the English language will work a beneficial change in the principles of the people, the end will most assuredly be disappointing." That was a bold prophecy, and those who fifty-two years ago felt disposed to differ from Dr. Wilson probably thought that his view was coloured by a somewhat exclusive partiality for purely Oriental learning. But on those who are now reading the old prophecy by the light of certain current events, or what Hindoo reformers are known to call "the signs of the times," it is at first sight likely to leave a different impression, because, to judge merely from the mode in which the controversy on social reform among the Hindoos is at present conducted, it would appear that the majority of their writers and speakers were more or less opposed to that reform and were eager to retain the

customs, which among all enlightened nations are regarded as the relics of a backward, if not a barbarous, state of society. There is a wave of reaction running all over the country, and its effects seem to be as strongly perceptible among the Mahrattas as among the Bengalis. We have writers educated in colleges openly declaring that their British rulers committed a great piece of folly in passing the law legalising the remarriage of Hindu widows. They cannot see the soundness of the logic or the chivalry of the sentiment of those who passed that law, not because they thought that it would save all Hindoo widows from the pains and penalties of perpetual widowhood, but because they felt that, if it should bring relief to at least a single Hindoo widow, it would justify itself in the eyes of both God and man. The present system of female education is denounced as a snare and a delusion; and we are asked to spend the money, which is devoted to girls' schools, for the education of boys. Women, we are seriously told, were made not to be educated, but to bear children. The Hindoo reformer is represented as a mean, hypocritical, and dishonest coward, who speaks and writes in favour of reform, not because he has any sincere faith in it, but because he wishes to secure the good graces of influential Europeans. The European ladies and gentlemen, who interest themselves in the social improvement of the people, and particularly in the elevation of Hindoo womanhood, are asked to mind their own business and reform their own society. Pandita Ramabai is described as collecting subscriptions in America, not so much with a view to provide an asylum for Hindoo widows, as to provide a home for herself.

This and more of the kind that one just now finds in the writings of many native papers may indeed make the most enthusiastic champions of higher education somewhat sceptical as to the good it was expected to do and is said to have done. If the reactionary tendencies, which are witnessed by us at the present day, among the majority of Hindoo writers and speakers, are to be regarded as something more than a mere passing phase of the times, then they may be said to furnish a very good ground for the condemnation, not only of the Hindoos as a hopelessly backward and bigoted race, but, what is of far greater importance, of also the attempts which have since more than half a century been made by the British rulers of India to educate and elevate the minds of the natives. Pessimistic writers in the native press, who are wont to

dilate on what they call the evils of English rule, and who have persuaded themselves that more harm than good has resulted from it to the country, seem to me to forget the circumstances under which the foundations of our educational policy were laid. Those circumstances bear eloquent testimony to the anxiety shown by those who founded British rule in India for the intellectual and moral advancement of its people. It is usual with some people to talk and write of what they represent as England's greed, but they forget that if England were greedy, she would have refused from the commencement to take any steps for the intellectual and moral advancement of India's people. The earlier Anglo-Indian rulers, who made the "India of the Queen", were not mere soldiers, but they were also statesmen; and their statesmanship was marked by a high and noble sense of regard, not so much for the commercial advancement and political aggrandisement of England as of the regeneration of India's vast population. Though there were not wanting men to warn them that it would be suicidal to educate the people of a conquered country like India, they did not for a moment falter in their resolution, but took the step boldly and most deliberately; and they deserve all the greater praise for it because the step was taken at a time when the native community themselves, so far from giving them even the slightest encouragement, viewed their educational policy often with indifference, and sometimes even opposed it. In a speech which the late Sir Erskine Perry, than whom the natives of this Presidency have not had a truer friend, and who spared no efforts in his days to promote the cause of higher education among them, delivered on the 11th of February 1852, at the annual distribution of prizes to the successful students of the Elphinstone Institute, he pointed out the difficulties with which the English statesmen of that time, who were anxious to educate and enlighten the people of India, had to contend. "There are," he observed, "many shrewd men of the world, who look upon native education as a mere delusion—a concession to the public opinion of England, as expressed by the voice of Parliament; or, at best, as an innocent, amiable experiment, but without any real pith or substance. Others, again, who think higher of native intellect and capacity, take an exclusively English and Governmental view of the subject—and these consider our educational proceedings purely suicidal." Nor was that all. Sir Erskine Perry made no secret at the same time of the fact that

"among the natives themselves, there is a large, a wealthy, and in many respects an influential body, such as is to be found in all countries of the world, who are very well contented with things as they are, and who look with an evil eye, though they do not express much open opposition, at the attempts which are being made by a few foreigners to improve and elevate the rising generation of India." The Board of Education, writing on the 5th of January, 1844, to the Government of Bombay, observed:—"Prejudice against innovation, suspicion of covert purposes on the part of Government, and an almost total insensibility to the true advantages of knowledge meet and thwart the zealous instructor in India at every turn." In spite of all this, the British pursued their noble policy undeterred by the difficulties before them. And nobly did they persevere. They actually went so far as to bribe the younger generation of natives into receiving the blessings of a liberal education. They reserved appointments in the public service for them, founded scholarships and prizes for the encouragement of native students and enjoined by means of a Regulation upon their officials "the duty of bringing periodically to the notice of Government any suggestions that may present themselves for native improvement." All this is matter of history, on which Englishmen may look with just pride, and which alone, even if there were nothing else in British rule to commend it to the few pessimistic writers in the native press, ought to make these latter think twice before writing the diatribes against the Government which now and then disfigure the columns of a certain section of the Vernacular press. England's object in laying the foundations of a liberal educational policy was higher than the object of mere self-interest. That object will be found in the best and most distinct language expressed by the foremost Anglo-Indian statesmen of the earlier years of British India. In this minute on education, dated the 10th March, 1824, Mountstuart Elphinstone distinctly pointed out that the scope of his plan of education was not "to provide clerks for public offices," but "to diffuse knowledge among all orders of the people of the country, and to concur with other causes in raising them in time to level with the European nations." The Hon. Mr. J. P. Willoughby in a minute he wrote on the 12th of January, 1850, said:—"It is by education alone that we can hope gradually to elevate and improve it" (i. e., the standard of morals

among natives) "and to disperse the mists of ignorance and superstitions which now darken the land." "For these sentiments," he continued, "I am, for the most part, indebted to the Hon. Mr. Elphinstone." Similar language will be found used by the late Board of Education. In their annual report for 1844, they said :—"The object of Government we take to be perfectly distinct and intelligible, namely, to make as vigorous an impression upon the Asiatic mind as possible—to rouse it from the torpor into which it has subsided for some hundred years past, and to place it in a condition for receiving and digesting the results of European progress and civilization." Abandoning for a moment the curt and cold style of official documents, the Board continues to say in the same report :—"Wherever we find gross intellectual darkness, we are sure to meet with grovelling superstition and the worst forms of priestcraft. A lax morality is the inevitable offspring of such unholy union, and it is only by the introduction of light as a sort of moral police, that any effectual warfare can be expected to be waged against these enemies of the human race—

"For truth has such a look and such a mien

As to be loved, needs only to be seen."

When, again, in June, 1852, the new Poona College (now called the Deccan College) was formally opened by Mr. Warden, then Judicial Commissioner of the Deccan, and one of the Members of the Board of Education, in the course of a speech in which he entreated the native gentry assembled before him to utilise the College and reap from it the benefits of education, he read out to them the following extracts from a despatch from the Court of Directors to the Government of Madras :—"The improvements in education, which most effectually contribute to elevate the moral and intellectual condition of a people, are those which concern the education of the higher class—of the persons possessing leisure and natural influence over the minds of their countrymen. By raising the standard of instruction among these classes, you would eventually produce a much greater and more beneficial change in the ideas and feelings of the community than you can hope to produce by acting directly on the more numerous class." Having read those extracts, Mr. Warden, imploringly said to his native audience :—"Close, then, I beseech you, with the offer that is made to you."

One is perhaps apt to be painfully reminded of all this by the

reactionary writings of many of the native writers and speakers who have been educated in our schools and colleges. As shown above, these schools and colleges were established with, among other objects, the view of enabling the men that should be trained in them to contribute to the moral and social improvement of the masses; and if it turned out that a larger number of these men were using their higher education, not for the purpose of removing, but perpetuating, the causes of superstitions and ignorance among their people by defending foolish customs and ridiculing and maligning those engaged in their abolition, there would, indeed, be good ground for regret and disappointment at the fact that so noble and high-minded an effort as that made by the British rulers to educate the higher classes in India had led to such deplorable results. But I should ask the thoughtful reader to pause a little before jumping to any such conclusion, either as to the results of higher education among the natives, or as to the prospects of social reform among the Hindoos. Before he can form any sound judgment upon them, he must go deeper into the question and consider it not in relation to and by the light of current events, but with the aid of all those forces which have been at work and which, slowly and yet surely, are socially transforming the Hindoo community. These forces it is not easy to discover, because they do not exert their influence openly and directly, but none the less they are silently producing beneficial effects and furthering in a way the cause of social reform among the Hindoos.

II.

THE FORCES AT WORK.

An old Hindoo gentleman, who is both educated and enlightened, recently remarked to an English friend that the greatest reform he had lived to practise was the being able to make use of soda water openly without encountering the prejudice or evoking the opposition of his caste. He observed that his father would never have tolerated such a thing had he lived to witness it. Twenty or thirty years ago orthodox Hindooism would have treated it as a gross breach of caste discipline, and visited the offender with condign punishment. But, said the Hindu gentleman in question, all is changed now, and scores of Hindoos are to be found daily consuming the beverage which a quarter of a century

ago was regarded as polluted water. When I heard of the remark it recalled to my mind an observation, which an English writer, who made his reputation in Bombay as a journalist, and who since his retirement from this country has entered the House of Commons, used often to make in his paper, that the best because the most efficient social reformer in India was the Parsee, who sold soda water at the railway stations and carried on a silent crusade against caste. We are so much accustomed to speak of the Hindus as a caste-ridden and conservative race that conversions of the kind noticed above are apt to escape attention. And yet if we but examine the conservatism of that people more minutely, we shall find that it is not altogether influenced by blind sentiment, but has a good deal of adaptibility about it. The Hindoos have surely many failings, but want of intelligence is certainly not one of them. Their shrewdness has struck all the foreigners who have come in contact with them. Undoubtedly, the activity of the Hindu mind is more of a speculative than practical character—somewhat lacking in what the late John Stuart Mill called “the thinking which ascertains truths instead of dreaming dreams.” It has generated, to quote the same philosopher once more, “the mystical metaphysics” of the Vedas, but it has, comparatively speaking, failed to form “the character which improves human life,” the character “which struggles with natural powers and tendencies,” instead of giving “way to them.” But whatever may be its shortcomings, the intelligence of the Hindoo enables him to think and to realize at times where his self-interest lies. And hence it is perhaps that you find him adapting himself to times and circumstances and accepting changes, at first indeed with murmur, but at last with content. This may seem to some a somewhat startling statement—to those in particular, who are pained by the present revival of orthodox Hindooism among educated Hindu writers and speakers. But tested by the facts of history, the statement will be found to be correct. We are living just now in a period, when Hindoos are keenly discussing the question whether the young men of their community who have been to England ought to be re-admitted into caste. But most of us will perhaps be surprised to learn that there was a time, when it was among Brahmins usual to excommunicate men of their community who came from Poona and resided in Bombay. In 1821, *i. e.* three years after the fall of the Peshwa, a Mahatta Brahmin,

by name Gangadhar Dixit Phadke came to Bombay from Poona and lived here for six years. During that period he was employed as a Marathi tutor to the officers of the Marine Department. In 1827 he returned to Poona. He was immediately excommunicated by his caste, merely because he had travelled as far as Bombay and crossed the sea. A few years later, his relatives and friends requested the Brahmins to administer penance to him and take him back into caste. An inquiry was held, and he was called upon to give evidence as to the manner in which he had lived in Bombay. The result was that some Brahmins agreed to administer penance to him and take him back, and he was taken. Others, however, refused to join him. Sixty years have now elapsed since this occurred and probably the Brahmin of the present day laughs at the ridiculous folly of his ancestors who made a mountain out of a molehill and discouraged even such a small thing as travelling from Poona and residing in Bombay. The incident is only one of many which have occurred, and which illustrate how the back of Brahmanism is slowly being broken. When in 1818 the Peshwa fell, the British, who took his place, offered to give pensions to the Brahmin laymen and priests who had been dependent on him. Many refused to close with the offer on the ground that it was irreligious and contrary to the Shastras to accept money from the hands of the Mlechhas. But in time they came round and begged for what at first they had contemptuously rejected. When the old Sanskrit College, on the ruins of which the present Deccan College was founded, was first opened, it is said very great difficulty was felt by Government in getting any of the leading Shastris in Poona to accept the post of Principal. The same, we are told, was the case when Government wanted the services of the Shastris to help the Judges of the High Court (then called the Sudder Adawlut) in the adjudication of cases arising under the Hindoo Law. When, again, after the Sanskrit College had been in existence for some years for the exclusive use of Brahmins Government declared it open to all castes, nearly all the Shastris in Poona refused to have anything to do with it. The three or four Shastris who reconciled themselves to the change and accepted the posts offered to them in the college, were excommunicated by the rest. Similar suspicion was shown, when at a subsequent stage the Sanskrit College was turned into an English College. But it was not long before the change was accepted willingly, "the Shaster-studying Brahmins" - to quote the remarks of the late Sir Erskine

Perry — “ coming over, not gradually, but in shoals, to the studies of the English system, so that, as I anticipated when I assented to a much larger Sanskrit endowment than I thought expedient, the self-interest of the acute Brahmins is settling the question by demonstrating the uselessness of many of the chairs which we retained.” In each of these cases the opposition of Hindu orthodoxy did not last long, and what at first had been denounced as irreligious and immoral was subsequently accepted as a matter of course.

With these instances before us it would be hardly fair to describe the Hindoos as a hopelessly conservative and bigoted race. The spirit of adaptability is not altogether wanting in them, and it seems to me nothing has so much served to bring it out as their contact with, and subjection to, the energizing and progressive spirit, which forms one of the most elevating features of British rule in India. Nor would it be right in this connection to ignore the silent influence which the policy of higher education, liberally initiated by England in this country, has exerted, and is exerting in the direction of the social progress of the Hindoos. This, again, may seem an astounding proposition to those who are painfully impressed by a betrayal of the spirit of social reaction on the part of a majority of the present generation of educated Hindoos. But it will not be, I think, denied that if the earlier generation of Hindoos who were educated under the same policy, were able to show a more enlightened spirit, it would be unjust to condemn the policy of higher education. The blame and responsibility of the present lamentable reaction shall in that case have to be on some other shoulders—on, perhaps, certain defects of the educational system, to some of which one of the present professors of the Elphinstone College—Mr. Forrest, if I mistake not—alluded in his evidence before the Public Service Commission. But the point to notice here is that the first effects of higher education were certainly of the most encouraging character, so far as the question of social reform was concerned. In their Report for the year 1850–51 (page 25, paragraph 7), the late Bombay Board of Education wrote:—“In the island of Bombay, however, where superior education has been much more widely extended, the fruits of it are displaying themselves at an earlier period, and in a more pleasing form, than possibly the most sanguine educationists could have anticipated. It does not, perhaps, lie within the province of the Board

commenced in August, 1849 it is said :—" The character of the Society then—as far as the subjects of essays and discussion at its monthly meetings are concerned—may be considered as exclusively social and educational " " The essays which excited the greatest interest and led to the greatest amount of discussion " were those which dealt with questions of female education and early marriage. The young men opened schools for girls and taught them. They prepared books adapted to the special requirements of the girls. They regretted " the early age (generally between 10 and 12) at which the children were withdrawn from the schools, in many cases too much against their will," and attempted to make up for that difficulty in the way of female education by starting a monthly periodical so that the girls might be able to read it after they had left the schools. In all that they did they had the sympathy and active co-operation of their Professors. Dr Reid was one of them, and he helped them in a manner which the Professors and pupils of the present day might justly envy. He encouraged them with words like the following —" You must endure for many a long day the reproaches and the sneers of the ignorant and the heartless. Instead of sauntering quietly along the broad high way of usage, you must brace your loins for a toilsome journey and climb many a *ghat*." " Before all, and above all, remember that you must always be *advancing*. If you move not forward, you are going backward." Such enlightened leaders and members of the Hindu community as Sir Mungaldas Nathubhai, the Hon Jagannath Shankershet, Mr. Bhugwandas Purushottamdas, and Dr Bhau Daji, helped the movement in favour of female education, and encouraged the young educated Hindoos who started it. In the year 1862, Sir Bartle Frere, then Governor of Bombay, warmly congratulated them on the excellent work they had undertaken, and remarked that he was " glad to see that the Society adopted, as their standard of teaching the principle that the women of any class, must be educated to the same extent as the men of the class, and he felt assured that the supporters of the Society would not be content with any lower measure of success in their efforts " Further, Sir Bartle said that. " Government felt assured that the first effect of giving a really sound English education to native gentlemen would be that they would not only feel desirous to have their wives and daughters educated, but *that they would feel absolutely ashamed to let them remain in a state inferior to themselves as regard-*

educational advantages." I have italicised these last remarks of Sir Bartle, because there are educated Hindoos, who have received University education, who are this very moment denouncing the higher education of women, and telling the world that such education is dangerous. In other words, they do not seem to feel "absolutely ashamed" to let women remain "in a state inferior to themselves as regards educational advantages," and to use the language of great disparagement in writing and speaking of the Girls' High School at Poona. But Sir Bartle's words will also serve to remind my readers that the old generation of the educated Hindoos did exert themselves to promote the cause of female education, and did recognise the principle that women must be as highly educated as men. The English statesmen who expected that higher education would contribute to the social improvement of India's people, may with pleasure recall to their minds the period when the earlier generation of educated Hindoos started societies and established schools for the promotion of female education, and the educated reactionists of the present day will find much in the history of those societies and schools to cover their writings and sayings with shame. Nor was ^{that} tall. The Students' Society was followed by other movements, among which the Widow Remarriage Association deserves the most prominent mention. There are, indeed, incidents connected with the history of this last body, which detract somewhat from the highly valuable service rendered by many of the educated Hindoos who enthusiastically identified themselves with the cause. But the Association, nevertheless, did excellent work for nearly twenty years, and if it has not succeeded in popularising the remarriages of Hindoo widows among the Hindoos, it has at all events brought the priest-ridden portion of that community to tolerate them and the number of orthodox men who say that they have no objection to the remarriage of a widow who has lost her husband very early in life has sensibly, though slowly, increased. The influence of the Association in the palmy days of its life was so much felt among the orthodox Hindoos, that when in 1872, a Brahmin gentleman returned from England, the head priest of the Brahmin community received him into caste on administering penance to him, and when the orthodox priests and laymen, who re-admitted him, were asked why they had chosen to be so liberal, they said that if they had not taken the gentleman back, there was the widow marriage party to receive him into its fold.

III.

THE FORCES AT WORK.

(*Times of India*, 15th Dec. 1886.)

The movements initiated by educated Hindoos for the promotion of female education and the encouragement of the re-marriage of widows, to which I alluded in my last communication, were undoubtedly the result of higher education. It is true the times are a little changed, and the cause of Hindu reform seems just now to have fallen on "evil days" and among "evil tongues". It is, indeed, distressing to find many educated men not only refusing to raise their hands against some of their social evils, but eagerly defending them, and nothing can be more disappointing than the attempts which are being made to discredit the cause of female education and enlightenment. But let us not be altogether misled into despair by these depressing signs. Much as its sayings and doings are to be regretted and condemned, the party of educated reactionaries as the Hindoo reformers are known to call them, is even now not without some redeeming features, and these features, such as they are, are solely due to the facts that the so-called educated reactionaries have received the blessings of higher education. They may have greatly misused that education—indeed, some of them have misused it by defending foolish customs on very ridiculous grounds. But I do not wish to confine my attention to that part of their conduct simply. It is the bane of all serious controversies that those who are engaged in them are often led into using the language of recrimination; and even the party of reform among the Hindoos will, perhaps, not fail to admit that it has committed errors, though it has certainly not gone the lengths to which its opponents have gone. "The educated reactionaries" are not failing just at this moment to show some signs of improvement. Not a few of the educated Hindoo gentlemen in Calcutta, who met a few months ago and talked all sorts of nonsense in defence of early marriage, have modified their views and declared that they are for a gradual and moderate change. More than that, it is remarkable that the party of reaction hates to be called reactionary, and we are told by its organs in the press that true reformers are to be found in its ranks alone. Some of those organs are telling us that their party is anxious for reform and that it will some day

declare its programme Though they condemn Hindoo reformers for pleading the cause of female education and advancement and for giving more liberty to their women, they cannot bear it being said that Hindoo ladies are ignorant and do not enjoy freedom. Though they write and speak against female education, yet they are ashamed to own that they are entirely opposed to it. They tell us that they realise as much as anybody else the value of instructed females in society—only they will see girls instructed, not in schools, but at home. More encouraging than even all this is the fact that they are not prepared to own in public that they approve of the disgraceful *dragm*, in which a half-educated Maratha writer has satirised the Girls' High School in Poona. Indeed, some of them have already begun to say that they have nothing to do with the wretched piece and do not even go to witness its exhibition on the stage Still further, the so-called party of reaction tried to redeem its shortcomings to some extent when the honourable gentleman, who, rightly or wrongly, it is not for me to say, is supposed to lead it, inculcated upon the Brahmins, recently assembled in a meeting convened for the purpose of starting a Brahmin Association, the necessity of organising themselves better and of *moving with the times* in view of the changing circumstances and requirements of the present age.

All this indicates that the so-called educated reactionaries among the Hindoos are, in spite of themselves, feeling the need of progress and wish to show that it is they who are the true reformers. They may have done nothing as yet and may fail to prove that they are as true as their word. But we should not judge them hastily. Thought is supposed to precede action, and the desire which is expressed by the leading organs of the "educated reactionaries" for what they call gradual reform is of itself some triumph for the cause of social progress. The danger which was some years ago apprehended of that cause dying from inanition and indifference no longer exists. Both the party of reform and the party of opposition have been formed, and the first stage of progress—namely, discussion—has been at all events reached. Higher education, if it has achieved nothing else, has achieved this at least that it has set those who have received it thinking. The spirit of enquiry and restlessness is abroad. It is compelling even those who profess to be content with things as they are to modify their attitude and admit the need of reform.

Nor is that all. Even the orthodox masses, who have received no higher education, are slowly being drawn into the controversy. Our idea of the Hindoo priest generally is that he is so wrapped up in his own "holiness" that he cares not what others say about him and his creed. His is not a proselytizing religion, and he follows his gods and his customs under the conviction that he was born for them and they were made for him. "You go your way, I go mine"—that best expresses both his belief and his action. If one thing more than another was calculated to hinder the cause of social progress among the Hindoos, it was this habitual indifference and apathy, solemnly sanctioned by their religious books. But the orthodox Hindoo priest is no longer the indifferentist that he was proud to be. He sees the change that is slowly coming on and hears the noise of the discussion around him. He has already begun to feel that his 'sacred' ground is in danger and he can no longer sit quiet. He is forced to take part in the battle and either maintain or give up his ground. People do not take everything he says for gospel but they have begun to enquire and question. He is asked to state his authority for this proposition and that custom. He cites the *Shastras*, but he is told some of the customs have no place there. He explains, and in the explanation contradicts himself, till at last he is forced either to leave his ground in anger or admit that he has made a mistake. My reader should not think I am drawing upon my imagination in taking this view of the present position of the orthodox Hindoo priest. It literally represents what is at this moment happening. For instance, it is not more than a month or two since a meeting of many of the Hindoo Shastris, Pandits, and priests was held in Bombay for the discussion of Hindoo religious questions. Lay Hindoos were invited to be present at it, and were allowed to take part in the discussion. Pandit Gattoolaljee, whose name many of my readers will remember having heard in connection with the recent controversy on the cremation question, took a leading part in the discussion, and sought to propound and solve, to the satisfaction of himself and his followers there present, several questions relating to the Hindoo religion. But an incident occurred in the course of the discussion, which evidently disconcerted him and rendered his position in praise of the religion somewhat shaky. A Hindoo who was among the audience, suddenly got up and asked the Pandit:—"Panditjee, is the killing of animals allowed by the

"Vedas?" The Pandit took a few minutes for his reply, and then said to his interrogator that if he wanted an answer to such a question, he should go to Benares, undergo penance, and return to Bombay after some years, when he (the Pandit) would see what reply to give to his inquiry. The questioner was, however, equal to that occasion. He addressed himself to the audience, whom he asked to judge whether this was a sensible mode of carrying on discussion and answering questions. "My question," continued the Hindu questioner, "was simple. The only answer it required was either *yes* or *no*. Instead of that, the Pandit makes a long and rambling statement, which does not touch my question at all. In fact he evades my point altogether. Is this fair?" Before this clincher neither Pandit Gattoolaji's learning nor orthodoxy could maintain its ground. He saw that his authority as a Pandit was in danger, and he made the confession before the audience that certain questions regarding the Hindoo religious systems were of so delicate a character that he was compelled on occasions to give evasive answers.

All this is due to British influences, among which the influence of higher and primary education stands in this connection foremost. It is accomplishing silently what no law could have accomplished—unsettling people's minds, raising controversies, forming parties, and thus forwarding the cause of social progress. The present reactionary tendency is simply illustrative of the fact that our students are taught to cram and not to think. It affords no ground whatever for the condemnation of the policy of higher education, which is doing, however slowly, what its promoters intended it should first do—it is creating a spirit of enquiry and discussion which is itself a hopeful sign. But there is another force, which is as silently and yet none the less effectually promoting social reform among the Hindoos. We have heard so much during the last three years about legislative interference with the social customs of that people that we are ^{well} all nigh tired of it. The cry for legislation has not found favour among a majority of either Europeans or natives. The British Government has undertaken to respect the customs and usages of its subjects, "as far as just and reasonable" (to quote the language of the Proclamation which Mountstuart Elphinstone issued when the British Government took the place of the Peshwa in the Deccan). And it has so far respected them. Our civil courts of justice occupy a position, however, which in several respects enables them

to introduce changes of a progressive character into the Hindoo community. Like the Legislature, they, too, are bound to decide all questions before them in accordance with the usages and customs of that community. Their authority is also limited, but they possess an advantage, which the Legislature does not, in that the Hindoo Law is not codified and the ancient Hindoo law-givers, whose books are the accepted authorities of the land, are so many, and among themselves differ on so many points, that the British judge in India finds himself the master of a pretty large field, where he can occasionally pick and choose in accordance with his own enlightened instincts. It may not be in all, or even in the majority of cases, that he is able to do so; but that he is able to do it at all counts for a great deal in this matter. To his credit, be it said, he has exercised his discretion most carefully. That he has felt his way cautiously and acted with due regard to the prejudices of the people with whom he has to deal is evident from the fact that those people have the highest confidence in our courts and regard them as the best defenders of their liberties and rights. And yet how few are able to realize that the English judge in India is slowly helping the social progress of the Hindoos? He is working quietly; his "legal fictions" blind the eye to the value and reality of his work; but none the less is he working effectively. As proof whereof, we have only to open the pages of the law reports of the several High Courts and study the various stages of development through which the Hindoo widow's status, the Hindoo wife's rights, and so on, have passed and are passing. A Hindoo gentleman was heard to say the other day, at a meeting in Calcutta, that it was impossible to abolish the custom of infant or early marriage so long as the joint family system of the Hindoo existed. Think of doing away with the latter, he said, and the former will die with or after it. This view may or may not be correct; but by encouraging partitions, and in various other ways, our courts have been slowly breaking that system. The idea prevailed among people ten years ago, that whatever a member of a joint family acquired as the gains of science was liable to be regarded as joint funds. But in the case which was five years ago decided by the late Sir Maxwell Melvill, when on the High Court Bench, he held that if the education which enabled such a member of a joint family to acquire his gains was not acquired at the expense

of the family, those gains should be regarded as self-acquisitions, to which his widow, and not his co-parceners, was entitled. Mr. Justice Scott four years ago said, in the course of an able judgment, that the tendency of modern decisions in India was to raise the status and secure the independence of women. By ruling that a Hindoo wife cannot be sent to gaol in execution of a decree obtained against her for her debts, our courts have enforced in India a principle familiar to English law. They have again given (in this Presidency) an absolute estate to a Hindoo daughter over property inherited by her from her father. But, perhaps, the most striking feature of the progressive spirit which characterises the decisions of our courts is contained in two of the decisions of Mr. Justice West, who has done more than any other judge or lawyer to throw light on the law of the Hindoos. In a suit which a Hindoo *nautch* woman belonging to the class known as *Naiikins*, brought to enforce a partition of her property in the hands of her adoptive mother, that learned judge held that such a suit could not be maintained, because it was opposed to public policy and morality. Admitting that usages proved to exist among a particular class must be held binding by the courts, he went on to qualify that admission in these terms:—"It would not do to say that the courts—that is the judges—may in every case determine whether an institution is pernicious or not, and on that opinion extinguish or discountenance, or, on the other hand, uphold and aid it. The Mahomedan judge could not, consistently with such a principle, adjudicate to the advantage of a Hindoo idol temple, or the Christian judge strive to free polygamy from its embarrassments. The decision must, in truth, be founded on an appreciation of the legal consciousness of the community; but when that consciousness is unsettled and fluctuating, its nobler may properly be chosen in preference to its baser elements as those which are to predominate." The second decision which I refer to, and which the same learned judge passed shortly before leaving the Bench for the Council, is even more significant. A Hindoo girl was left an orphan, both her parents having died when she was but a few years old. Her father's brother left her to be taken care of by her maternal uncles, who fed and clothed her, and who, when she grew to about twelve years of age, arranged to give her in marriage to some man of their choice. At this point the father's brothers, who had till then cared not a straw

for the girl, interfered and insisted that she should be married to a man whom they should select. The parties went to court, and the District Judge, finding that the law was on the side of her father's relations, but equity on the side of the maternal uncles of the girl, found out a *via media* and decided that the candidate or candidates for the hand of the girl should be selected by the former, subject, to the final approval of the court. The merits of several candidates, however, selected by the father's relations, were placed before the court, and out of these men, one, who resided in a Native State, was chosen by the judge. The maternal uncles of the girl appealed to the High Court. The matter came up before Mr. Justice West and Mr. Justice Birdwood, who rejected the candidate chosen by the judge, because, as he resided in a Native State, the British courts would, if the girl were married to him, be unable to exercise jurisdiction over him and watch the interests of the minor girl in case of necessity. They ruled that the father's relations should be asked to select a candidate from within British territories, that he should be approved by the judge, *but under no circumstances should the judge force him or any other man on the girl, whose views were to be consulted before the final selection was made.* It is rarely that such cases arise; and it may be occasionally that a British ^{Court} is called upon to decide in a striking manner a point of Hindoo Law or custom on the civilised principles of modern times. But that law is in itself somewhat elastic, and under British courts it has received, and is receiving, liberal interpretations, showing on the whole, a tendency towards gradually raising the *status* occupied by women in India.

IV.

THE FORCES AT WORK.

(*Times of India, 22nd Dec. 1886.*)

I have said enough, I think, to make clear that the British Courts in India are lending slowly a helping hand to the cause of social reform among the Hindoos. Their influence is no doubt remotely felt, and it is well that it is so; but, on that account, it cannot be said that their action is spasmodic. It is very gradually evolving out of the Hindoo law itself a condition of things, which,

in my opinion, is destined to exercise a beneficial influence on woman's future in India. I once heard an eminent Hindoo lawyer repeat to me a conversation which he had with a *Kunbi* client of his. The lawyer asked the latter what he thought of British rule. "Sir", replied the *Kunbi*, "it is a very good Government indeed—we live so much in peace and security. But there is one evil to it has led. Under former rulers, one could govern one's wife, but now the moment you beat your wife, she runs up to a magistrate." The *Kunbi* was right. British rule teaches people that they have rights and that those rights will be respected; and one effect of that teaching is that even the woman in India is beginning to be gradually enlightened and emancipated by it.

But my reader will perhaps ask—All this may be true, but how about female education, infant marriage, and enforced widowhood? What are the forces at work as regards them? Now as to female education, I do not know whether those educated Hindoos, who are ridiculing it, mean all that they say and are really serious in their contention that an ignorant wife is a greater blessing than a well-educated one. It was only the other day that a Hindoo gentleman told me that he had questioned one of the reactionary writers as to what he had been writing against the reform movements of the present day. The writer's reply was that he was not really opposed to them, but that he had taken a particular side and wished to support it. It was a lame excuse, but even a straw best shows how the wind blows. But leaving that alone, let me ask the reader to consider one circumstance. Thirty or forty years ago it was difficult to get half a dozen girls to attend a school—so great was the prejudice against female education. But now in every town or village there is a school, nearly every girl, the moment she is, say, six years old, is enabled by her parents to buy a slate and a book, and she will every morning be found wending her way to the school. True, her parents do not care whether and what she learns; they do not send her because they feel that education will enlighten her. Rather, she is sent because if she be allowed to remain at home, she will pester her mother and prevent the latter from minding her domestic duties. But whatever the feeling of the parents may be, it is a patent fact that many girls are sent to school, and that we have been able to get over the strong prejudice and jealousy with which female education, even of an elementary character, was viewed by the orthodox Hindoos. And thus it is

that we have now 52,941 girls at school in this Presidency, including the Native States. The education that is imparted to them is mostly elementary and generally unsatisfactory ; but still the fact stands that the orthodox Hindoo does not deem it dangerous to send his daughter to school, and will, in many cases, even be found pleased and proud when he learns that she has carried off a prize or received the encomiums of the *sahab* for her learning. Then as to the higher education of women, against which so much is being said just now, it is, to my mind, passing through the stage of hostile criticism through which the elementary education of women and all other movements of reform have passed. I for one feel sure that what Sir Erskine Perry called "the self-interest of the acute Brahmins" will not fail to assert itself in this matter before long and "settle the question" as it has settled several others. The educated Hindoo, however reactionary he may be, is feeling, at present feebly, the value of educated wives and mothers, and he has enough of shrewdness to enable him sooner or later to realise that a well-educated woman is an angel of light and a blessing. To cite a case in point, two girls of the Shudra caste, brought up in the Pandharpur Orphanage, had some years ago been sent to school, and there they had received a fair education for some years. A few months ago two Brahmin gentlemen, without any University education, came forward and sought their hands and married them ; and the reason why they preferred these girls to girls of their own caste was that the former were well educated. This feeling in favour of educated women works perhaps slowly in society, but, nevertheless, it is working and in the admission of the reactionary party that it is not opposed to female education you have an indication of the direction in which the feeling is moving. As to infant marriage, the same party has been saying in one and the same breath that infant marriages are rare, and infant marriages are good. But it has also admitted that a girl should not be married before she is at least 12 years of age. More than all, the great difficulty of these times, which is becoming keener day by day, and which is pressing itself on the attention both of parents and of young men as a hard matter of fact, is that of earning a decent and comfortable livelihood. In view of this circumstance, parents are already beginning to let their sons grow up to 18 and 20 years of age before thinking of marrying them. This is a change which must, *ex necessitate*, effect a change in the

age at which girls are married. What law and logic is supposed to have failed to accomplish, the spirit of the age is slowly bringing about, and even the educated reactionaries, with all their pleas in favour of early marriage, cannot fail to observe this and be affected by the change. As to widow marriage, that is a question on which reformers need not try much of their strength. The law has rendered such marriages legal, and they are slowly taking place. It is enough if the Hindoo widow is now saved from the prejudices and pains to which she is subjected. In many castes the tendency is to defer as long as possible the shaving of her head; and with a better feeling about woman's *status*, which the forces I have indicated are bringing about, the widow's lot would be rendered more bearable than it now is. One more question remains. The reactionary writers of the present day will be found ridiculing the reformers for advocating the cause of women's liberty—for, in other words, taking their ladies to public parties and going out for a drive with them. It is said that the reformers are in this respect aping European fashions. I can well understand a Bengali writer saying all this, for in Bengal woman is pent up in her *Zenana* and hardly knows what it is to move in public. But it is "an irony of fate" that Mahratta writers, forgetful of the finer and more chivalrous instincts of their race, should make remarks, which if sound, do not cast discredit so much on the European society and its manners as on some of the best and most enlightened customs of their own (Maratha) community. If taking a Hindoo lady to a party is objectionable, equally objectionable is it to allow men and women to move about freely in Hindoo temples; to allow a Hindoo lady to leave her house and walk through the streets openly, unattended sometimes even by a servant, while on a visit to her lady friends. At the Tulsi Bag in Poona you see every evening men and women moving about and no one ever raised his voice against the custom. The Maratha lady has, it is true, yet to learn and unlearn a great deal, but she is not altogether devoid of the spirit of the Maratha race, and she has been brought up in a sort of independence which those who rail at women's liberty seem so apt to forget. Every student knows the story of the celebrated Meena Bae, widow of Anandrao Powar, Raja of Dhar. When her husband died, she was *encicante*. She feared that Muraree Rao, the illegitimate son of Jus-

vuntrao Powar, meditated usurping her husband's throne. She fled to Mandoo, where she gave birth to a male child. Muraree Rao persuaded her to return to Dhar. On her return she and her little son were confined in a house, which was besieged, and Muraree Rao attempted to burn it. Meena Bae, however, proved equal to the emergency. Her only care was to save the child and secure to him the throne to which by right of heirship he would be entitled. Accordingly she exchanged her child with that of a peasant's wife. Muraree Rao, when he heard this, threatened, vengeance. Meena Bae, so we are told by Sir John Malcolm in his interesting history, exultingly said to her persecutor that she cared not what he did, since the prince was beyond his power. Sir John tells us that the story was told to him by Meena Bae herself, who remarked to him—"Ask Bapoo Raghunath and others, who are near you, what advice they gave me when the house in which I lived was ready to be enveloped in flames. They entreated me to fly; but I told them I would remain where my honour required I should, and if the purpose of my enemy was accomplished, it would be a *suttee* worthy of my late husband." That is the type of independence which the Marathas admired. The spirit which fired another Maratha lady—the celebrated Ahalyabai—who, when her enemy Raghoba threatened war against her, boldly declared that she was prepared to meet him on the battle-field, and actually kept herself in readiness to lead her troops against the man who strove to usurp her power, equally tells the same tale. When these incidents are recalled to one's mind in these days, one cannot help feeling that the Maratha writers, who are ridiculing the Hindoo reformers because the latter wish to secure to their women their proper place in the sphere of civilized society, are lost to a sense of their best and most chivalrous traditions and are dictated by a sense of spurious patriotism and false superstition, equally unworthy of their race and of their education. The Maratha lady, at all events, need not despair. She has lost a great deal, but she has not altogether lost the traces of Aryan womanhood, and by the grace of God, the age is with her and on her side. She is living in the midst of British influences, and these are more congenial to her growth than the reactionary spirit induced by Mahomedan power. She will continue to rise, perhaps slowly but still surely, to be an intellectual, moral, and social force in the country so long as these influences last, whereas the

mushrooms of writers, who are now trying to impede her growth, will be swept off the face of this land by the increasing torrent of the forces at work—the forces which I have endeavoured to indicate in these columns, and which will act powerfully as long as Britain remains powerful and wields the destinies of this country in a truly enlightened and liberal spirit.

Hindu Reform.

I.

THE TELANG SCHOOL

AND

"THE LINE OF LEAST RESISTANCE."

Mr. Justice Ranade's lecture on "The Telang School," delivered at a recent meeting of the Hindoo Union Club, struck me at the time I heard it as one intended by the speaker, like most of his utterances, to set his countrymen thinking on some of the most vital questions of the day. He seems to have purposely avoided making it controversial, and he was able to carry his point so far that at the close of the lecture, delivered with all the warmth and emphasis of the speaker, even those among his audience, who have been by no means sympathetic to the cause of social and religious reform, went in raptures over it and applauded it as one of the best and most suggestive speeches they had heard. But the lecture has not escaped criticism, and here and there voices have been raised to protest against the name of Telang given by Mr. Justice Ranade to the particular school of thought described in his address. The criticism has, however, been of a more or less faint character, and one misses in it certain salient points, to which, in my humble opinion, attention deserves to be drawn, if, what Mr. Justice Ranade calls "The Telang School" is to count as a potent factor in the progress of the people. And the first question which suggests itself on a perusal of his address is—What has been, and

what ought to be, the tendency and influence of that "School" so far as our social and religious development is concerned?

There are those among us who hold that a great deal too much has been made of the late Mr. Justice Telang as a social reformer. They frequently put their finger on the lecture delivered by him in February, 1886, at the Framjee Cowasjee Hall, on the question—"Ought Social Reform to precede Political Reform?"—and they point to certain domestic events of his life as proofs that he was, like most of us, a mere lip-reformer. In that lecture he did certainly strive hard to prove that reform had a tendency "to run along the line of least resistance." But the connection in which he had used the expression and the meaning he meant to give and did give to it were lost on the public mind, and it came to be understood by many as an apology for inaction in matters of social reform. Since then that expression has impressed itself so strongly with the charm of Mr. Telang's name upon the minds of many well-educated and intelligent gentlemen, that I have known them grow earnest in talking on the subject of social reform, but as ready and earnest to put off the day of action on the ground that they have the authority of "the line of least resistance" theory propounded by so great and good a man as he. It has become a cant of the day—an article stolen from the market place—and I know of instances where it has even served to cover a multitude of sins. And in these days, when we have enough of "intellectual dyspepsia and spiritual liver complaint" to get rid of before healthy ideas on the subject of religious and social reform can take root and inspire our lives, it is no wonder that men are to be met who have grievously misunderstood Mr. Telang's expression about "reform running along the line of least resistance." Nay, some have gone even further and persuaded themselves that it is Mr. Justice Ranade's phrase, though he has never been known to use it, and I once heard him protest against it.

Some months after Mr. Telang's lecture, I happened to meet Mr. Ranade in Poona, and the latter remarked that the principle of reform having a tendency "to run along the line of least resistance" was apt to be misunderstood. Mr. Ranade said that there was any amount of apathy and intellectual sophistry among us, and an expression of that kind, coming from a man like Mr. Telang, was sure to be welcomed as salvation by many, who had not the courage to face social evils. On my return to Bombay I

communicated Mr. Ranade's view to Mr. Telang and the latter explained to me that he had meant to emphasise in his lecture nothing more than an ordinary tendency of individuals and societies to move forward, avoiding conflict and inconvenience as far as possible, and not to lay down "reform along the line of least resistance" as a principle of action. I asked him whether he meant to convey that reformers, who rose high above their fellows in spite of opposition and difficulties, and dared follow their convictions, regardless of resistance, were men who wasted their energies, and also whether he did not believe in the law of social progress—the law that "progress has been generally achieved through the insistence of the prophet of individualism." He said he fully believed in the individual force of great reformers and the force of individual example as a factor of social or any other reform. It was only on one question, he observed, he had the misfortune to differ from Mr. Ranade. He could not approve of the support the latter was giving to Mr. Malabari's agitation for legislative interference with "infant marriage and enforced widow-hood."

But it was not long before Mr. Telang not only came round to Mr. Ranade's view on the question of State action, but doubted if there was individual energy among us enough to bring about "reform from within." It was the month of May, 1887. Poona was then full of its "summer series of lectures," and they were all more or less attacks on Mr. Malabari and "the so-called social reformers." Professor Wordsworth, who had a year before that excited the hopes and brightened the prospects of the anti reform party by publishing a pamphlet, counselling Mr. Malabari to make no noise, was announced to have become the President of the Rakhmabai Committee, and Mr. Telang joined it. That two men who had somehow come to be regarded by the anti-reform party as their "idols," should desert it like that in the nick of time—this was more than some of the young lions of the party in Poona could bear. Lectures full of fury and fire were delivered, and a speaker—one of the Professors of a College—went the length of saying that he was so disgusted with the tactics of the reformers, who wanted to ape English manners and customs, that he felt strongly inclined to give up speaking English or teaching it, were it not that he had to earn his living by means of it. Professor Wordsworth was apparently not aware all this time of how the

feeling was running and how those in whom he trusted to do the work of reform were doing it. The late Mr. Sitaram Hari Chiplunkar who then edited the *Dnyan Prakash* and led the crusade against Mr. Malabari, sent him all those numbers of his journal in which he had mercilessly criticised "the reformers." Professor Wordsworth took in the situation at once, and Mr. Telang, too more than ever saw that the principle of "reform along the line of least resistance" had been grievously misunderstood, and that "reform without legislation" was not a sound principle to preach in the way that he had put it forward. Both stood aghast—and both changed. I remember well the day when Professor Wordsworth sent for me and regretted that he had ever published his pamphlet and given a handle to the anti-reformers. And Mr. Telang? The part he took in the Consent Bill agitation in 1891, and the masterly stroke of policy he adopted in the same year in embarrassing those of his castemen in Bombay, who held meetings for the purpose of excommunicating Dr. Bhandarkar, showed that he had never any faith in "the least resistance" theory. The lecture I delivered in the Deccan College on the "Moral Basis of Progress" in 1892 was at his suggestion and under his inspiration.

That Telang was not a practical reformer goes without saying, and it neither serves the cause of reform nor does justice to him to keep the real Telang in the background and set up a false one instead before the public. He knew his own weakness and candidly confessed that he had not courage enough to dare do what he ought. It is all the more necessary to emphasise this, because there is an impression abroad among men who have not the courage to face social evils, that in selling themselves to the popular currents of the day they are following a line of conduct of which he approved. But if Telang had not the courage to do what he thought he ought to do, he never put a gloss on his conduct—rather he was conscious and said so to those who knew him most intimately that "cold and calculating natures" such as his—I am quoting his own expression—could not be trusted to lead any great cause or a forlorn hope. He was one of the most intellectual of our men, and endeared himself to those who knew him, not merely because he was gentle, informing, and conscious of his weakness, but because he was candid enough to admit his failing when he failed. There was no pretence or false halo about him. His life was dominated by what is called "the element of personal conflict." There

was more meaning than most of us could grasp in what Mr. Justice Ranade said in his speech on Mr. Telang at the public meeting held to honour the latter's memory. The sum and substance of that speech was that "the moral interest of the chequered career" of Mr. Telang lay "in the divided and conflicting life that we have to live in the midst of two civilizations." What was this but "the element of personal conflict" which Shakespeare and Goethe, Wordsworth and Tennyson, or Isaiah and Tukaram teach us through their works as the ruling element of life? Lear fighting with the elements in sheer desperation for his own folly, Faust seeking light for the guidance of his soul, Tennyson reconciling himself to the loss of his friend, Wordsworth seeking strength from his sister when, in spite of all his love for Nature, "the bodily eye, in every stage of life the most despotic of our eyes, gained such strength in me as often held my mind in absolute dominion"—teach us that we are made for a struggle, and that then we reach our manhood when we have fought the battle—this conflict of the soul with the self—"with the head cool and the face forward and every footfall on firm ground." Many of us avoid the conflict by stifling the "still small voice within" that raises it; some few there are who lead the conflict and come out triumphant; but others there are who feel it, let it rage, but cannot summon courage to command it. Telang was of this last class—"the element of personal conflict" was strong in him; he saw and felt as strongly as any of the best and most practical of reformers, but he was too soft for the fight—and succumbed. His instincts were sound; his life was of the purest pure; there was a desire to support reform, and he was honest and frank. He never justified his weakness but plainly condemned it. When men put it to his account that he preached and practised "the principle of reform along the line of least resistance" and that, therefore, they must go and do likewise, let them bear in mind that they are misrepresenting him. He had not the courage, but he had the *insight* of a reformer. He was a *scholar*—one of those men of whom it is rightly said by Emerson that they take unto themselves "all the ability of the time, the contributions of the past, all the hopes of the future." Hence social reformers loved him and looked upon him as their leader, and he, weak as he felt he was, hoped to gather strength and courage from their inspiration and example. He knew as well as any of them that "the line of least resistance"

principle, once made the keynote of social reform, was bound to wreck the cause and prove a plea for indolence and inaction. It is all very well to say that reform ought to run along the line of least resistance, and there may be occasions when we have to yield and be satisfied with half a loaf when we cannot get the whole bread. But "all progress is through conflict," and once feed a people on the idea that they must avoid struggle and inconvenience, you rob them of the prospect and capacity of that which forms the best part of its *wealth*—the prospect and capacity of breeding great and true, high and heroic, suffering and struggling characters, who serve their people by being "the conscience of their country." Say to men that progress and reform *must* run along the line of least resistance, and your gospel will teach them to seek comfort, to care for the self, and give up all notion of reform the moment the slightest resistance is offered: and its leaders will be men pandering to their prejudices and follies and living on the breath of fleeting popularity—men who, when a great abuse has to be removed, will flinch and plead the plea of Erasmus and say:—"I am a poor actor; I prefer to be a spectator of the play." There are times when the people have to be told plainly that they are wrong, and a country is all the richer which contains characters that will stand out boldly and speak the truth. Great abuses and small men to remove them is a contradiction in terms. When Mr Bright died, what was the highest tribute of praise paid him in the House of Commons? Said Mr. Gladstone:—"For my own part I may, perhaps, make this acknowledgment—that I have not through my whole political life fully embraced what I take to be the character of Mr. Bright and the value of his character to the country. I mention this, because it was at a peculiar epoch—the epoch of the Crimean war—that I came more fully to understand than I had done before the position which was held by him and by his eminent, and I must go a step further and say, his illustrious friend, Mr. Cobden, in the country. These men had lived upon the confidence, the approval, and the applause of the people. The work of their lives had been to propel the tide of public sentiment. Suddenly there came a great occasion on their fellow-countrymen. I myself was one of those who did not agree with them in the particular view which they took of the Crimean conflict. but I felt profoundly what must have been the moral elevation of the men, who, having been nurtured through

which they differed from the vast majority of their lives in the atmosphere of popular approval and enthusiasm, could, at a moment's notice, consent to part with the whole of that favour which they had hitherto enjoyed and which their opponents thought to be the very breath of their nostrils . . . We had not known till then how high the moral tone of those popular leaders had been elevated, what splendid examples they set to the whole of their contemporaries and to coming generations, and with what readiness they could part with popular sympathy and support for the sake of the right and of their conscientious convictions." The old idea that each of us is to live for his own soul no longer animates modern times, and I take it that we have learnt the value of living for the good of all. At least that is the principle of modern civilization and present-day movements; but as the *Spectator* says, writing of Mr. Charles F. Dale's new book called "The Coming People," "until we have the capacity of self-sacrifice in ourselves, we have not the power to sternly demand it in others, which, slowly acting and reacting in the formation of a great body of public opinion, is the ultimate force behind . . . all the efficient social organization of the advanced peoples in the era in which we are living." Sentiments such as these were ever on Mr. Telang's lips. Let those who knew him intimately and had the privilege of his friendship and confidence attest. It is better to confess we are weak and cowardly rather than put forth the plea for our weakness that reform must go along the line of least resistance. We cannot reform ourselves or others by lying on a bed of roses, or laying the unction to our souls that we shall move when the people move on. "The Telang School" is a good enough name to conjure with; but let us disabuse ourselves of the idea that Mr. Telang ever had faith in "the least resistance" theory as a sound principle of action in social reform. He never set himself up for a model reformer so far as his *acts* went, and if the school to which Mr. Justice Ranade has given his name is to do good to the cause of reform, let us take him and his example not only as a light but also as a beacon. Or else we shall be adding a new idolatry to the many idolatries we already have—"a new idolatry of," what the late Mr. Froude called, "words and phrases."

II.

THE MANDLIK SCHOOL

AND

"REFORM FROM WITHIN."

It is now nine years and a few months since Rao Sahab Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik breathed his last, and even those who disagreed with him and his views on social reform must admit that the country lost in him not only a great man but a great character. I have often asked myself the question whether, were he alive now, he would have joined some of those "orthodox" movements, which those, professing to be of his school, have of late started for the purpose, as they call it, of promoting a *national* spirit; but I shall not venture to speculate on "what might have been," for I know "dead men tell no tales." I love and linger rather to look on some of the finest points of the Rao Sahab's career, both public and private, and exclaim :—"Mandlik ! thou shouldst be living at this hour !" As a journalist of his time, dealing with some very knotty questions of social reform, I had some hard things to say of him ; but those were days of heated controversy and impassioned writing and it is perhaps a penalty of human nature that we have sometimes to pay that we never know the true value of a great man until we have lost him. The present generation is accustomed to think of him as a man of the old and unbending school of orthodoxy, but there was a time in his career when he fought the good fight of reform, and tried in his own way to beard orthodoxy in its own den. In the sixties he championed the side of the great social reformer, Karsandas Mulji, when the latter was sued for defamation for boldly and fearlessly writing against the Vallabhacharya Maharajahs in the columns of the *Rast Goftar* and *Satya Prakash* ; and he was also one of the foremost Hindoos of his time, who sowed the seeds of female education in this part of the country. At heart, however, he was a man of the old school—he worshipped his idols, believed in caste, and hated change. But he was a man of convictions. There was no eye-wash in his idol-worship, and he did not try to make a trade of idolatry, as some do who praise it as the only true mode of worship, though they believe in neither God nor gods. He was true to his faith in

the caste system, for he did not know the art of dining in "hotels" and at the same time posing as a pure casteman. There was a true ring about Rao Saheb Mandlik's orthodoxy, however much one might feel inclined to reject it as a faith well nigh played out. And what added grace to the iron orthodox spirit of the man was his exemplary devotion to his invalid wife. In that respect he towered high above his countrymen, and if I were asked why he deserves to be remembered as one of our great and good men that have passed away, leaving fond memories behind, I should answer that his resolute and manly spirit, his genuineness of convictions, and his faithful devotion to his wife make of him a moral man, worthy of reverence in our eyes—in the eyes of even those who differed from him on the question of social and religious reform.

And I for one would go farther. I have said above that I wish we had the Rao Saheb living at this hour, and I know that were he amongst us now he would cross swords with social reformers as of old ; but there was something in his opposition which made it bracing. His stubbornness and his genuineness were of the catching kind, for those whom he opposed learnt to be as true to *their* as he was true to *his* principles. And he had none of the qualities that go to make a mere mob-leader or a demagogue. But have social reformers nothing else to be grateful for to Rao Saheb Mandlik ? It is within the memory of all who witnessed the events of 1886 that the opposition to Mr. Malabari's Notes on "Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood," in which he appealed to Government for legislative interference with some of our social customs, culminated in a monster meeting at Madhav Bag, consisting of thousands of Hindoos of all castes and classes, headed by Rao Saheb Mandlik, and entered a very emphatic protest against the proposed legislation. There was a good deal of discussion at the time, and I believe I am not exaggerating the state of things that then prevailed when I say that party feeling ran very high. The orthodox party thought "the so-called reformers" a very mischievous but a very imbecile set of men, who were playing into the hands of Mr. Malbari, because, instead of adopting the true method of social progress by effecting "reform from within," they were seeking to force "reform from without" on an unwilling community. The reform party retorted that all the talk of 'reform from within,' which came from the party headed by Rao Saheb Mandlik,

was mere moonshine, and that if that party was sincere, it ought not merely to oppose "the reform party" but ought to go a step further and show how "reform from within" could be effected. Rao Saheb's school charged the reformers with doing nothing but talking, and with making the cause of reform stink in the people's nostrils by irritating discussions, violent articles in newspapers, and high-flown lectures. The "reform party" in return demanded to know what their opponents were going to do to further the cause of reform; and it was told in answer that the proper procedure to follow was to approach the *Swamis* and *Gurus*, the spiritual heads and shastris of the castes, to win them over by gentle persuasion, not to irritate them or to set them at naught, but take them in confidence, and proceed with the work of reform with their sympathy, support, and co-operation. And all would go on then as merrily as a marriage bell. So said the Rao Saheb's school. Each party claimed it had the true key to reform, and each denounced the other as insincere, impractical, and bidding for cheap reputation. One of the best criticisms that appeared on the controversy at the time was from one of our local English journalists. He had to deal with a mass of acrimonious correspondence then appearing in his paper from both sides, and he wisely and wittily put a closure to it with the sensible observation that the question whether the ~~that~~ one party or the other deserved to be called friendly to reform had yet to be tried by the *action* and not by the talk of either, and the claim would be decided then when they both put their hands to the plough, instead of vainly disputing each other's claim to the title of reformer.

I cannot say whether it was owing to that or because of the pressure of some of those he led—and those some really good men and true—but the good old Rao Saheb did try to put his hand to the plough of reform. His school had gone too far in the controversy to recede. It had charged "the so called reformers" with beginning the work of reform at the wrong end; it had admitted that reform was necessary; and it had proclaimed that the only way of promoting the cause was to move on by winning the *Gurus* and *Shastris* over to its side. A young and well-educated Brahmin gentleman had just then returned from England, and the Rao Saheb set himself to the task of inducing those known to be learned in the *Shastras*, and acknowledged by the orthodox as authorities on the sacerdotal laws and customs of

the Hindoo community, to throw the weight of their influence on the side of reform by readmitting the England-returned gentleman into caste after the performance of some penance which they might prescribe. The experiment was of course watched with great interest by all. "The so-called reformers" welcomed the prospect of a staunch upholder of orthodoxy, who till then had been known to treat all notion of reform with contempt, taking the work of reform in his hands and showing them how to do it. He got several *Shastris* to meet him at a conference; and, then,—well they took fright and proved stubborn. There was one at least I knew of who thought Rao Sahab Mandlik's attitude was a bolt from the blue. Mahamahopadhyaya Bhimacharya Zalkikar, then a Sanskrit Shastri in ^{the} Elphinstone College, was among others approached by the Rao Sahab, but he suspected the whole movement and thought its promoter was going to sell them all and their religion. I had it from Shastri Bhimacharya himself that when he was consulted and entreated to prop up the reform, he refused because he could find nothing in the *Shastras* to justify the proposed change. Said the *Shastri* to me in giving an account of the experiment—"We *Shastris* know the tide is against us and it is no use opposing. You people should not consult us, but go your own way, and do the thing you think right; and we shall not come in your way. But if you ask us and want us to twist the *shastras* to your purpose and go with you, we must speak plainly and we will oppose." There was thus a division in the camp; preparations were made for giving the England-returned gentleman penance and a dinner. The *shastris* did not turn up. The Rao Sahab presented himself at the ceremony for *pan supari*, but did not dine and yet the dinner was the crucial part of the test. The experiment failed, and we never heard after that of "reform from within."

And yet there was a meaning in that phrase which I have learnt to link with Rao Sahab Mandlik's name. Apart from the question whether he was right in denouncing State legislation in matters of social reform, we owe it to him and his opposition that he drew attention to what he called a cheap class of reformers—"Luthers," he said, "of lavender and rose." He was perhaps too hard on those, who, in the midst of tremendous difficulties, were trying to expose our social evils; and it perhaps did not lie in the mouth of a man, who did nothing himself either to expose

or to remedy those evils, to point the finger of scorn at others who at least did this much—that they drew attention to the existing abuses instead of quietly letting those abuses do their evil work. But one good effect at least of the controversies of 1884-87 has been this—that both “reformers” and “reactionaries” have learnt something worth learning from each other. The Rao Sahib by his opposition enabled the reformers to search their own conduct and their conscience and to see more clearly than before that they must be prepared for solid work and self-sacrifice if they wanted to win. His opposition and his criticism meant primarily for one purpose have served to clear the atmosphere of all cant and clap-trap and to show that “reform from within” has a meaning, though not the meaning he seemed to attach to it. Rao Sahib Mandlik put too much faith in moving with the *Shastri* and the masses, but the experiment he made has proved that the *Shastri*s and the masses will not move unless responsible leaders, men of light and leading, who have seen the light of reform, grasp it, walk themselves by the light of it, and set an example for others to follow. The following may take time to come, but it must come if individuals are true to themselves and their cause. He believed in time and institutions, forgetting that the true reformation of societies as of individuals is, as Dr Martineau has pointed out, “from the centre to the circumference, from a solitary point deep buried and unnoticed, first to the circumjacent region, and then over the whole surface, from the native force and inspired insight of some individual mind, that kindles, first itself, and then by its irresistible intensity, a wider and wider phre of souls, spirit being born of spirit, life of life, thought of thought.”

“Private ‘repentance,’ individual moral energy, deep personal faith in some great conception of duty or religion are the pre-requisites and causes of all social amelioration.” Swami and *Shastri*s are wedded to old and worn-out ideals, and it is expecting too much of them to give up beliefs in which centuries of custom and tradition have nurtured them. They will follow the new reform, when they find that they must, or else there is no chance for them. They will, of course, try to throttle the cause and its upholders—begin to back and bite—but the cause gains all the more on that account. The reformer has to make his own head—and the majority are like him. They will neither hear nor see, but once the seeds are in the ground, all eyes and ears are turned to the re-

former—and he is able slowly but surely to let in light enter where before it had no chance. Am I wrong? Let certain movements of the day that I shall not name bear testimony. But “the greatest of social changes begin in the creation of individual faith.” Rao Sahab Mandlik was often accustomed to warn reformers against what he called “the rocks ahead”—and a warning of that kind even the best of reformers may at times need, for the reforming spirit, which is always allied to enthusiasm, is apt to so overwhelm the man animated by it as to make him rush at full speed. But in India, where the principle of conservatism is born with us and deep-rooted, the warning seems to me to be a little too superfluous, if it is not coupled at the same time with words of hope and encouragement. It was natural for Rao Sahab Mandlik to fear the disturbance of our “social equilibrium” by “new theories” and “novel principles. Even Plato and Aristotle, with all their wisdom and genius, busied themselves with such questions as “to how to avoid revolution,” and how to maintain a stable equilibrium, while proposing changes in the body, politic and social. They were timorous and nervous, where “the Galilean peasant,” whose education was nil and whose philosophy simple, coming ages after them, tackled the problem of social improvement more boldly—and succeeded. And to him we owe the humanising principles which dominate the civilization of the modern times. “Not to break off our moorings,” “not to break away from the past,” “to be cautious and slow,” are all fine phrases and good advice, so far as they go. But human nature is so full and fond of the past, at least in India, so inert and supine, that there is no danger of any reformer running headlong and revolutionising society. Rather, it may and must do good to have advice offered the other way—it is so much needed where a Himalaya of superstition has to be moved. And may not hear the voices of our prophets, not to speak of reformers in other ages and of other countries, be invoked in support of the plea that he alone promotes the cause of true reform who loves it *and lives for it*, and that faith in the motion of masses and *Shastri* is unaided by individual examples, is a broken reed—“prudent” it may be but perilous? Did they wait to preach their gospel till Gurus and *Shastri*s had made it all smooth for them, and did they busy themselves with thoughts such as make cowards of us when we talk of breaking away from the past? The past is too strong in the present, and it has tre-

monitors energy to take care of itself : what is wanted is force to mould it and that can come from "reform within." And 'reform from within' is impossible, so long as enlightened and educated individuals will sit still and in the hope that something may turn up—and that they will *then* help in the regeneration of their kind. Persecution there will be, and they must be prepared for it, for we have it from John Stuart Mill that times of weak conviction and decorous hypocrisy are less favourable to unpopular truth than times of persecution. To have an opponent, therefore, of Rao Sahob Mandlik's stamp must help and does help rather than retard the cause of social reform. I for one will not quarrel with his school if, it will have genuineness of convictions like his, and stumble on such phrases as "reform from within"—for verily they are instructing and inspiring.

III.

HINDOO PROTESTANTISM.

"REFORM, NOT REVIVAL."

It was the summer of 1891 I was on my way to Lonavla from Nasik, and had to halt at the Kalyan station for some hours. Having nothing to do but to while away my time, I walked to and fro on the station platform for some time and then stood near the shade of a tree to enjoy the cool breeze that was blowing. I found there two poorly clad and simple-looking men, one a Mahomedan and the other a Maratha, both sitting and talking of God and man. The Mahomedan was reciting the songs of Kabir, the Maratha was reciting the songs of Tukaram and Namdev, and each seemed to enter fully into the devotional spirit of those two saints. The recitations were intermixed with conversation between the two, and I could not help feeling edified but at the same time humbled when I heard these two illiterate men—for such they seemed—say to each other that true devotion was at a discount in these days, that religion had become a matter of formality, and, instead of making both the Hindoo and the Mahomedan feel that they were children of the same God, it had degenerated into schisms. On the lips of both was the word *bhakti* or devotion, and uneducated as they were—poor mean things, as we are apt to say—they struck me from their one hour's conver-

sation, which I quietly watched and heard, as the disciples of the *Bhakti* School—i. e., of a class of Indian saints whom Mr Justice Ranade described, in a lecture delivered at the Prarthana Samaj two years ago, as “the preachers and prophets of Hindoo Protestantism” I approached the two men, and discovered, if my recollection is right, that the Mahomedan was a sweeper and the Maratha a porter—both employed at the railway station at Kalyan. Such sights are by no means rare in India, and it is one of the most striking features of the country that caste-ridden as the people are, even amongst the most degraded of Shudras, who have been known as *Mahars*, you come across men who are remarkable for their spiritual insight, and elate you as you hear them by their simple and soul stirring way of reciting the songs and recounting the doings of some of the best and greatest of our saints. One such Mahar I remember to have met a few years ago at Khandalla, and in the course of the *Kirtan* he performed, appealing to the saints of the *Bhakti* School, he said:—“O ye saints,” i. e., saints, “when even the Vedas and the Brahmins deserted and discarded us, Mahars, as the most degraded of human beings, ye of the *Bhakti* School came to our rescue and have left us a ray of hope.”

I am led into recounting here these two reminiscences, trifling as they may seem, because they serve to remind one that the Hindoo, like the Jew of the Old Testament, has had a succession of prophets to awaken his conscience and denounce his decay when he fell into the ways of false worship and superstition, and that those prophets have left us a rich legacy, if we but have the sense to profit from it. They also bring to one's mind the thought that there is the seed of true religion and piety—material enough, ready to hand, for an honest worker to mould, but, as of old, though “the harvest is plenteous, the workers are few.” And is it too much to maintain that this question of religious reform is at the bottom of all questions, and that all our efforts in other directions for the improvement of the people must prove like trying “to draw nectar in a sieve” unless they are supplemented by an earnest and steady endeavour to reform the spiritual notions of the people? In his latest work on “Jewish Religious Life after the Exile,” the Rev. Dr. T. K. Cheyne makes the sensible observation that “religious reform is a necessary condition of social progress,” and points out that, as Christianity, the religion of the people of Europe and

America, is the offshoot of the religion of the Jews, it is necessary for them to acquaint themselves thoroughly with the thoughts, the aspirations, and the spiritual temper, which animated "essential Judaism in the old times. Equally is it true to say of our people that while their social progress can but come through their religious reform, their religious reform must come from their own "essential" past. Hence the necessity of teaching them what their own prophets and saints have said and preached and of trying to inspire them with the ideals of holiness, for the realisation of which those prophets and saints lived and laboured hard. "Nothing," said Goethe, "is good for a people unless it spring up from its own kernel."

It is this *national* mission which inspired the teachings and animated the actions of the two most prominent of our religious reformers of the present century—Raja Rammohan Roy and the late Pandit Dayanand Saraswati; and it is that ideal which two followers of the former—Maharshi Debendro Nath Tagore and Keshub Chunder Sen—earnestly strove to realize by putting the Brahmo Samaj on an organised basis. The Brahmo Samaj, with which Raja Rammohan Roy's name is identified, and the Arya Samaj which looks upon Pandit Dayanand Saraswati as its leader, have a few radical points of difference, but, after all, an impartial observer cannot but be struck by the fact that of late the tendency of each has been to work out its programme in its own way on *national* lines. The Arya Samaj discards idolatry and preaches monotheism, relying upon the *Vedas* as the revelation of God. It thinks that in the ancient times it was not the Jews alone, who were "the chosen" of God, but the Hindoos too had a special dispensation of the Deity. Raja Rammohan Roy, too, strove hard in his time to prove both in his "Appeal to the Christian public" and in his "Abridgement of the Vedant" that he had "forsaken idolatry for the worship of the true and eternal God," because the Upanishads affirmed that "One Unknown True Being is the Creator, Preserver, and Destroyer of the Universe, and with great consistency inculcate the unity of God, instructing men, at the same time, in the pure mode of adoring Him in spirit." He did not, indeed, believe in the *Vedas* as the revelation of God. But the aim of his life was to appeal to the good sense of his countrymen by asking them to look into their Scriptures, "to examine their purport, without neglecting the proper and moderate use of reason ;

^dan/ to attend strictly to their directions by the rational performance of their duty to their Creator and to their fellow creatures."

This spirit of "Hindoo Protestantism" is now slowly and silently working among us, and whether one attends the weekly services at the Prarthana Samaj or the Arya Samaj, one is struck by the endeavours of the leading preachers of each to emphasise the teachings of the Upanishads and of Hindoo saints, and to recall their countrymen to the ancient principles of their "ancient ways" Dr. Bhandarkar preaching in the Prarthana Samaj of Poona and Mr. Justice Ranade preaching in that of Bombay have steadily kept this national ideal of their religious mission in view and their weekly sermons turn upon texts chosen, either from the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavad Gita* or from the *abhangs* or songs of the great Maratha saint, Tukaram It was the same spirit which actuated him whom Mr Justice Ranade, speaking with all the reverence due to the memory of a most beloved friend, described as "our Political Rishi" in his lecture on "the Telang School." The late Mr. Narayan Mahadev Parmanand was more like a *Rishi* than any among us. He was one of the most charming of men and quietly, silently, with a heart entirely devoted to God, did the work for the good of his country—and to him our Bhandarkars, Ranades, Telangs, and Nulkars looked up for guidance, inspiration, and advice. He was a *model man*—so saintly that to know him was to love him and feel blessed. In one of his pamphlets he has said of the *national* character of the religious mission of Rammohan Roy's Church :—"Several sects founded long before his time were more or less on similar principles, such as the Sikhs in the Punjab, Vaishnavas the followers of Chaitanya) in Bengal, and their offshoot, the Bhaktas of Maharashtra and the Kabirpanthis of Central India and Guzerat." The late Dr. Atmaram, too, was inspired by that *national* ideal, as also the late Rao Bahadur Bholanath Sarabhai in Guzerat, and to the same we owe the saints of Sind—Hiranand and Navalari, two brothers, whose piety and pure ways of living, and whose self-sacrificing examples have made their names household words among the Sindhis, and earned for them deservedly the title of *sadhus*. But those "preachers of Hindoo Protestantism" are not so wedded to the Hindoo Scriptures and the prophets of the *Bhakti* School as to rest their faith on them exclusively, in a spirit of blind patriotism. The *Brahma Sabha*, established in 1830 by Rammohan Roy, had, indeed, made the

monotheistic doctrine of the *Upnishadas* the fountain head of Brahmoism. But in 1839 Maharshi Debendro Nath Tagore, who succeeded Rammohan Roy, sent four Pandits to Benares, and their researches and discussions with the Vidantists of the place, with fresh investigations made by the Maharshi himself, led him and his followers to renounce the Vedas "as an unerring guide in religious matters." As the great Keshub Chunder Sen has told us in one of his lectures:—"There was a terrible strife—the strife of conscience against association of mind and place; duty against prepossessions; truth against cherished convictions. But conscience triumphed over all; the Vedas were thrown overboard by Baboo Debendro Nath Tagore, and the Brahmo Samaj bade farewell to Vedantism." It is a sign of the times, however, that Maharshi Debendro Nath Tagore is now trying to amalgamate his *Adi Brahmo Samaj* with the Arya Samaj and that the great body of the Brahmos in Bengal are looking upon his negotiations as a retrograde step. Pandit Dayanand Saraswati had tried hard in his time to win the Brahmos and Prarthana Samajists over to his side, but failed. But "Hindoo Protestants" of the Brahmo and Prarthana Samaj School feel that, strive as one may, it is historically untrue to say that any reformer, or body of reformers in any sphere of life, religious, political, or social, can reproduce exactly the institutions of the past, and that all the talk about what goes by the name of "revival" is mere moonshine. "The old and hallowed constitution" of the Hindoo religion cannot, indeed, be set at naught, and no reformer can afford to neglect the profound wisdom of him, who said: "I am come not to destroy but to fulfil." But that constitution lies buried in a mass of superstition, and we live in times which demand, as Mr Justice Ranade pointed out in his address at the last Social Conference, "elastic expansiveness." The creed of old is good, because it contains the germs, out of which alone the reform of the future can come; but that creed has to adjust itself to the larger and ampler requirements of the modern times, and then alone can it expand. The prophets and preachers of the *Bhakti* School have inspiration of the right sort in their teachings to fill us with healthy ideas of holiness; but they have somehow been interpreted by the people to have taught that man's mission on this Earth is to neglect the world, believe in fate and lead a life of asceticism. What the reformer of the present or of the future has to do is "to rouse mankind to the

meaning of the world in which they live," and to teach them that here is their Heaven, if they will but make it by righteous living, and honest work. Hence was it that Mr. Justice Ranade took care to impress upon the Social Conference last year that the watchword of the school with which he and his friends are identified was . " Reform, not Revival."

But to whom or to what in particular does this school of "Hindoo Protestantism" owe its social and religious awakening? I notice that our friend of the *Dnyanodaya*, an organ of Indian Christians, has been of late rather hard on Mr. Justice Ranade, because he has been telling his people from the pulpit of the Prarthana Samaj that the Upanishads contain commandments enjoining the worship of One God, and pure ways of living, like the Ten Commandments of the Old Testament. Mr. Justice Ranade had said in his sermon that the Commandments in the Upanishads inculcated *positive*, where as the laws of Moses inculcated *negative* morality. The *Dnyanodaya* strives to show that the comparison is unjust and that the *Upanishads* have no notion of a *Personal God*, and teem with puerilities. It is an old controversy, as old as the times of Raja Rammohan Roy, who in his "Appeal to the Christian Public" answered those who maintained that the Upanishads were not safe guides. because they declared their ignorance of the real nature and attributes of God Rammohan Roy cited passages from the Bible, showing "such declarations are not peculiar to the Vedant doctrines." It is not, however, my intention to interfere in the controversy raised by the *Dnyanodaya*, especially after this that in his sermon delivered at the Prarthana Samaj on the 6th instant, Mr. Justice Ranade dealt with that paper's criticism, and explained that the people of this country had fallen into false ways of worship, not because they had had too much of the Upanishads, but rather because they had given up the God of their fathers, thinking that He was shrouded in mystery and had started instead gods of their own imaginations. But the school of which I am writing has never failed to acknowledge what it owes to the Bible and to the Christian missionaries. It is, I know the fashion in some quarters to cry down the Missionary, and to ignore the debt of gratitude we owe to him for what he has done and is doing. If to-day there is an awakening among us on the subject of religion and society, that is a great deal due to the light brought by him, and it is in more than one direction that

light has penetrated and proved serviceable. Christian Missionaries have, among other things, helped to educate us and to revive our vernacular literature, and the names of Dr. Wilson, Dr. Murry Mitchell, Dr. Pope, Dr. Kittael, Dr. Miller and Dr. Murdoch—to mention but a few from a list that is long—will ever remain identified with movements that have sought to raise the people. And who that is not deadened to the sense of truth will forget what we owe, to the Christian Missionary, especially after what Ahmednager witnessed but a few weeks ago? While we are prating about industrial reform, a Christian Missionary has put his hand to the plough and shown us the way to do it. The Rev. James Smith and the Sir Dinshaw Maneckjee Petit Industrial School have a moral to teach—the moral that it is pseudo-patriotism which leads some misguided men among us to point the finger of scorn at the Christian Missionary. Though we may not exactly accept all he says there are matters, religious and all, where he has led us, and we may all be the better and wiser to seek some inspiration from his example and light from his teachings. And would that we could learn that there was a depth of meaning after all in “the Cross of Christ,” especially when we find that a young Christian girl—daughter of a widow in Canada—earned Rs. 4 and sent that as her mite to the Industrial School at Ahmednager, on learning that that institution needed aid!

To the Christian Missionary, then, is due to a great extent the credit of the religious and social awakening of which the school of “Hindoo Protestantism” of the present day is the fruit. The *Dnyanodaya* takes Mr. Justice Ranade to task for belittling the Bible and for not expounding truths from it to his countrymen. On the other hand, some years ago the *Maratha* censured him, because he took texts for his sermons and lectures from the Bible, as if his Hindooism had nothing to teach him. But both the *Dnyanodaya* and the *Maratha* are wrong, for the school in question teaches, to put it in Mr. Justice Ranade’s own words, that “the new mould of thought must be cast on the lines of fraternity, a capacity to expand outwards and to make more cohesive inwards, the bonds of fellowship.” The lines will be *national* in the sense that the inspirers will be our own prophets of old, who denounced mechanical ways of living and worship, and making *Bhakti* a *sine qua non* of religion, preached the religion of humanity. But the development of those lines must receive, as it has received, its impetus from the spirit

of Christ too. It is now a little more than thirty years since the Prarthana Samaj was established in Bombay, and though several institutions established for purely secular purposes have come and gone, and one hears no more of them, yet this religious body has survived. It cannot boast that it has effected much, or that it has made converts of millions or thousands. But it has been doing one thing at least—week after week, taking some holy text from the Hindoo and other religious works, men like Dr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Justice Ranade have been showing how the holy truths of religion should be applied to the practical duties of life, and how religion was meant by our prophets as by the prophets of Israel to be “the practice of civic virtues—truth-telling, honesty between citizens, tenderness to the poor, inflexible justice in high places.” They have been making our saints *live* with us and *exalt* us, instead of serving merely as so many names for mechanical worship among the masses, and for fostering the pride of patriotism among certain persons who aim at using the people’s religion *as it is* as an instrument to lead them rather than to enlighten their minds and correct their ways. The school of “Hindoo Protestantism” of which I speak, on the other hand, seeks to build on the old foundations, and is glad to work with the fresh materials which Christianity has supplied to it because it finds that Christ, too, was a *Bhakta*, and the law of love which he preached has been the cardinal principle of the *Bhakti* School. But how many converts has it made to its faith? This question is often asked by those who look askance at the movement, and I concede that it is a very natural question to ask in these days when we measure every man by his millions. But, as Mr. Justice Ranade pointed out in one of his recent sermons, there are many whom he has met and spoken to about the principles of the Prarthana Samaj—they have nothing to say against them except this that God can be worshipped without a *Samaj*. That, said Mr. Ranade, is a mere excuse, the real fact of the matter is most of us are in the position in which the *Bhagavad Gita* represents Arjuna, when he asked God to reveal Himself as a sweet and smiling rather than a stern figure; when we become members of a body, wedded to certain principles we become “marked men”; every lapse is laid hold of and we are judged—and rightly—by the standard that we have accepted, therefore, most of us allow ourselves to drift rather than join a movement which is apt to become a burden. Join a body

which has made religious or social reform its creed and you have to answer for all you say and do. Remain what you are—a member of your caste and popular creed—and you can say what you like, do as you please, you are not only exempt from criticism but you have the privilege of criticising the so-called reformers and making merry at their expense. This is how Mr Justice Ranade accounted for the small number of those who have joined the Samaj—and in many, if not most, cases it is true. I know I shall be taunted by some for giving a great name to a small movement, and I am prepared to concede that its members are but a few in number and weak—woefully weak I confess, in action. But unworthy, as we feel, we are, of our ideals, we have a vision of the future, which to most seems a dream but to us is full of reality. I drew on myself the ire of some the other day, because I ventured to draw attention to what is called the finger of God working in history and one critic warned me against the danger of predicting India's "golden" future by the light of the events of the present century. I accept the warning in all humility. But my critic wants to take his stand on the history of the two or three hundred years that immediately preceded the present century whereas I would take *all* the periods with which history has made us familiar and say that like the Jews of old we have gone on erring, heedless of the voices and warnings of our own prophets, and, perhaps, God is preparing a *remnant* to come from these movements of "Hindoo Protestantism"—Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj and Prarthana Samaj. It may be a vision—but a vision that is living, because it is founded on the faith that righteousness and not superstition exalteth a people. At present the movement of "Hindoo Protestantism" is small. But great things have come from small and humble beginnings, and God works with patience. At least, the pioneers of the movement can claim this that though they have not done much and have not even yet begun the really solid part of their work, yet they have not tried to mislead the masses by playing on their prejudices and superstitions, but have been trying to make the meaning of the lives and teachings of our saints as of the saints of other countries clear to all, and to make their real *spirit* the inspiring soul of our lives and activities. Such a mission is truly *national* and *patriotic*—for it carries with it "a conscience for our country's sins" and at the same time emphasises "the divine possibilities within."

AN ADDRESS ON SOCIAL REFORM.

The following is the full ^text of the speech delivered by Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar B. A., L. L. B., of Bombay, at the Fourth Anniversary meeting of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association, at the Anderson Memorial Hall on Saturday, the 28th November, 1896.

INTRODUCTION.

I am giving but a very inadequate expression to my feelings at this moment when I say that it has given me unbounded pleasure to visit this capital of Southern India and to meet in this hall and on this occasion so many of the friends, sympathisers and active supporters of the cause of Hindu social reform. This is an occasion which I cannot very easily forget, and though I must acknowledge my inability to do full justice to the task which the members of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association have entrusted to me, yet I entertain the hope that the combined sympathies of so many ladies and gentlemen that I see before me for the cause which both you and myself have greatly at heart and the willing confidence with which I have been called to this chair, will have an inspiring effect upon me and enable me to justify, to some extent at least, that confidence. It looks rather odd that a stranger like me in Madras should be selected for the honor that you have done me by asking me to preside at this meeting. But, after all, I am willing to own that my situation cannot be very odd on account of my being a stranger to Madras, when I remember that this is not the first time when you have selected a gentleman from the sister Presidency to preside at an anniversary meeting of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association. One far more deserving of your confidence—one who has, by his pure and exemplary life, no less than by his scholarly attainments and moral courage, won universal respect and entitled himself to be regarded as a leading

social reformer—I, refer to Dr. Bhandarkar—honored this chair at your anniversary meeting held at the end of December 1894 and addressed you on the subject of Hindu social reform in words which, I dare say, have made indelible impression on the minds of all who heard him. But though I happen to be a stranger to this Presidency in the sense that I received my education in Bombay and have made that city my home, yet I may fairly claim not to be an entire stranger amongst you for the reason that I not only come from a district which at one time formed part of this Presidency but from a community which even now is linked with both Madras and Bombay, and derives its influences from, and owes its enlightened spirit to, the one Presidency as much as to the other. It is this feeling which partly encouraged me to accept, without any hesitation, your kind invitation to me to visit this city and to do myself the honor of presiding at your deliberations here. But that is not the only feeling which encouraged me to so readily accept the invitation. For some years now—they may be a very few years, not more than six or seven, but nevertheless they are years which, in my humble opinion, mark a very important epoch in the popular progress of the city, if not of the whole of the Presidency, of Madras—for some years now, I have watched with considerable interest and sympathy, the earnest efforts of some of my friends here to create public opinion in favor of social reform and to awaken the conscience of the country in general to the social wants and needs of that great and ancient community to which we belong—I mean, the Hindus. These friends of ours, who have identified themselves with the cause and have been striving for its progress—who by precept and example have shown and are showing that they are in earnest—have awakened an interest in the cause which is not confined either to this city or this Presidency alone. For one thing, the *Indian Social Reformer* has, during these seven years of its existence, won its way into the hearts of many a sympathiser of social reform, and no better acknowledgment of the service it has been rendering could be made than in the words of three such eminent Hindus as the late Mr Justice Telang, the late Honorable Rao Bahadur K. L. Nulkar, and the late Mr. N. M. Permanand, who were among its most careful readers and its most sincere admirers. They followed its criticisms with great interest and more than once remarked to me that the conductors of the *Indian Social Reformer* spotted out our social defects with a keen-

ness of insight and intelligence of criticism which was admirable, regretting at the same time that in no other part of the country was there a paper similarly devoted to the cause of social reform. For another thing, the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association, whose fourth anniversary meeting we have met to celebrate this evening, shows that there are, amongst you here, men who, convinced of the necessity of organising the forces of social reform, have banded themselves together for the purpose of trying, as far as they can, to realise in their own lives, individually and collectively, that higher and richer ideal which social reform, rightly, understood, holds out before us as the true embodiment of social as well as individual existence. It is to the call of such ardent and sincere champions of social progress that I have deemed it my humble duty to respond; not because I claim to have done anything worth the name of a social reformer to deserve the high honor you have done me by selecting me as your Chairman, but because I feel proud to stand by the side of those here, with whose thoughts and actions I am in hearty sympathy.

And I do not know, I cannot indeed conceive, of a duty higher, nobler and more imperative in these days than that of co-operating as far as one can co-operate, with an organization such as the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association. If the cry of the social reformer has been a cry in the wilderness—if the cause of social reform has not been able to make appreciable progress, the cause is to be sought mainly in the fact that its advocates have not shown sufficiently that spirit of organization and association without which no great reform can be effected and no change for the better brought about in either the ideas, or the ideals, or the conduct, of any class of people. We live in times when, more than in any other, the necessity is felt of men sharing common opinions on great questions affecting the public welfare combining together and working by means of such combinations for the fulfilment of their ideals and the realization of their objects. But the value of such combined activities has not yet been felt in all its force in regard to this great work of Hindu social reform in many places, and it is on that account more than any other that the cause suffers. Those of us who feel the need of reform in the social customs and institu-

social reform is good, it is our duty also not to shirk our responsibility but in proportion to our abilities make breach in the old fashioned ideas of all castes. When, again, we are told to take a warning and give up our cause, because our pessimists draw our pointed attention to what they call "the spirit of Hindu revivalism" which in spite of educational and other reforming agencies that have been in our midst working together, has come over the country and seems to be the animating force at the present day. The wave of Hindu orthodoxy is said to be passing over the whole face of Hindu society and throwing back the cause of social progress by years, if not centuries. These and such other signs of the time are held forth not infrequently as making the situation of social reform one of despair.

But, is there really any reason to be frightened away by these difficulties and to despair? Hindu society is, no doubt, a very unwieldy structure, and is divided into numerous castes. But is it on that account hopeless to expect it to assimilate gradually the ideas of social reform? Though it is divided into castes and sub-sections of caste innumerable, with peculiarities of custom and tradition distinguishing them from one another, yet it ought not to be forgotten that all these castes and sub-sections rest on a common foundation; they have a sort of inter-dependence and exert mutual influence on one another. The customs and institutions with which the social reformer proposes to deal are common to the higher classes of the Hindu society from whom the lower classes take their standard, and if Hindus of different castes band themselves together for the common object of social reform, it is because they have discerned the fact that one of the difficulties of that reform in any caste is the fear that, if it throws away an ancient custom or gives up an ancient institution, it may lose its prestige in the eyes of the other castes that, together with it, constitute Hindu society. The social reformer has to work, so to say, on the conscience of that society in general, he has to criticise the common foundations on which the social customs and institutions that he seeks to improve rest, and it is in that way that he can hope to awaken the spirit of reform and progress. The part in the shape of caste and its sub-sections, has grown out of the whole in the shape of Hindu society; and the part will not move out of its allotted sphere in that society unless the general is also moved and moved. Hence the necessity and value of social

reform organizations, composed of members drawn from different castes ; they engage the interest and serve to make a breach in the old-fa-hioned ideas of all castes. When, again, we are told to take a warning and give up our cause, because even the life-long and devoted efforts of men greater than those now working for social reform ended in failure, and that Hindu society, in spite of the more earnest prophets of social reform in the past continues what it was and has been, the warning means nothing less than a total denial to the Hindus of the power of assimilating new ideas. I am not prepared to admit either the truth or force of this total denial. It is usual to speak of "the hoary and venerable age of the Hindu society", and amidst all its vicissitudes, are we to suppose that it has been able to survive and stand the shock of ages without the power of assimilation, or rather, which is the same thing expressed in different language, without the power of adjusting itself to its environment? "The immobility of the East," "the stolid conservatism of the Hindu," are fine phrases that have passed into proverbs ; they have, like all phrases that have become proverbs, a grain of truth in them, but not the whole truth and let us not be enslaved by them. If we try to get inside the notions conveyed by these phrases, we shall find that Hindu society has not been so stolidly impervious to new ideas and new influences as we often suppose it to have been. To tell us that great saints and sages like Ramanuja, Chaitanya, Guru Nanak, Basawa, and Buddha, failed with all their mighty influences to rid that society of some of its evil customs, is to remind us that what has happened in the past in the case of a people, will also happen whether now or in future—that, in other words, history is apt to repeat itself. But, as pointed out by Mr. John Morley, historical analogies are more often imperfect and misleading than true. When we say that history repeats itself and predict that, because events took a certain course in the case of a certain people in some by-gone period, they are likely to take the same course now or hereafter, we forget that each period has its own distinctive features, is dominated by its own peculiar influences, which make the problem of that period its own. Historical generalisations are not without their value. They train the mind to read human nature, and teach us the stages through which human development has passed. But we must, at the same time, bear in mind the warning of a well known social philosopher that "historical generalisations are apt to hurt the

mind in somewhat the same way as glasses hurt the eye. They accustom us to look at things in a particular way, and make it difficult for us to see them in any other way." The social reformer of the present age has no reason to be disheartened by the failures of the past or deterred by the despondent tones in which the history of some ancient movements speak, because he has to deal with the problem of social reform amidst influences which, he may fairly and without any exaggeration say, are peculiarly his own.

It is worth while drawing pointed attention to one or two at least of these *influences*, for on them our hopes of the future as to the social salvation of the Hindus rests and by them the social reformer has every reason to feel inspired and encouraged. When I speak of these influences. I do not wish to confine your attention to such things as our schools, our Universities, and other educational institutions, of which it is usual to say that they are slowly emancipating the intellect of the country and preparing the way for reform and progress in all directions. They are undoubtedly among the great mental levers of the age. But there are other, though more silent yet none the less potent, influences which are working together for our good *in this age*. All of us here have not, I dare say, forgotten the old controversy as to the relative merits of social and political reform, which was raised some years ago, in the form of the much agitated question—*Should social reform precede political reform?*—and on which the late Mr. Justice Telang discoursed at the beginning of the year 1886 with much ability and eloquence. It is a controversy of which we do not hear much now-a-days, probably because we have come to perceive the sober truth, attested by the experience of every civilized nation, that *progress* has no arbitrary laws and that there can be no rank of precedence among the different lines or departments of reform. There are times when religion takes hold of the popular mind and concentrates its attention and energies upon questions affecting its spiritual well-being. There are periods when material progress becomes the rage of the day; and periods when political advancement becomes the ruling passion. It may not be easy to say how and when and why these will precede or succeed one another, but the truth is there that, as pithily put by Mr. John Mackenzie in his work on "Social Philosophy," 'there have been times at

which the most pressing problem has rather been an individual one, as, for instance, what must I do to be saved? There have also been times at which the most pressing problem has been political rather than social; and there have been times at which the most important problem has had regard to the discovery of abstract truths or to the advance of material prosperity." But it should not be supposed on that account that the spirit or rather the elements of any one kind of reform are totally wanting or absent in any given period, because the predominating spirit then is the spirit of some one of the other kinds of reform. That, however, is not the point I wish to emphasise in asking you to note the favourable influences of the present age amidst which the social reformer is called to do his work. My point rather is that all activities, be they political, material, religious, or social, have mutually interacting influence. The desire for progress in one direction does tell and must tell, though slowly and imperceptibly, by creating a desire for progress in the other directions as well. To put it in the language used by Mr. Montague in his book called "the Limits of Individual Liberty," "serious opinion on any subject modifies opinion on all great subjects." The system of Copernicus affected religious thought in Europe; and in our own days we see that Darwin's theory of evolution is affecting both religious and political thought there. We no doubt lament at times that the majority of our educated countrymen are for political advancement and indifferent to social reform; that while the number of those who attend the National Congress is very large and the number of those who do not attend it but sympathise with it even larger, the number of those who attend the Social Conference is very much smaller. We sometimes in a spirit of impatience complain that our political activities rather mar than favor the cause of social progress. And in proof of it we ask ourselves to note the attempt to exclude the meetings of the Social Conference from the camp of the National Congress. But let us not be mis-led by such a superficial aspect of things. It is said that the growth of the political sentiment—the desire for political advancement—by bringing together men from all parts of the country, giving them a common ground of hopes and aspirations, enabling them to speak from a common platform, is indirectly infusing into them a common spirit of nationality, drawing them, indirectly and slowly no doubt but for all that steadily, out of the narrower sphere of caste and opening before

them a wider and higher view of humanity. There is some force and truth in that observation ; but even without going so far as that, I think, we may safely say this, that it is not merely the blessings of peace and order which the British administration under which we live, has brought in its train, that we have to be thankful for ; but, what we have to value even more than those blessings which we highly prize, is the spirit of enquiry and of individuality which the genius of that administration has a tendency to foster in those brought within its dominion. It is said by some writers on socialism in Europe, that the predominance of the social problem in that continent at the present moment is due to the increasing preponderance of democratic influences in the modern state. Whether that is a correct representation or not, it is not wide of the mark to say that the Anglo-Saxon character favours individual independence and teaches men to think and feel seriously that they are citizens of a state. When men learn that, a feeling of individual responsibility and dignity is created, and once that feeling is created, it cannot stop there and crop itself up in the sphere of politics alone. It must gradually lead them to perceive that they are not merely citizens of a state, but also members of a society, and just as they ought to aspire for advancement in the one they must also aspire for advancement in the other. Thus it is that the ground is prepared for the social reformer in our times in a way of which I am not aware any preceding age in the history of the Hindus prepared it. The political spirit of the West which we are slowly imbibing and which is manifesting itself in a variety of ways, must act on the social spirit also. Though the rank of the social reformers is thinner than the rank of the politicians, who can gainsay this, that since the time the National Congress is said to have awakened our political conscience, the social problem has been thrusting itself forward, disturbing many a caste, and awakening our social conscience also? The fact is that when the politician talks of our rights, our nationality and our claim to be ruled justly and equitably—when he says that the times have changed and with them political institutions and laws must change, the social reformer is able to put his own claim forward and bring to his aid the *progressive* spirit generated by a desire for political advancement. Conscience awakened in one direction rarely fails to be awakened in other directions also. I remember when some years ago some one remarked in a news-

paper that the educated native of India was more ready to trouble the Secretary of State than to trouble his mother-in-law, Sir William Wedderburn replied that that was so because it was much easier to beard the high official who presides over the India Office than the mother-in-law who presides over the Hindu home. But the Hindu mother-in-law has since begun to feel that she is not without her share of the bearding too. By the majority of almost every caste in which there is intelligence, it is now conceded that times are changing and must change socially; we may differ as to ways and means, but the number of those who say that there should be no social progress and that we must rest where we are and have been, is getting smaller than it was even ten years ago. In the formation of this opinion, I humbly think that what I have called the genius of the British administration and the political activities which are the outcome of it, must, as they do, imperceptibly bear their share; and that is a force, the influence of which, I say, is peculiar to the present times. Nor should we lose sight of another peculiar influence of the present age, which is spoken of as "facility of movement," of which it has been well said by a writer, that it is "a great means of forming new connections" and of integrating society on an improved basis after first disintegrating it. It is not merely the railways and steamers that have helped us to move away from one place to another and exchange ideas and draw new light, but the whole world has, so to say, opened to us to an unprecedented extent. We have been caste-ridden; but a wider world unknown to caste is trying to ride us now. We are sought to be influenced, not merely by the particular society in which we are born or the particular religion in which we have been bred up, but also by the West and the East. We leave our homes either in search of employment or for trade, and imbibe new ideas, contract new sympathies, and learn to form new connections. A newer and wider kind of sympathy is being generated than that to which the confined atmosphere of caste in the old days accustomed our ancestors.

I have mentioned but two of the peculiar influences of the present age as calculated to favour the cause of social progress and there are others which will perhaps easily suggest themselves to you. I shall not attempt to dogmatise on the subject by predicting that these peculiar influences are sure to lead to the social reforms we advocate; no one can safely prophesy the future.

But all I wish to maintain is that we have no reason to be led away by the historical analogies of those, who say that because the social problem did not succeed in the hands of men more gifted than those now working for it, in bygone periods, it is bound to fail now and hereafter also. The social reformer of the present day has no doubt the old difficulties still existing, to contend against; and those difficulties seem insurmountable; but the old problem is presented to him now in a new garb; while old difficulties exist, new instruments are at his disposal; and if he works with patience and courage, there is no reason why he should despair.

A certain amount of pessimism does no doubt at times come over us in sight of the so-called and sudden revival of Hindu orthodoxy throughout the country. In almost every newspaper we read, in almost every meeting we attend, in almost every lecture we hear and in a variety of ways which it is unnecessary to particularise, we note this sign of the time, as some people term it, and conclude that the cause of social reform has but a poor outlook when it finds itself confronted by the wave of Hindu revivalism which is passing over the face of the whole country. But I do not know if my friends here will take me to be a man of an unduly and excessively sanguine temperament, if I express my sincere view that this sudden revival of orthodox Hinduism has really no abiding element of danger to the cause of reform and is just one of those things we should expect in the case of people situated as we Hindus just now are. "Progress" it has been well said, "has many receding waves," and whether in the case of political or social reform, we shall, like every other people, be found sometimes moving onwards and at other times seen to be going backwards, but on the whole advancing. That is the law of all progress. In his Essay on Sir James Mackintosh's "History of the French Revolution," Macaulay speaks of the history of progress in England as "a history of actions and reactions" and compares "the motion of the public mind" in England what "that of the sea when the tide is rising." "Each successive wave rushes forward, breaks, and rolls back; but the great flood is steadily coming in. A person who looked on the waters only for a moment might fancy that they were retiring. A person who looked on them only for five minutes might fancy that they were rushing capriciously to and fro. But when he keeps his eye on them for a quarter of an hour, and sees one sea-mark dis-

appear after another, it is impossible for him to doubt of the general direction in which the ocean is moved." The present is merely a reaction against the notion that the Hindu had nothing good or noble to show, that his religion and his society are a bundle of superstitions. We have now found that like other people we must be proud of ourselves, our country, our religion, our society, and our everything. We feel offended when we are told that we must go to other *revelations* than our own in search of religious truth; when we are reminded that we must adopt foreign customs if we are to become great like foreigners. This feeling of pride and patriotism is the outcome of many causes to but a few of which I have here referred. This feeling of pride and patriotism is perhaps natural under the circumstances, but whether natural or not, and though the present manifestations of it are of the reactionary spirit, yet they have no element of permanence or vitality in them. The complaint is that it is the educated classes who are showing and fostering that spirit by taking a leading and active part in movements professing to plead and encourage the cause of Hindu orthodoxy; but the spirit which is at the bottom of these movements is more *mechanical* than *spiritual*, because it is born of the feeling of pride and patriotism and the feeling of self assertion to which I have just alluded and not of any real belief in either the dogmas or the institutions of Hinduism on the part of those who are its leaders and promoters. I am doing no injustice to such of my educated countrymen as are now leading and promoting these movements. I have no doubt that they sincerely believe that we Hindus ought not to allow our religion and society to be disparaged and that the only way to unite the discordant elements of Hindu society is to work upon those elements by means of the dogmas it believes and the institutions it worships; and there is this apology for them that they are passing through a stage of development through which all progressive countries have had to pass before attaining higher and richer forms of life. In his Essay on "The Signs of the Times" published in the year 1829, Carlyle dealt with a somewhat similar phase of social life through which English society was then passing and denounced in no unmeasured terms what he called the entirely mechanical spirit of the age, with belief in outward institutions corresponding to no inward impetus or conviction represented by "spiritual dynamics" in man. Such mechanical conformity to external forms without any vital

belief in the principles embodied in those forms is only a mark of the present transition state of Hindu society. We are now passing through a period which is certainly not one of *dogmatism*; but one of scepticism and criticism. The great French writer, De Tocqueville, has pointed out the peculiarities of such a period in his observation that "in times of general scepticism every one clings to his own persuasion...not so much because he is assured of its excellence, as because he is not convinced of the superiority of any other. In the present age, men are not very ready to die in defence of their opinions, but they are rarely inclined to change them; and there are fewer martyrs as well as fewer apostates." Our customs and our institutions are now brought into contact with new customs and new institutions; we have opened to us not only the lore of the East but also of the West, the spirit of the age is to ask the why and the wherefore in the case of everything we are asked to accept or reject; and in this chaotic condition when nothing is settled and everything is undergoing a process of disturbance, it is only to be expected that before the old light fades away and the new light begins to shine, the old light will show a sudden blaze before it dies. Our society is now like the man, who fears when he is disturbed in the position to which he has fondly clung for better or for worse for years and asked to move into another position. In the face of the new forces which it has to meet, it feels that the process of its disintegration has commenced and is afraid lest the disintegration completed should totally ruin it. It feels that the powers above it—the powers of authority, tradition, and custom—which have hitherto held it together are growing weaker day by day, and that the powers within us—the powers of "self-reverence, self-knowledge, and self-control" are not yet grown strong enough to protect us from social wreckage—and, therefore, it tries in the midst of this sharp conflict between the old and the new to hold as fast as it can to the old. Through this state of transition every society has passed; and we cannot be exceptions to the general law. There ought to be nothing, therefore, in the sudden revival of Hinduism to discourage the social reformer, provided he is neither idle nor impatient, but works in a spirit neither of pessimism nor optimism but "in a spirit of cautious meliorism," strong and unshaken in his faith in the results of patient labour, "unhasting and unresting."

Though a state of transition such as that through which our

Hindu Society is passing is inevitable under the present conditions and though, like all states of transition, it cannot last long, we should not delude ourselves with the belief that a period of mere scepticism and criticism with mechanical conformity to outward institutions without any inward impetus or conviction must necessarily and unconditionally give way to a better period in the long run. When society is being disintegrated and showing all the signs of disintegration, no hope of a fresher and better integration of it can be held unless there are found even in the midst of the forces that disturb and disintegrate it, what Carlyle calls "organic filaments"—i. e. forces which promise to bring the disturbed elements together and reunite the different and dispersing elements of society on a better and higher principle of life. It is in the formation, and rather to speak more appropriately, in the development of these "organic filaments" that the work and value of the social reformer lies ; while the forces around us are slowly loosening our faith in the old, snapping the bonds of custom, tradition, and superstition and threatening to lead society into chaos, the social reformer has to bring those very forces to his aid and show the way to the formation of a new faith, a new ideal, and a new bond, which shall enable society to enter into a higher and richer form of life, instead of being disorganized.

There are two and only two ways in which we can assist in the formation and development of those "organic filaments" It is usual to speak of the age in which we live as 'an age of light and literature,' an age of books, pamphlets, lectures, and above all newspapers. Now, there is no doubt that sometimes our very light becomes our very darkness. As some one has said, "literature may prove a Babel instead of a diapason" and "even light from heaven may be used to lead astray." For one newspaper or book or pamphlet or lecture pleading before the people the cause of social reform and trying to enlist popular sympathy on its side there may be hundreds, as there are hundreds opposing the cause and pandering to the grosser instincts of the people, and striving to catch popular applause and sympathy by championing the cause of custom and superstition. But those who take so gloomy a view of the help that may be given to the cause of social reform by "the diffusion of literature and culture among the masses" ought to remember that it is not solely because there is such a Babel of tongues that social reform lags behind but rather because our efforts

to diffuse that literature and culture by means of books, pamphlets and lectures have not been sufficiently active, systematic, and sustained. I do not mean to suggest this as a special reflection on those who feel for social reform and desire to promote it. If any one feels disposed to take advantage of the remarks I have made and make it a point of attack on social reformers, I should remind him that not merely social, but all other kinds of reform and activity are sharing the same weakness. But it is only natural that the literature in favor of social reform is in the minority while the literature opposed to it is in the majority. That, again, has been the case in all ages and in all civilized countries in respect of all reforms during their initiatory stage. Even one newspaper well conducted, even a handful of reformers well balanced, can do a great deal and have been able to advance the cause. For instance, your *Indian Social Reformer* has, I know, many critics that are ready to rebuke it for some unpleasant things it says; but I know it also that the critics and many more are led by it to many a searching of the heart; while it is supposed now and then to sting, it also helps to arouse "the still, small voice" within many a mind that would strangle it for telling unpleasant truth and exposing its weakness. Has not the *Reformer* since it came into existence not only been able to formulate the obscured opinions of many on social reform, but also led to reformed marriages? But why dwell long on the necessity of diffusing the light of social reform by means of pamphlets and lectures and newspapers, when there is hardly any one disposed to dispute that necessity? The question however, deserves some special notice because of another question which is intimately connected with it and on which a good deal has been of late said in the discussions on social reform. There are those who maintain that the cause of that reform must be placed on what is called the *Shastric* basis and that we must appeal to the *religious* instincts of the masses. The view is that we must plead for those reforms not on the grounds of natural justice but on the grounds of *Shastric* injunctions. In his *Republic*, Plato has mentioned this as one of the means of human improvement and he speaks of the method as "noble falsehood." In his book called "The Promotion of General Happiness," Prof. Macmillan of Elphinstone College, Bombay, hints at it as a valuable method of reform when he says that "religion is much more teachable than morality to large masses of men." And dealing with this ques-

tion, Mr. Mackenzie in his work on "Social Philosophy" remarks that "at a certain stage, both religion and morality can hardly be taught except in the form of myth. The Begriff must appear in the form of the Vorstellung, reason in the form of emotion." Seeing that religion has so large a hold on the human mind, larger than anything else, and that Hindus have been essentially a religious people, there is some force in the view that we must approach their minds and their hearts by means of the *Shastras* by which they profess to be guided. But the *Shastras* themselves are not agreed upon many points. Those of us who are familiar with Canarese know the proverb which says: that the *Shastras make the din of the market place*, and another proverb which says: that the *Purans* are all chaos and confusion. This very circumstance, however, ought to be our help in the promotion of reform. If the Hindu *Shastras* are wide and comprehensive enough to include any measure of reform, the social reformer ought not to omit to derive support from them and base his cause on them so far as he can base it. But our very *Shastras* have given us a free hand in changing with the times, by agreeing upon one point more than upon anything else—that is, by pronouncing without any hesitation that *custom or usage can supersede the injunctions of the Shastras*. The whole history of the Hindu society has been a history of tumultuous departure, whenever the departure was rendered necessary or expedient, from the laws laid down in the *Shastras*. Every custom marks the beginning of such a departure; and if the *Shastras* themselves say that we can make new customs, I do not see why the social reformer should confine himself to the *Shastras* alone. By all means let us not make light of our sacred books; like the Christian nations of modern Europe, who owe much to the Bible and cannot, therefore, do away entirely with the influences they have derived from it, we Hindus cannot free ourselves from the influences we have derived from our *Shastras*. The *Shastras* have been more liberal than we care to be, by giving us a free hand to deviate from them when necessary. It is this fact which the social reformer must incessantly din into the ears of the masses; the *Shastras* are a valuable means of showing that our history has been a history of change. As Dr. Bhandarkar pointed out to you in his address from this place two years ago, there was a period when our women were not only educated but learned, when infant marriage did not prevail, widow marriages were not unusual, and caste distinctions did not exist in the ag-

gravated and absurd form in which they exist now. That period was followed by another and we have gone on changing. We made no doubt *bad customs* but we made customs nevertheless and got the *Shastras* to adapt themselves to those customs. Let us now reverse the process and try to make good customs, and call to our aid the *Shastras* when and where we can, and appeal to the liberty of making customs which they have given us where their injunctions are against us.

But mere lectures and newspapers and discussions can never be expected to advance the cause of social reform. The ideas and ideals of that reform will and must remain merely speculative truths and abstract propositions so long as they are confined to debates, writings, and speeches and as long as they are not put to the test of practice. To convert men to the mode of life you recommend them, you must not only give them the impetus of "light" but also the impetus of "warmth." In his highly thoughtful *Journal*, Amiel reminds us that "the *philosophist* party of the last century" was "able to dissolve anything by reason and reasoning but unable to construct anything," for, says he, "construction rests upon feeling, instinct, and will." And therefore he advises those who seek to reform their people to amend them not by reasoning but by example, to "be what you wish others to become. Let your self and not your words preach for you." The object of all reform is to enable its principles to become the practical maxims of life—to make them so many "habits," but as pointed out by Mr. Montague in his "Limits of Individual Liberty" to which I have once before referred, before the principles gain sufficient strength, they must be something more than an abstract purity, for when you merely canvass the principles too long, you make people doubt them and disregard them, you only breed moral scepticism, since to mere logical discussion people owe very little. "Men," says, Tennyson "since they are not gods, must rise on stepping stones of their dead selves." Hence it is that *example* and *action* more than mere *preaching* and *theory* are so essential to the success of any reform—particularly, social reform. It is the more potent of the two "organic filaments" which go to constitute society on a reformed basis.

But when we speak of the necessity and value of *example* and *action*, we are met with the objection that it is all very fine and very easy to talk in that way and to tell men that they should do

as they say and give practical effect to their convictions on social reform. But we are all not born to be heroes and martyrs. We have families to care for ; worldly interests to follow ; and a society in the shape of our caste to mix with, if we are to get on in the world. Of what use is it to hold before us an almost impossible ideal of conduct and effort, the realisation of which in practice only leads to our ex-communication and persecutions? This is the stock argument of the day and the line of thought manifested by it accounts for "the innate laziness" or "inborn apathy" which I said was one of the difficulties social reform in particular has to contend against. But who has ever been able to improve himself or to improve his fellows by lying on a bed of roses? There is no royal road to reform. A certain amount of risk must attend every great effort and enterprise, and the greater the effort and the enterprise, the greater the risk. Where because of the fear of persecution and ex-communication, men allow their higher self to sink into the lower, the cause of reform must suffer. But after all, we are living in times when persecution and excommunication are gradually losing some of their terrors. Society under the press of a variety of circumstances is becoming more tolerant; and excommunication is not, and can no longer be the dreadful thing it was in former times. But there is a notion widely prevalent that the best way of reforming your society lies in falling in with it and not trying to realise your ideal in your own life. It is supposed that an excommunicated man, by formally ceasing to be a member of his caste, ceases to exercise any influence over it, and thereby frustrates his own object. Now, we have heard this argument a number of times from a number of men, but we have not heard of a single reform of importance effected by those who affect to improve their caste by giving way to its prejudices instead of boldly and firmly standing up for their own views and convictions. Of reformers of this kind. Mr. John Morley has very appropriately spoken in his work on "Compromise" as men who are led away by a spirit of "illegitimate compromise," which in effect makes them say to their society—"I cannot persuade you to accept my truth ; therefore, I will pretend to accept your falsehood." And the notion that because a man who firmly stands up for his own convictions is excommunicated, he ceases to exercise any influence over his caste and retards the cause of reform, is amply borne out to be erroneous by all the movements of history. It is

said that when the Roman Senate ordained that "the History of Creomutius Cordo" should be burnt, a Roman stood forth, saying, *Cast me also into the flames for I know that history by heart.* Moralising on this, the great Italian patriot, Mazzini observes :—"You may kill men, you cannot kill a great idea." Adopting that line of thought, we may also well say :—"You may excommunicate a man for realising his own ideas of reform in his own life ; but you cannot kill either the ideas he represents or the moral influence of the life he leads " It is all very fine to talk of reforming your people by not separating yourself from them. No reformer wishes to be ~~separate~~ separate from his people, but because the people separate from him by proclaiming the ban of excommunication against him, it is not to be supposed that the separation causes a destruction of his personality and the influence of his example. It would be tiring your patience to illustrate what I say by referring to examples from history and proving that societies have made progress because men have appeared amongst them who realised the spirit of it in their own lives, withstood calumny and persecution and lived and died for it. It is enough to ask those who talk of reforming their society by moving *with* it, to explain how it was that "a few poor slaves and out-caste Hebrews" were able to hold their own and make conversions of people around them to their faith " while Rome displayed its greatness even in death " ; how Luther, far less intellectually gifted than his more learned contemporary Erasmus, was able to influence religious thought and conduct in Europe, though he was an excommunicated man. In fact, the whole history of reform has been the history of men who moved a head of their society, and is well summed up by Prof Muirhead, who says :—"The opponents of useful reforms are drawn from the same class as at the same time blindly resisted the establishment of the form or institution to which they themselves blindly cling. Those who build the sepulchres of the prophets and garnish the tombs of the righteous are the children of those who slew them."

Reform is effected then when those who feel its need and are convinced of its utility, preach it not merely by the force of precept but also by the force of example. We hear a good deal about the necessity of moving with the times ; and I noticed only in a recent number of the *Indian Social Reformer* a letter from a Saraswat gentleman—Mr. Bijur Shankar Narain Rao—giving expression to that view by saying that "no one will deny that while

we must advance with the times, we must also not go far ahead of the times." I am willing to concede that "we must not go far ahead of the times," for, as pointed out by one of the historians of the present age, the late Prof. Freeman, when you go too far ahead, there is the danger of those who you wish should follow, losing sight of you. Reform, like all growth intended to be life-giving and sustaining must be gradual. But, as the same historian points out, you must be ahead or else there can be no progress. The phrase "moving with the times" is meaningless. Time is no agent; it is *men* and not time that are the moving springs of society. Society has naturally a tendency to cast its members in the iron mould of custom and superstition; and it is only those who are educated who can give it the propelling force. To move with it is to move in the old ways; it is only by moving ahead of it and showing it the way onwards that you can get it to move on. If men who have been to England, had before going there taken the opinions of either the whole or the majority of their caste, would they have been able to make the venture and cross the *Kalapani*? The majority would have for a certainty declared themselves in that case against the step, denounced it as rash and irreligious, and threatened to excommunicate. But it is because the men that did go went without stopping to enquire what the caste would say or do—because one set the example, another followed, and a third did the same—that a change has come about in the sense of many castes, and even the feeling now growing that England-returned men should be readmitted after *Prayaschitta*, is due to the fact that these men went a little ahead of their fellows instead of what is vaguely talked of as "moving with the times." There are rarely in history instances of any society moving towards a reform, unless that reform was initiated by its more daring spirits who were spirited and courageous enough to go ahead of it and thus inspired into its more timid members some of their own impulse and courage. And the same view is expressed by Mr. John Frier Hibben in his article on "Automatism in Morality," published in the number of the *International Journal of Ethics* for the month of July 1895. He says:—"Progress has often been due to a thorough revolution of existing social conditions and customs, and thus in turn has been gradually achieved through the insistence of the prophet of individualism, whose voice has been raised against the trammels of public opinion and the chains of custom. It is

impossible to eliminate the individual factor. If it had been possible, we should see greater uniformity than we find."

When we say that, though we should not go too far ahead, yet we must go ahead, we are brought to the question, *what is going ahead?* Are any of the measures of social reform which we advocate so rash and hasty that they propose nothing but a leap in the dark or a sudden revolution in Hindu society? Our critics assume a number of things when they criticise us and base on those assumptions their conclusion that we wish to run headlong into reforms and move too fast. But a careful consideration of the measures of reform we propose ought to satisfy an unbiassed mind that our *programme* is moderation itself.

FEMALE EDUCATION

for instance, is the first item of reform on our list. We say that it is our first duty to educate our daughters or other female wards. I do not suppose that there is any one who will seriously maintain that there is anything *radical* or *revolutionary* in this idea about the necessity and importance of female education. But we are told that it is no use talking of that education without or before deciding the kind and character of education that our women must receive. Should they be educated in the Vernaculars or in English? Now, I do not care whether you educate your women in the Vernaculars or in English, though I consider it absolutely necessary that no one, whether man or woman, should be ignorant of his own Vernacular, provided the education they are given is one which fits them to be the guardian angels of their homes—provided, that is, we enable them to be not only good house-wives but also good companions of life. There are branches of knowledge which must improve the minds of women as much as they improve the minds of men; but the biographies of great women, whether of India or of foreign countries, the art of domestic economy and house-keeping, ought to form the special features of female education. Let us leave aside the pedantry that makes this question of female education a matter of academic discussion and busies itself, like the schoolmen of old, in idle speculations and subtle disputations. Let us be more practical by insisting upon this, above all, that whatever else may be necessary or not for women, this we deem absolutely necessary that they should know their own vernacular, that they should know all that can be learnt about housekeeping, and sewing

and the essential truths and the holier and higher and more ancient traditions of the Hindu religion and society and not merely the corruptions into which the vicissitudes of later ages have cast it. If we can teach them more, so much the better for us. But if we cannot soar higher than that, let us soar so high at least; and see that the work, thus fixed, is done thoroughly. I am entirely with those who hold that such education as we impart to women must not unfit them for the duties and obligations which they have to fulfil as the presiding deities of our homes. There is no fear that our women will neglect those duties because they are educated; they are already good housewives within the circumscribed sphere of knowledge in which society has kept them; but our object is to enlarge that sphere by enabling them to perform those duties more efficiently. Then, on the question of

MARRIAGE REFORM,

what do we propose and pledge ourselves to? It is undoubtedly our object to get rid of the baneful practice of infant marriages and see that the future progeny is not a progeny born of babies. But since the reform in this direction as in all directions must advance by stages, we propose to refrain from marrying our daughters or other female wards before they are eleven years of age in the case of those with whom marriage before puberty is obligatory and in the case of others before puberty. The eleventh year is fixed provisionally as the limit below which no one should celebrate his daughter's or other female ward's marriage. To some it may seem too low a limit; I myself think it might have safely been put at 12; but whether 11 or 12, it is well to begin at some limit and raise it gradually. Is there anything radical in this? Some perhaps may feel inclined to ask—what is the reform you effect by taking such a low limit? My answer is that by fixing upon a limit and determining not to go below it, you take a step forward at a time when the practice is to marry girls when they are 8 or 10. If our limit is 11 to-day, we shall be encouraged to raise it to 12 and onwards. What, again, do we urge in favour of

WIDOW REMARRIAGE,

which is also one of the reforms which we deem essential? We have no quarrel with the sentiment which leads either a woman who having lost her husband or a man who having lost his wife

determines to consecrate her or his life to a life of celibacy out of respect for the memory of the dear departed. Such a sentiment has everything in it to evoke our admiration; and among the many virtues which have raised our beloved Sovereign, Queen Empress Victoria, immensely in our estimation and taught us to regard her as a model Queen, is the life of noble widowhood which she has been leading since the death of the Prince Consort. But let us not corrupt such a sentiment by sacrificing at its altar, girls who lose their husbands at tender ages, while we allow even men near their graves to marry. I have heard many an orthodox man and many an orthodox woman deplore this accursed custom of enforced widowhood. The sentiment in favour of it has not indeed taken practical shape to a large extent; but it is steadily though very slowly growing. The object of the reform is only to remove the obstacle enforced by custom, not to compel every widow to marry, but to allow a feeling to grow in society that it is permissive to a widow to marry if she chooses. And what is our programme about

CASTE ?

In his address delivered at the anniversary meeting of this Association two years ago, Dr. Bhandarkar said :—"Caste has become so inveterate in Hindu society that the endeavour to do so will only result in the formation of new castes. But the end must steadily be kept in view. We must remember that caste is the greatest monster we have to kill." There, again, recognising the insuperable difficulty, and the necessity of moving gradually by stages, we propose, to begin with, the amalgamation of sub-castes so far as inter-dining is concerned.

One more question remains and that is about the re-admission into caste of what are called England-returned men. There is no special reference to it in the published programme of the objects and measures of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association and I should have if I consulted my own wishes and inclinations, let that question alone without saying a word about it here for the very good and obvious reason that that question more than any other question of social reform has been solving itself and proving too strong for even caste or other prejudices. Our interests, our aspirations, our hopes of the future are bound up with England and, whether you will or no, to England Hindus have gone and to England Hindus will go. The

tide is too strong for even the united forces of caste, superstition and priesthood and it is as idle to think or even dream of checking that tide as it was idle on the part of Mrs Partington to stop the waters of the Atlantic by means of her broom. In several higher castes that I know of in Western India, many have got quietly back into their caste without any fuss or hubbub. And even in those castes which are now losing their heads over the question and making a good deal of fuss over it I feel certain that the force of the times is such that a few years hence their future generations will laugh and wonder at the excitement which their ancestors of the present generation have managed to get up over this question. There are those who maintain that the England-returned men ought not to be taken back into caste without the performance of "*Prayaschit*," and there are others who hold that England-returned men ought not to be re-admitted into caste at all, because a trip to England necessarily involves a violation of the essential rules of caste on the part of those who undertake it by compelling them to eat forbidden food and get contaminated by contact with the Mlecchas. Now, my answer to those who take the *prayaschitta* view of this question is this. If *Prayaschitta* is penance for a sin committed, there can be on principle no moral objection to those England-returned men doing that penance, if they *sincerely* think that they committed a sin in going to England and pledge themselves not to do forbidden things here and act accordingly. But of what use is a *Prayaschitta* if instead of leading to sincere penitence and preventing the commission, it only becomes a promoter and abetter of sin. It has already led many a caste to commit sins, because people think that they can even in penance plan sins anew. I have heard many say :—"I shall violate a caste rule and then take *Prayaschitta*." I do not think that those of us who are sincerely anxious for the welfare and progress of Hindu society—who think that *morality* is a greater cementing bond of society than anything else—ought to be parties to a theory which teaches men that they have the license to sin freely, for every time they sin they can do penance and pass for sinless men. And a *prayaschitta* has already become a license, so to say, for many a sin and many a flagrant departure from the path of virtue. My second objection to *prayaschitta* in the case of England-returned men is, that I do not consider that a trip to England is sinful. This, indeed, is conceded by many who hold to the *prayaschitta* theory. They say that *prayas-*

chitta is only a formality, and there should be no scruple about it. But no reform ought to be promoted, unless we teach people, both by precept and example that it is a reform which is not only essential but also consistent with the principles of morality. The *shastras* are invoked in support of the theory that going to England is sinful, but the *shastras* knew nothing of England when they were written or "revealed" and all that the *shastras* say is that it is a sin to cross the sea. But what caste has escaped this sin of crossing the sea in these days without going to England? When our opponents, however, find themselves driven into a corner by this argument, they take shelter behind the plausible contention that a trip to England contaminates those who undertake it by bringing them in contact with *Mlecchas* and compelling them, through sheer necessity, to partake of forbidden food. But they forget that they play with edged tools when they use this sort of argument. The contamination of contact with *Mlecchas* and the partaking of forbidden food, commenced in the case of many a caste in this very country long before any one thought of going to England. If men that go to England partake of forbidden food through necessity, what are we to say of those in many castes that partake of it on the sly and for mere pleasure and to gratify their appetite and taste? One would not like to say much on this delicate subject, but the time is coming, and has come for honest men, to speak freely. If the truth were told, we should have to say, in the language used by Queen Sheba: "The half has not been told." But it is said that the sin of such men is not detected, whereas the "sin" of England-returned men is found out. Then are we to understand that while we talk of God and the holy bounds of society, society is to be guided by and its members held together on the degrading, vicious and ungodly principle, so eloquently denounced by the late Cardinal Newman as the worst of moral cankers that must ultimately lead to social decay and ruin, "that it is not the commission but the detection of sin" that is to be the social standard of sinfulness? Let men beware that they are playing fast and loose with their responsibilities as members of society and unconsciously bringing about its extinction by becoming parties to a doctrine that is so demoralising. Let them read, mark inwardly, and digest the thrilling words in which Dr Martineau has pointed out that even in so vast an empire as that of ancient Rome "the most compact and gigantic machinery of Society" fell to pieces

and "perished like a Mammoth," because the sanctities of life were disbelieved even in the nursery; no binding sentiment retained the greediness of appetite and the licentiousness of self-will; the very passions with whose submission alone society can begin, broke loose again—attended by a brood of artificial and parasitic vices that spread the dissolute confusion." It is not England—returned men that are breaking loose the moral bonds of our society; the plaguespot is elsewhere and because it requires a microscope to detect its bacilli, let it not be supposed that society is safe. It is the spirit of organised hypocrisy, which sanctions the commission of any sin, provided it is done on the sly, and which the members of every caste tacitly tolerate, that is laying the axe at the root, not only of virtue, but all social union of the true type. It is said that the real difficulty to social reform comes from the stated opposition of our gurus,—those who preside over castes as their spiritual and social heads and dictators. However much or little we may differ from the gurus, I do not think we are justified in laying the blame upon them so much or so entirely as many are disposed to do. The institution of gurus is a holy and venerable institution, which, I have no doubt, has done much good in the past, and we should not be blind to the fact that our gurus exercised in the past a vast spiritual and moral influence over the Hindu community,—and that enabled that community to keep alive the light of virtue even in the midst of its vicissitudes. I am not one of those who think that an institution which has done so well in the past ought to be lightly dealt with. "But," as pointed out by Mr. Lecky in his address on "History" delivered at the Birmingham Midland Institute a few years ago, "sometimes with changed beliefs and changed conditions, institutions lose all their original vitality," and the only condition of their survival and continuance is "that true characteristic of vitality—the power of adapting themselves to changed conditions and new utilities," i. e., adapting themselves to new wants. This institution of gurus can only survive subject to that condition. Lastly I notice with particular pleasure that both in your programme and in your lectures and in your newspaper, you, the members of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association, lay stress upon

A LIFE OF PURITY

That, indeed, ought to be, as indeed you have made it, the keynote of the social reform movement. All reform must begin

with the reform of the individual and the reform of the individual begins when he lives a life of openness and virtue and makes that the basis of all progress, both individual and social. We complain that Hindu orthodoxy has a deep-seated prejudice against social reform ; but once convince it that you are men of moral excellence, that you lead and insist upon others leading lives of rectitude, and that all your plans and proposals of reform centre round that as the cardinal principle of your faith, you cannot fail to attract its attention, engage its sympathies and at last secure its support. Men now may make light of and ridicule your attempt to denounce and put down what are called *nautch* parties ; they may laugh at you and take you for visionaries ; but be sure enthusiasm in the cause of morality has unrivalled charm and power which does not fail sooner or later to assert itself. Our work of social reform must suffer so long as we do not preach and practise the gospel of godly life ; with that life as the animating principle of our movements, we may prove more than a match to all prejudice and opposition. I believe there is a great deal of truth in what my distinguished friend, the Hon'ble Mr. Pherozsha M. Mehta said at a meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council, when in reply to a member of that Council who pooh-pooched the ladies and gentlemen in England that have been leading the agitation of purity as mad enthusiasts, he reminded the Council that it is such mad enthusiasts who have, as the pages of English history show, awakened the moral conscience of England and contributed to its progress. The sentiment has taken root in Hindu society that, however good a principle may be, it should not be practised, if it is opposed to public sentiment ; and hence it is whatever a reform is proposed, we are met with the Sanskrit verse, which says :—although (a thing) is pure, it should not be done or observed because it is opposed to public sentiment. The sentiment embodied in this verse accounts for all ills and evils ; it has proved hostile to all reform and progress. We have to strive hard to knock that sentiment on the head ; and our lives should, therefore, be so arranged as to enable us to be living protests against lawless modes of living.

I know that the work before us is gigantic, and our difficulties innumerable. Our hearts faint when we see that there is a Himalaya of prejudice, ignorance, and opposition to be got over before we can hope to win and say our work is, or is about to be,

accomplished. But if we have our conditions of difficulty, we are also not without our conditions of hope. We have put our hands to the plough, and it is not for us to look back; and we need not look back and despond, if we only bear in mind that, small as our numbers are, uninfluential as people say, as we may be, it is not, as Mazzini in his vigorous language points out, the number but the unity of forces that enables a good cause to win and prosper. Nor should we be impatient of results. It is enough for us, it should be enough for us, if we are able to say that we have not remained idle or inactive, but have done something, even if that something be very little, to carry the work of social reform a little further than we found it and helped our successors to carry it further still. We do not wish to make light of the past, nor do we desire to touch ancient institutions in either a spirit of irreverence or thoughtlessness. It is because we think that social growth is continuous, and that not only "perfect truth," but "perfect development" is "beyond the reach of any one generation" that we hold fast to the principle that each generation ought to endeavour to leave society better than it found it by raising its ideals of life and conduct; and if we go on with our work, making an irreproachable life, the basis of it, we may be able to say that we have not worked in vain.

HON. MR. CHANDAVARKAR'S SPEECH

(At the Social Reform Association Mangalore, 1900.)

The following lecture was delivered by the Honourable Mr. Chandavarkar at the Social Reform Association at Mangalore, 1900 :—

"The Chairman has been good enough to introduce me to this audience in terms, which, I am afraid are a little too flattering and kind. He has spoken of me as a gentleman honourably distinguished not only in the Bombay Presidency, but in the whole of educated India." I am not sure that I merit that very high compliment, for it is the happy lot of but a few to deserve so great a distinction. But I must not question the chairman's view when it is kind heart which has prompted him to speak of me in flattering terms. Whatever my merits, I cannot help regretting that I have one defect, and it is that I am not a Mangalorean. And I regret all the more, because I am afraid it is not probable I shall be able

to amend it. But though a stranger amongst you, and though it is not only a day or two since I landed on these shores, I am happy to feel that I am amongst friends, kind and enthusiastic, whom it is a pleasure and a privilege to know. Mangalore has and ought to have more than one attraction for a man like me, for it is not only connected by several ties with the district of North Canara where I was born and passed my childhood, but it has had, and is having its own struggles in the cause of social and religious reform, which make it a place of more than ordinary interest to all who have that cause at heart. And small though the number be of the men that have been holding the banner of that reform in this city, and amidst good and evil report, in spite of difficulties and obstacles standing firm and fighting its battle with all the strength they can command, yet their work, their patience and their cause invest this place with an importance, which, whatever others may think, is, in my humble opinion, destined to give your men a leading rank among pioneers of progress. It is in response to the repeated invitations that small band of men that I have come amongst you—men who are to me loving brothers, for they have an example to show, which an humble advocate of social reform like myself may well be proud to follow and to suffer like them and to suffer with them, to be braced by their exertions and be strengthened by their good will and sympathies is, I conceive, to live nobly. And your cordial welcome of me assured me that I am in a city where kindness and an enlightened and thoughtful spirit abound. Allow me to assure you that privileged as I am to stand before you this evening, I feel that I have no right to pose as your preacher; that I wish I could learn from many elderly persons that I see before me, instead of appearing on this platform as their teacher. But life is a mission and a duty and even the humblest man whatever his capacities, is called on to do what little he can to promote the cause of social progress, for it is on that progress that much of our social well-being depends. I have ventured to appear before you to-night, because I have ventured to believe that you are as anxious for that progress as I am, and that you will listen to who-soever addresses you on that question, and receive suggestions from him, provided the person addressing you brings with him a sincere and an abiding interest in the cause of social reform. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I cannot indeed claim the honour of a social reformer, for it is a name deserved by but

a few among us. Rammohan Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen, Vidya Sagar, Vishnu Shastri Pandit, and Dr. Bhandarkar (cheers) are the names that have merited that title, and ours—yours and mine—is the privilege, if we will, to follow in the footsteps. Theirs is the teaching, and more than their teaching, theirs is the example that calls upon us to educate the minds and elevate the status of our women, and remove those superstitious customs which have retarded and marred the progress of the Hindu. They have taught us what one of the most intellectual of Germany's sons taught his people—that in our own souls rests our own being, and nothing is good for a people unless it proceeds from its own kernel. Political reform, and industrial reform are all very good, and far be it from me to disparage them; but no reform lies so much within the reach of every one of us, and none can ennoble the spirit of society so much as that which acts upon and improves the institutions and customs to which that society blindly conforms, because they are sanctified by age and custom. Indeed I believe there are but few who would dispute that. At any rate my acquaintance with different places—and I have visited several places and lectured on social reform—and my contact with and experience of large numbers of men that I have met and talked to, has led me to the conclusion that nearly every one among my educated countrymen is in theory at least for social reform. At all events, I have found men get angry because they were spoken of as opponents of social reform and as social reactionists, and I have found these men retorting that is only the so called "social reformers" who call them reactionists. So we may take it that we are nearly all ashamed to be reminded that we are for social reaction and against social reform. Of Platonic love for social reform many of us are full. Burke says, reform is a thing which has to be kept at a distance to please us; and that is true of many or most of us. There are men who have grown buoyant with enthusiasm when reading the biographies or hearing the lectures of social reformers; who have denounced infant marriage and enforced widowhood and such other social evils; but that attitude lasted only as long as they were not called upon to act. And directly some question in the direction of social reform arises which involves them, their scholastic or instinctive virtue and their Platonic love somehow disappear, and they begin to play the game of hide and seek. Then it is that they remember that discretion is

the better part of valour, and putting their own meaning or discretion, take to what they consider prudence, and anxious still not to be considered as opponents of social reform, they resort to phrases which are really excuses for their timidity. And hence is it that you hear it said that we must move with the masses, reform must be slow, time is the greatest reformer, we must not break off from our social moorings and so on nice good phrases, which I for one, would not deprecate were it not that those who use them make of them so many shibboleths to cover their apathy or inaction. And apathy is what is to be dreaded even more than opposition. I remember that some years ago as I was sitting listening to a lecture on social reform by Dewan Bahadur Raghunathrao, a friend came up to me and said "Come, let us have some talk outside this Hall." I said to him I was anxious to hear the Dewan Bahadur's views on so vital a question, and he replied with that indifference which marks the attitude of most of us towards that question — "Oh, what is the use of it all. Widows will re-marry when they like. Come, let us have a quiet talk." I felt that my friend was a little too light-hearted, and told him so. But he maintained his banter and thought that social reform would come in its own time, and there was no need of lectures. But, such is the irony of fate, the same friend a few years afterwards lost his daughter's husband, and then a change came over his views, and he became and has since been one of our ardent reformers. I have just now in my mind's eye another gentleman who delivered a lecture a few months ago, strongly denouncing social reformers and their agitation; and what happens? He loses his daughter's husband and writes to a friend of mine, a warm supporter of social reform, cursing the society for the evils it inflicts on child-widow and I have hopes that he is coming to recognize the wisdom of those who are doing their best by their agitation to remove the bad customs of our Hindu Society. Now, the first thing we have to get rid of is apathy. As I said a little while ago, I for one am not afraid of opposition provided it is the opposition of serious and thoughtful men, and not of those who will not think but run down reformers and take shelter in nice sounding phrases as an apology for their own inaction. The temptation to be apathetic and to run down reformer as puzzy, hasty and thoughtless is indeed strong. We see that if we commit ourselves to a view in favour of social reform, we are required to show by example that we have the courage of our convictions.

and if we act as we say, we are subjected to a lot of inconveniences by our castes. We want ease, and ease is not what we get if we stand forth as living protests against social superstition and tyranny. We, therefore, deem it most convenient to take up an attitude of non *hossumus*, and to let social reform alone. But social reform does not and will not leave us alone, however much we may try to run away from it. True, social reformers are but a handful of men and we say, what can this handful of men, without influence, do? So we comfort ourselves, but alas! We soon discover that this handful of men is noisy, and we wonder how they manage to be that. We despise their newspapers, but somehow we want to know—it may be on the sly what these newspapers say. We foam, fret and curse them, but we cannot extinguish them. At last we are put upon our defence. We soon see that it will not do to keep quiet, and let this small trio of social reformers din into our ears their cries. And we begin in selfdefence to invent nice sounding, alliterative phrases to cover our want of courage. Now, this is what is going on in most places and among several castes, and I for one, feel convinced that social reformers, despised, misunderstood, and misrepresented, as they are, need not despair, for the tide is with them, and small as their number is, they are making their presence and their influence felt. What I wish on this occasion to emphasise is this, that a more thoughtful, a more serious temper and habit of mind is wanted than is observable among us—that it will not do for us to be listless and apathetic. In admonishing his people and trying to win them back to the ways of righteousness, the Jewish Prophet Isaiah speaks of God as complaining not so much because they had done wrong, as because they were easy-going and thoughtless. ‘My people both not know my people will not consider.’ A serious attention to social problems—a thoughtful state of mind which instead of shrinking from their consideration will ponder and reflect—is what is wanted, and given that, we may be sure social reform will triumph. And then it will be found that some of the shibboleths of the critics of social reformers are mere cant and devices for inaction and cowardice. Now, let us try one of these cants. Society, we are told is an organism; and that Spencerian maxim is pressed often into service by our opponents, who base on it their teaching that any individual member or unit of society who violates its customs injures the organism. ‘We must move with the masses;’ ‘We must not get away

from the whole" such are the anti-reform principles we now and then hear. Well, it is true, Mr Spencer has taught us that society is an organism. It is also true Darwin taught us that we were descended from monkeys. But I hope we do not care to make our society distinguished for the antics of those interesting animals. And it is said of another philosopher that he defined society to consist of two-legged animals. But what is meant by the phrase that society is an organism? Society has no life except that imparted to it by each and every unit or individual member of it. When you speak of the voice of the people as the voice of the God, you have in mind or ought to have in mind, the voice of the individual that contributes to the social voice. Each individual has life, and it is that life which nourishes society. It is on that individual life that social organism itself depends. That, however, is but an incomplete view of the organism. Society is moral organism, but whence does the moral power come? Not from itself, until it comes from its individual units and its health, its progress, its stability and freedom from decay can only come from the living personality of its individual members generally, but particularly those who form its thinking units. Each of us has a head, which must think; each of us has a moral force, which must act before the society of which we are parts, can think and act. "Personality" said Benson "is the lever of history," and progress is the result of the recognition by an individual of the sacredness of his personality as a force acting on and working for the social good. There is in me, there is in each of you, what Victor Hugo calls "that mysterious power which says to man, *I think*." Each of us can go into himself and can go out of himself—there is the spirit of upheaval in the soul as there is in the ocean. One man who thinks righteously, acts courageously and stands as a protest against the evils of his time is more to life to society than all the other units, if the latter having ears to hear do not hear, having eyes to see, do not see and minds to think do not think. "You are a man" said Napoleon to Goethe; and each of us can say that of himself. Each can judge himself as he can judge others. In these days when we live in the midst of a civilization that is making all work move by machinery, we are apt to forget that without what is called *The personal equation* no progress is possible. We find that we have only to sit at ease in a railway carriage or in a steamer, and we are carried from one dis-

tance to another. The telegraph brings us news with lightening speed, and we find a good deal done by machines and not by us. We admire this spirit of machinery, and forget ourselves, and the result is, man is losing sight, or rather is apt to lose sight of the life which he alone imparts to that spirit. During the naval manœuvres in England some years ago, a catastrophe occurred—and all because one man was negligent among the hundreds that took part in it. The social machine has to be repaired and reformed; but it cannot be repaired without the aid and initiative of the personal equation. That shows that the vitality and the progressive capacity of a society are dependent on the vitality of each individual, and each individual has to keep it up and nourish it. Not masses but men first. Each of us has to find in him the fortunes of society, for better or worse, which he holds in his hands. Conformity is all very good—it gives peace and quiet, it is true; but leads to mental and moral slavery, and society becomes sheepish. Society may not under it be ruined in your time and mine, but it finds itself in the long run, its doom of decay when it has gone on nourishing on the food supplied by weakened and temporising indolent persons. "The awful compulsion to think and to act" is given to each of us that we may use it for society, not that we may put it in a napkin and go to sleep over it. When men tell you to wait till the whole of the society moves, you may wait till doomsday. "Every reform" says Emerson, "was once a private opinion;" and "an institution is the lengthened shadow of one man." Each of us has, therefore, to realise that he counts and ought to count for a force of social progress and well-being. Even what is considered as a dry science—Political Economy—has come to recognise that, as observed by Prof Marshall in his "Economics of industry" the most profitable investment for capital is investment in human beings, and of that capital the most precious part is the result of the influence and care of the mother." Give me half a dozen men of sterling virtue, of a sensitive conscience, and of courageous convictions, and I can tell you the fortunes of the community amidst which they live. Power is not in numbers, so much as in personality. Develop personality; realise personal responsibility for a public cause and then you sow seeds of social growth. But I shall perhaps be told, as I have often been told when I have given expression to these sentiments, and all this is very good and very true for heroes and great men, but it is useless for most of us, who

are not born heroes and have to buffet with the world as best we can, with our poor powers in our humble spheres of life. Now, I believe in heroes too and great men. But heroes come not always, and the work of the world—its repairing and reforming, which are to be done always, for evil superstition and bigotry live always, and have to be lived down on that account always, lest they master us—has to be done by us mediocre as we are. We are commonplace men. it is true, but life is itself a common place. It is the daily drudge onwards and the monotonous drilling of life that make life worth living. And if each endeavours to do his duty, to bear his share of the social work conscientiously, much can be done. We may not be able to do much—that may be left to heroes and great men ; but humble as we are, we are men, and can do a little, and that little we can do well. A community is adorned not by great men with small views but by small men with great views. A man may be poor and humble, but let him be a man of courage and character—there is then that in him which makes him a centre, round which all about him is bound to move. The force of character is cumulative.” If each of us can think he is too little for a good work and therefore hold back the work will be neglected, and scorpion bites will be the punishment meted out to society in the long run, because it has consisted of men without souls. And how can heroes be born in a society where all are taught or conspire to be little? Nay what are heroes themselves born for in the world if not to put a little of heroism in its men ? They are born to set us an example—to teach us that not by self-indulgence, but by self-sacrifice, we can better ourselves and better the world. But once let us be cowards—we forfeit the right to be men ; and no society can live where its individual members coquet with ease and comfort, hide their lights in their own bushels, surrender themselves to things as they are, and make the motto of “ after me the deluge, ” their principle of life. No ; Cowardice won’t do ; Temporising will not do. We want each of us a living conscience for our social sins , and that alone is the stepping stone to our social reform. “ Time will effect social reform ” “ we must move with society ”—believe not in such cant concocted by nerveless men who seek in them a slave to their cowardice. Social reformers are pointed at in scorn as a hopeless minority. But most of the men that make that a matter of reproach to the social reformers are found complaining at times bitter

ly of the sting of this handful of men. Said a gentleman to me once that these reformers were mischievous. Why I asked. He said they barked too much. But I said, "why do you care for their bark?" "Oh!" says my friend, "they bite too." "Ah," said I "my dear friend, I see now what you mean. You find their bite worse than their bark. But are you not all the better for it?" Well, it is wonderful how a handful of men can create a commotion. But it is not the men; it is the cause they uphold, that gives them strength, and that cause cannot be silenced. It is said of Garibaldi that while he was living in a hotel in Italy, he heard a man was running amock with a sword in hand, and threatening the lives of all he saw and met. There were hundreds of persons, but none could venture forth and put him down. Garibaldi, hearing of it, came out of his room when all the rest were flying away, and without sword or stick in hand, ran up to the man and said, "Stop there, and throw down your sword." The man stopped and threw down his sword instantly. It was the presence of one daring soul that brought the man down. There is another story of a clergyman in England, who was given to plain speaking in preaching every Sunday, and displeased many men because he spoke freely about their sins. One day some made up their minds to thrash him because he was frank and out-spoken. As he was leaving the church where he had preached, news was brought to him that he offended many by his preaching, and they were waiting in the street to harm him. He was however fearless. He went up to the men, stood calm, and asked them if they wanted his life because he had spoken the truth. The persecutors were dismissed by his powerful presence—powerful because he was righteous and pleaded a righteous cause. If we are true to ourselves and true to our cause, we need not fear that the number is against us. We may be without influence, we may be in a hopeless minority, but power is not in quantity but quality; and when the anti-reformer preaches the magic of majorities, let him beware that the reformer can unsettle the minds of majorities, give them no peace and stir their conscience even if he be single-handed, if he is true to himself and his cause. What society wants is *life*, and it is the duty of each of us to try to put that life into it. And life is put into it where you have put that life into individuals first. Social reformers are reproached sometimes because it is said they cannot convert people wholesale to their views. But all reform can proceed from one soul

to another. Much is not given into them to accomplish, but their work, their influence is not lost because success comes slowly. The Peri gained admittance into heaven when she satisfied the angel that she had converted but one soul to righteousness. Let the man of majorities boast of majorities, but they are in our hands if we press on. Human hearts are not bad, but weak—and work doggedly, and they approach you day by day, if you are trustful and toiling. It is this principle that we have to make the animating principle of our lives, and then alone can social reform succeed. But there are some who grant it all, who assure you that they are also for reform and progress, but tell you that they do not like the methods of social reformers.

These reformers, they say, are a noisy set. We are told that if they will only be a little more silent and less noisy, everything will come round all right for social reform. "Don't agitate in newspapers, don't lecture on platforms; don't talk of widow marriages, or if you talk, don't act, be more prudent and you will win." I have heard this often and from men too who assure us that they are not opposed to social reform. Well, I respect such men, but I would respect them more if they showed us the way to do it by their policy of silence. Silence is good, but not always. Carlyle denounced agitators who spoke and wrote as wind bags, and maintained that much good work was done by silence. Carlyle himself was a living protest against his principle. He could not practise what he preached in that respect. (Laughter and Cheers) He was perhaps the most noisy man of his time—the Jeremiah of his age—and we know what a beneficial influence he exercised by his noise. I should be glad, and we should all be glad, if we better the world by holding our tongues in a good case. But out of the mouths of babes even, we have to learn wisdom. A learned Professor on your side has been angry with social reformers recently because they will not take to a patent for social reform which he has invented. He calls it "Painless progress." It is a nice-looking patent. But I should have thanked the Professor, and his students especially would have worshipped him in gratitude, if he had tried his hand first at another patent—a patent for "the painless passing" of University Examinations. We were taught at school, and young men are still taught at school, that there is no royal road to learning. There is a copy-book text which says that there are no gains without pains. But the professor I speak of would blot it out,—at least for

social reform; well, perhaps, it would have been better if the world had been so arranged that we could sit in our arm-chairs and at ease, and get all we wanted without painful efforts. Why God did not arrange the world in that way neither you nor I can say. Perhaps God was not wise as our "Painless Progress Professor". But we can't think of what might have been. We have to take things as they are. The essence of life is risk. The child is born in pain, has to learn to take a walk in pain; and so Carlyle puts it, our very walking is failing. Health itself is the result of labour and pain. Evil creeps in and becomes normal in society, and the removal of evil means the giving of pain. Men corrupt unless cleaned; so also society. It has to rise on the stepping stone of its dead self to higher things. Not ease but effort is the line of all progress; and all effort involves pain. And when you think of social reform, you have to face a Himalaya of superstition, corruption, and bigotry, the removal of which can only be by labour which cannot be painless. When you have to cleanse stagnant pools you have to trouble the waters that these may be beneath in the flow. And where as Emerson puts it, society everywhere is in conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members, where it loves not realities, but forms and customs, it is idle to speak of reforming it by painless efforts. I quite admit that we must not give pain unnecessarily, that we must try gentle measures where an evil can be remedied by them. But it is no use telling us of painless progress unless you tell us what it is. The learned Professor I am speaking of has the widow marriage question in view when he talks of painless progress. But if you give up that question because it gives pain, there are others who will talk of painless progress as to other questions of social reforms and so the reformer will have to give up all, and whittle down reform into a mere name or a sham if he makes painless progress his watchword. What Wendell Phillips said of the Anti-slavery movement in America, is true of the social reform movement among us—the difficulty of the present day with us that we are bullied by institutions. Am I to be told when society sacrifices child-widows, while permitting old men to marry, when caste tyrannises and breeds jealousies, when society conspires to make slaves of its members in the name of religion and customs, I am to sit silent or say soft things lest by protesting against the evils, I displease and give pain? What perhaps the Professor means by painless progress is

that you must work for social reform in such a way that you pain not yourself. Do it in such a way that you are not excommunicated, that you do not lose caste-dinners, and you are not put to any inconvenience. That is what he perhaps means by painless progress. Well, the Professor perhaps knows it better. And I allow him the credit of finding painlessness—in his patent, but the patent slips out of your hands the moment you search for progress in it. Well, the Professor stands not alone in his view. This is not the first time we have been told to effect social reform without paining any one. It is an old story. We have been told that we must take society with us, or else we shall fail; that we must persuade our spiritual heads and caste leaders before venturing forward. I have not the slightest objection to doing that; nay, I should be the first to cordially praise those who did that and succeeded. But the rub of it all is that our mentors will either not try their own nostrum, or where they have tried, they have failed and grown wiser though sadder. I would also take society with me, and it is, because I wanted it to move with me that I would move first. But it is down-right self-deceit for any man to suppose that he can make society move first and then he will move, or that he will move with it or not move at all. No cause progressed in that way. And as for spiritual heads, and caste leaders, they begin to kick when you prick, and even persuasion fails. There are exceptions, but it is generally so. There must be persuasion and reasoning, but it is not by logic alone that men's hearts are roused to a consciousness of social evils. It is by pure influences and a passionate attachment to your cause, by example and virtuous daring, that we are slowly but surely attracted to great and good causes. Socrates reasoned very acutely, but it was not his reasoning, but his example that drew disciples. You have to rouse the human in man, and that is roused more by deeds than by dialectics. Pains we have to encounter for there is no reform of what the late Rao Sahib Mandlik called lavender and rose. All progress is through conflict, said the great historian Ranke, and we must be prepared to suffer if we wish to succeed and make society purer and better. And after all, I think we make too much of persecution and pain in connection with Hindu social reform. The Hindu is caste-bound and custom-bound but he is mild and his bigotry is mild also. He persecutes when you protest against his social evils, and he excommunicates you when you act contrary to custom. But

his presentation is not painful after all. He comes up slowly when he finds you are daring and determined, and you are actuated by good motives and led by a good cause. We fear social ostracism a little too much as children fear to go into the dark. One does not dare because he has a wife and children; another because he has a daughter to marry; a third because he has—well,—any difficulty will do where the mind is slow and the heart is weak. I don't wish to laugh at these difficulties. Only let us remember that difficulties have to be faced in some shape or another if we want progress and reform. And the saviours of society are those who instead of fencing with social problems, or taking shelter in plausible phrases, nerve themselves to action and set an example of daring deeds. It is by such that societies are renovated. The more of such men the better. It is by such that you can cast the horoscope of the community truly. I implore you, therefore, not to believe in the patent of painless progress. It is the duty of each to work for social reform. Each of us is a trustee of society. We are guilty of a breach of that trust if we stand still and thereby encourage social decay. But then we are told we must not break off from our mooring and the past. Men there are who praise our past, and are eloquent over the glories of our ancestors. Now I too venerate the past; for without it we could not have had the present. I too am proud of our ancestors. But are our ancestors, watching us from above, proud of us? Let us think of that a little. We speak of orthodoxy—but we have no living faith in it. Heterodoxy, well, it is too severe in its demands. So we care not for either; we go the old way, we say, but all the while we are drifting along some way, God knows which. And it is steering, not drifting that alone can save any society. When we speak of not breaking away from the past, which is the past we want to keep up? The spirit dieth, the letter killeth. Forms and outward conformity to the forms of the past—this is becoming the rule of life among us. It is vital past that we must care for, and not break away from. But what is the vital past? Infant marriage, enforced widowhood, caste in the noxious form in which it rules, female ignorance—are these of the vital past? Nothing that is of the past has a right to live if it stunts our growth and kills our manhood, numbs our physical, mental and moral calibre. Custom, it is said, is bound to be the magistrate of social life; but if it becomes an arbitrary magistrate, it enslaves us, and it is truly said that a

man loses half his virtue the moment he becomes enslaved to anything. Is a custom good or is it bad? That is and ought to be the question. Because a custom suited a past age, can it suit the present? To say that it can, it is to say that a coat which fitted you when you were 20 years old, ought to fit you when you grow to be 30 years old. Let us not defy custom and the *Shastras* without discrimination and examination. Plato found a young man resorting to a questionable place and remonstrated. The young man pleaded custom. We cannot allow ourselves to be trifled with in the name of custom without imperilling progress. Social reformers are sometimes charged with seeking to introduce western ideals into our society. I have never understood the force of that objection. To adopt western ideals in dress and also eating on the sly to imitate western methods in certain matters, is not considered objectionable. National Congress is a western imitation and there are castes which get up their congresses. And why should we be afraid of any ideal, if it is good and suited to our age and our needs, merely because it appears Western? Why, some of you know, a Brahman wrote a pamphlet the other day, calling upon his castemen to uphold Brahmanism, and how does he uphold it? By a quotation from the Bible! Yes, that is what he did! He wound up his appeal by telling his people: "What shall a man gain if he gains the whole world but loose his soul?" Well, there you have an instance of how men are caught unconsciously by the spirit of the times—men that are proud of caste and custom, and how they have to take light from quarters they most affect to dread. We are living in times when the whole world-force is dawning upon us. Not isolation and exclusion—but co-operation and concord, that is the spirit of the age. A society that thinks it can get on by narrowing, by cowardice and paying outward court to custom decries itself. The East and the West are all opened to us; we have to march on and move on; we have to solve the riddle of this new sphinx, or else we are slain. I am not afraid of Western or Eastern ideals so long as they are good, and so long as they are fitted to vitalise us. During my visit this morning to St. Aloysius College, the Fathers who are doing good work in your city, took me into a Hall where I found the words *Satyamēva Jayate*, inscribed on the portals. Now that is taken from our Upanishadas, and I was proud to see the inscription in a Roman Catholic College. Let us accept light whence-soever it comes. it will

do us good. Let us not ignore the past, but the past has to be adapted to the present, so as to rise into a good and glorious future. We cannot break from the past if it is vital. The spirit of conservation is too 'rooted' in man to make him to lose it. My fears are not for the past, for we cling to the past instinctively, and too fondly, and it needs no prop to maintain it. It can well take care of itself. What is wanted is not a word for the past. It is too much with us. Rather, we have to put in a word for the present; it is there that our efforts are needed. By all means let us not despise those who tell us that there are rocks ahead in our course. But it is not the warners of danger that are needed, when the ship of our society is struggling in the waters, because it had fallen into the storms of bad custom. We want workers, for it is easy to be warners. I am afraid I have detained you too long (No. no. Go on). Yes I can go on, for this subject of social reform is inexhaustible; but I must not tire your patience and lose my voice. (Laughter). I would only beseech you to cultivate a little of manhood—manhood, have I said? No I beg the pardon of the ladies here—let us cultivate both manhood and womanhood. We call ourselves educated and cultured, and we will not use our education and culture to reform our homes and society. Let us give up apathy and indolence. Let us try to be true to ourselves; let us try to realise that we are men, and as men we have to better those about us as well as ourselves. Social reform needs individual reform before it can succeed; if we work inspired by that ideal, enlivened by that holy trust in our individual selves, we may be sure to find society coming to our side, which is the side of Truth and Progress. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

THE BOMBAY PROVINCIAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE, 1901.

(MR. JUSTICE CHANDAVARKAR'S SPEECH.)

The proceedings opened with an eloquent speech from the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, of which the following is the full text. —

Ladies and Gentlemen,—we meet here to-day under the shadow of a great calamity that has robbed the country of a figure which, for well nigh quarter of a century, exercised a potent influence in all our liberal movements ; and it cannot but be that the proceedings of this meeting should be tinged by that reflection. In religion, in social progress, in economic advancement, the late Mr. Justice Ranade was like an angel hand beckoning us all to light. He was an emancipating spirit which slowly, it is true, and cautiously, it is true, but none the less steadily and perseveringly sought for opportunities to release the intellectual and moral energies of the Hindu race from the cramping thralldom cast on it like a spell, by ages of stagnant and unprogressive existence. As we all know, he had an abiding faith in the capacity of our race to adjust itself to its modern environments. He was fond of thinking and speaking of it as a chosen people which Providence has preserved through many vicissitudes of time and circumstance for some higher end than to drag a useless existence amidst the world's people. He loved his people, and loved them too well to be afraid of their occasional frown. In his own life he showed us the process by which, and by which alone the Hindu community can rise to greatness. It is by stern self-discipline, carried on and persisted in from day to day and from hour to hour, that we can hope to keep at bay the torpid influences, which the climate and the social history of India have created around us. The slothfulness of ease, the supreme longing for repose, the aversion from whatever is not smooth and pleasing—all these he set at naught. He scorned delights and lived laborious days, as no other among his contemporaries did. His was a life consecrated to his people, and the entire disinterestedness of his public life is the most precious legacy he has left to his countrymen. The first resolution

on the programme of this Conference is most appropriately dedicated to an expression of our sense of the grief and loss caused by the withdrawal of the splendid intellect and personality of the late Mr. Justice Ranade from the service of this country, at a time so momentous and critical in her history. But the most abiding tribute that we can pay to his sacred memory is to make up our minds here, and at once, that each one here present, in his own sphere and according to his own measure, will do all that lies in him to carry on, without pause or break, the great work of reform which lay so closely to the heart of the late Mr. Justice Ranade and which he did so much to advance and to organise. He has now passed to where neither our praises nor our tears can reach him. But he lives with us in his work and if we are at all sincere in the regard we profess for his memory we shall leave nothing undone that is in our power to press forward the cause of social enlightenment and reform.

I said above that the late Mr. Justice Ranade was a worker in every field of progress. He had no exclusions to his love of progress, but he had preferences. And his greatest preference, his choicest field of labour was social reform. I have seen it said somewhere that not a day was considered well-spent by him if he had not done something, a letter written or answered, a speech thought-out, a book or an article read, a fact gathered, or a fallacy unravelled, in connection with social reform. This may or may not be true, very probably it is an exaggeration, but it shows how closely, earnestly, and unremittingly he devoted himself to its advancement during the greater part of his life. And if I were to specify what his chiefest work was in connection with the social reform movement, I would unhesitatingly say it was that of organization. To be able to appreciate fully the valuable contribution he has made to the cause of social reform, we must understand the exact position which that cause occupied when he took it up. As he often used to say, the present is always linked with the past, and you cannot think of the one without taking a correct measure of the other.

EARLY STRUGGLES.

Hindu social reform under British rule commenced in this Presidency in the thirties of the last century soon after the introduction of English education. Our first social reformer was Bal Shastri Jambekar, who was the first native appointed as Assistant

Professor of English Literature in the leading Government Arts College of Bombay. He was a man of great talents and high character, and it was he who persuaded the late Jagannath Shankarshet regarded in those times as the leader of the Hindu community, to espouse the cause of the young man, by name Shriprasad Sheshadri, who had informally joined Christianity, but wanted to be taken back into caste as he had not eaten with Christians. There was then a great deal of commotion in the matter in the Hindu society of Bombay, and the whole community was opposed to the admission of the young man. The late Dhakjee Dadajee then a prominent leader of the Hindus, led the opposition, but by their tact Bal Shastri Jambekar and the late Jagannath Shankarshet succeeded in getting round the community, and the young man was re-admitted. That was the first breach made in the stronghold of orthodoxy. The next stage of social reform was reached when the first batch of Elphinstonians, guided by their English Professors—scholars like Reid and Patton—opened classes for the education of girls, and started the Students' Literary and Scientific Society for the promotion of Female Education. The seed thus sown paved the way for the next movement of social reform for the remarriage of Hindu widows. That movement was led by the late Vishnu Parashuram Shastri Pandit, and the late Mr. Justice Ranade was one of the most active supporters of the cause. The movement created a stir in those times, and those identified with it held a formal discussion in Poona on the question as to the validity of widow re-marriage according to the Shastras with his Holiness Shri Shankaracharya, at Poona, in the seventies of the last century. Of course, it was a foregone conclusion that His Holiness would decide against the combatants, but the discussion had one good effect, it drew pointed attention to the condition of Hindu child-widows and several widow marriages took place. There are some who think that the movement has been a failure, but they forget that, having regard to the fact that there is a prejudice against widow marriages in almost every country in general, and an almost insurmountable prejudice in this country in particular, the number of widow marriages that have taken place and the feeling which is slowly but steadily gathering strength in favour of the child-widow, show that the movement has yielded useful results.

All honour to the late Vishnu Shastri, the late Madhawdas

Raghunathdas, and to the late Karsandas Mulji, for the courage with which they led the movement ; all honour to some of the heroic Parsees of the time, such as the late Sorabjee Bengali, Dossabhoj Cama, Nasarwanjee Cama, and Mr. Kabraji for helping them. That period was followed by another when the question of legislative interference with Hindu social customs raised by Mr. Malbari agitated the Hindu community. Mr. Justice Ranade was one of those who thought then that such interference was to some extent necessary, as will be seen from a letter he wrote to a number of gentlemen in Poona in 1885, in answer to their question on the subject. But he soon saw that legislative interference was not likely to do much, and that the community must work out its own social destinies. And here we get to that which forms Mr. Ranade's special services to that cause of social reform. There were social reformers before him, but they were more or less content each to plough his own field along his own particular furrow, without much thought or knowledge, of what the others were doing. One man preached a crusade against caste in one part of the country ; another advocated the re-marriage of young widows in another ; a third strove to disseminate the light of education among women in a third. There was no touch, no sympathy, not even the knowledge of the fact that they were fellow-workers, among the early reformers. He did or tried his best to weed his little field of the shrubs and trees that had grown up in it unawares during the night of ages, and when his time came laid down his head and died where he had worked, not knowing whether there would be a harvest and whether anybody would be forthcoming to reap it up if there were one. Differences of subjects, differences of castes, differences of provinces and districts, differences of languages separated the workers from one another.

The late Mr. Justice Ranade sympathised with all these movements, and in that sympathy he realised the great truth of the unity of them all ; and it was the great work of his life that he laboured to give outward expression to this unity. The National Social Conference which he founded, and fostered with all a parent's care, and which occupied his thoughts on that bed of illness from which he never again walked into the world, to which the anguish of torture and physical pain could not prevent him from writing the last address of his—the National Social Conference was conceived and created by him as a

visible embodiment of the unity of social reform. The last letter he wrote to me was a touching and all too generous acknowledgement of the little that I was glad to do at his bidding in connection with its proceedings at Lahore. It was the child of his love, the child of his soul ; it was to its interests that he gave the best part of his time and thought ; it was on its platform that he delivered those weighty and eloquent annual addresses, wise with the wisdom of the heart, powerful with all the power of his great intellect, majestic with the majesty of his lofty and commanding personality. In the National Social Conference all castes, all races, all provinces, all causes, are to meet and mingle in friendly rivalry in the pursuit of the social and moral progress of their common fatherland. It was a grand conception, worthy of the grandest Indian mind of the century with which it passed away ; and this Provincial Social Conference, in which we meet to-day is only a reproduction, on a necessarily small scale, of that high imperial gathering for all India.

When I endeavour to form in my own mind an idea of what the late Mr. Ranado thought of the future of his social reform movement—whether he looked upon it with hope, or whether he shrunk from it in despair, my attention is arrested by one phrase which he more than once used, and that is the inevitability of Social Reform. I asked myself, what did he mean by this phrase ? Did he mean that there was no need for us to trouble ourselves about it, that social reform will come just as the rain comes, without any effort on our part to help its coming ? Many of us would be glad if that was his meaning, for then we can retire and have a little sleep, a little slumber, a little folding of the hands to sleep. But unfortunately, this easy interpretation is not possible. His whole life was a protest against it, because no man works as he did to induce the inevitable. What then did he mean by speaking of the “inevitability of Social Reform” ? It seems to me that he meant this ; that new forces, social and economical, are at work in this country and that they require the modifications comprised in the social reform movement to be effected in the Hindu social organization as the price of continued existence ; and that there was no room whatever to doubt that we would endanger our existence by refusing to adapt ourselves to the modern conditions in the ways which the social reform movement, touching with one hand the ancient traditions of our race, and with the

other the modern conditions of existence, labours to effect in India. The social organization which has most chance of succeeding in the modern world should not be so defiant of economic laws as our society is. A more equitable adjustment between consumption and production, a more equitable distribution of work and leisure, a wiser regulation of spiritual and mundane needs, is needed to fit the Hindu society to play its part as a vital component of the world's population. More dependents and less workers; thousands doing nothing, and hundreds toiling and molling their whole lives long; five persons in a hundred literate, and ninety-five, including almost all the women, knowing no more of God's universe than if they were plants and trees endowed with the senses; what a cumber of self-inflicted evils has Hindu society to carry here! A community, less patient, less trained in the art of doing without, would have succumbed under this burden of unproductive consumption in the course of a hundred years. Well might the late Mr. Ranade say that a society, which has persisted for so many centuries in spite of so many difficulties, must have done so not merely for the fun of the thing-for, in all conscience, there is very little fun in the kind of death-in-life that we have been living for nearly two thousand years. Social Reform is inevitable, because Hindu society will not willingly perish after enduring so much. That is, I feel sure, what he meant by the phrase, inevitability of Social Reform, and he did not mean by it to embody a gospel of eternal indolence.

How are we to act?

If we are to act, how are we to act? What guidance had the late Mr. Ranade to give on this all important detail? It is not of course, to be expected that any one man, however comprehensive might be the range of his knowledge or genius could lay down a cut-and-dried programme suitable to every person and to every part of this vast country. The late Mr. Ranade has done no such thing though even here, his annual addresses delivered at the meetings of the Social Conference are full of instruction to those who seek for it. They almost were always conceived in some happy allusion or reference to the special history, needs, or activities of the places where they were delivered, and although I am bound to say that they sometimes assumed what appeared to be too much to many, still they cannot but be of valuable use to the workers in those vicinities. The late Mr. Ranade was a champion of the principle of

decentralization and he was in favour of doing that which was most needed by its special requirements. He, too, believed in the theory about the *line of least resistance* which has found favour with a good many after my friend, the late Mr. Justice Tolang gave it currency in one of his addresses; but Mr. Justice Ranade believed in the theory with what is its important limitation and qualification. It is true in a sense that reform, like every thing in nature, has a tendency to move along the line of least resistance. But, even sufficiently speaking, it is only a half truth, and a half truth is sometimes more dangerous than an entire falsehood. As some one has well put it, nature is not a reformer, but a manufacturer of material forces which are destructive to men and societies, unless these forces are well regulated. Nature can be made man's ally—if not, she is his enemy. It is in the power of man to make *the line of most resistance the line of least resistance*. It is the real scientific truth—it is historic truth. It is the recognition of that which had led to substantial progress and reform. Mr. Ranade perceives this and that is one of the lessons we learn from all preachers on the subject of social reform. He wanted you and me, he wanted all his countrymen to work for reform, and not to trust to chance and time, and nature, but to bend them to our social aspirations. Hence his persistent plea for organised concerted action. He knew that, constituted as we are, divided by modes of thinking, as also in other ways, there would be differences and a conflict of views as to measures and methods, but he also knew, and therefore he preached that we should all succeed in making the cause of social reform prosper if in every question we found out the points of agreement, and worked together as to those points at least, instead of making much of differences. He gave that conviction of his a concrete shape, and to-day we meet under the auspices of the Social Conference which he conceived and reared up with all the strength he could command.

A WORD TO THE BHATIAS.

Having said so much about the duty that devolves on us to carry on the work of the Conference initiated by the late Mr. Justice Ranade, I wish now to refer to the sad loss our cause had sustained by the death of the late Mr. Lakhmidas Khimji and of the late Mr. Virchand Gandhi. Mr. Lakhmidas was an orthodox Bhatia, but he rendered useful service in his own way to social reform. The Bhatia community is just now agitated over certain

social questions, and I regard that as an encouraging sign of the times. To the present generation of the Bhatias I would appeal earnestly, because the Bhatias have been one of the most helpful and useful of the communities that have built up the fortunes of Bombay. They have the genius of commerce, and the key to the prosperity of the country lies in the hands of its merchants. The older generation of the Bhatias that is passing away with all their faults and prejudices, have *grit*—they are men whose habits of industry, enterprise, and generosity, have made the community a social force among us. Young Bhatias, improve. go ahead with the help of that grit of your forefathers. Not ease. not enjoyments, but work, the simple habits of your fathers. with an improvement on their social ways suited to the times—that alone will enable you to maintain the position your fathers have achieved for you by their commercial spirit I pass on, then, to refer in terms of deep regret to the loss we have sustained by the death of the Jain reformer, the late Mr. Virchand Gandhi He has died early, at a time when, had he lived, he would have materially helped the cause of social reform among the Jains I hope his example lives, and I see already that the spirit of healthy reform is abroad among the Jains too. Let us hope that these good men have not lived and worked in vain. Our's is holy work—social amelioration is our purpose and aim. I thank you ladies, and gentlemen, for so readily responding to my invitation. The letters of sympathy and support I have received from different quarters and a number of Social Reform Associations—the number of delegates they have sent, and your attendance in large numbers here to-day, fill me with hope, and I say—Mr. Justice Ranade lives, his work lives—when I see you have assembled to consecrate yourselves to the cause he loved and lived for. I am sure you will carry on your deliberation and discussions on the different items of social reform with that breadth of mind, that spirit of love, and that pure zeal of which the late Mr. Justice Ranade has left us all as good an example May he who gave us a Ranade crown his Social Conference with success. (Loud applause.)

MR. JUSTICE CHANDAVARKAR'S SPEECH ON MARRIAGE OF CHILD-WIDOWS.

(*Indian Social Conference, 1901.*)

We are now at the end of our programme, but before this fifteenth meeting of the Social Conference is dissolved I beg to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Raja Binoya Krishna for having acted as our president and guided our deliberations. I wish to repeat what I said in opening the proceedings of this Conference, that we have reason to be thankful to the Raja for the readiness with which he complied with my request when from Bombay I asked him to preside at this meeting. I knew, and, indeed he also told me, that he was a rigid and orthodox Hindu, but I also knew from inquiries I had made and the active part he had taken some time ago in the agitation in favour of what is known as the sea-voyage movement that his orthodoxy had enough of sweet reasonableness and enlightenment in it to make him a valuable acquisition to the Conference.

A PLEASING SIGN.

It is the orthodox whom the Conference wishes in particular to move and one special feature of this Conference has been that we have had not only an orthodox Raja as our president but a few Pandits have also joined us. That is a distinct gain to the cause of the Conference, and had Mr Justice Ranade, the father and founder of this Social Conference, lived to this day, it would have gladdened his heart to find that the Conference had won its way into the hearts of some at any rate of those who, we are apt to think, are stupid in blind orthodoxy. It shows that the Conference does not merely register resolutions, but is exercising some healthy influence on the orthodox. It is true, and I do not wish to pass over in silence the fact that Raja Binoya Krishna has not become a complete convert to the principles of the Social Conference. On one or two matters he has been, indeed, not with us. He told us, for instance, when putting to vote the resolution about the removal of the restrictions on the marriage of child-widows that he for his part did not wish

to associate himself with it—that, as he put it he was neither for the resolution nor against it and wanted to remain neutral. Now, all I wish to say to that is that I regard the cautious attitude of the Raja as one which inspires me with hope that he is not now against us on this question of the marriage of child-widows, before this Conference again meets in Calcutta he will be with us. (cheers) He has come more than half way with us—That is a sure sign that he will not stop there but move on.

THE MARRIAGE OF WIDOWS.

But apart from that I wish to say a few words frankly in reference to the attitude of a large number of people in the audience here assembled, when the resolution about the marriage of child-widows and also when it was put to vote, lustily cried out ; “many are against it. We don’t want widows to marry.” I desire to address myself to the gentlemen who said that, and I wish to ask them in all seriousness whether they have thought over what they said, and whether they comprehend the meaning of the attitude they have assumed towards this question of the marriage of child-widows. I saw a Bengali gentleman in the audience sitting right in my front facing the platform, and he seemed to lead the opposition. I do not see that gentleman now in this place, but if he is not here, I hope my words will reach him somehow, and he will, when he retires into the bosom of his family to-night, examine himself a little, and then he will find how guilty those become of inhumanity who oppose the marriage of a child-widow. I appeal to him and to those who joined him in the repeated cries we heard a little while ago. I ask them just to think over this.

THE OPPOSITION IN BENGAL.

Before I left Bombay for Calcutta to make arrangements for this Social Conference I had indeed heard that several friends in Bengal, with all their progressive ideas in other matters, were strongly opposed to widow-marriage and would have none of it. I was told that when Mr. Justice Ranade had arranged the last Conference here in Calcutta during the Christmas of 1896, he had to encounter great difficulty in getting the Conference to pass the resolution in favour of the marriage of child-widows, and I was reminded that I should be prepared for similar, or even greater, difficulty now. But I came here resolved to stand by the resolution, come what might. Last year at the Social Conference held in Lahore we had a most enthusiastic and earnest gathering which took

up the resolution most heartily. If at Lahore the question aroused no opposition, why should it, said I before leaving Bombay, why should it arouse opposition in the very birth place of the widow-marriage movement? Was not the first and foremost widow-marriage reformer of our times—Pandit Ishwar Ohandra Vidyasagar—was he not born in Bengal? Was he not a Bengali? Did he not live and labour for the cause here in Calcutta? And have those who call themselves his countrymen gone so far down that they have forgotten his teachings and wish to blot out of the history of the progress of Bengal those pages of it which stand to the credit of Bengal because the name of Pandit Ishwar Ohandra Vidyasagar shines on them? I said I did not believe that.

THE TERMS OF THE RESOLUTION.

When I arrived here I was told by a friend or two (themselves Bengalis) that this question of widow-marriage was a ticklish question in Bengal; and they seemed to suggest that I should drop it from the programme of the Conference. I told them I would do nothing of the kind—that the Conference had been created by Mr. Justice Ranade for the solution of ticklish questions—(cheers), and that if the Conference did not take them up, it had no right to exist and meet from year to year. Now, my friends, let me say this to those of you who were anxious to announce at the top of your voices that many in this audience were against the resolution about the marriage of child-widows, I desire frankly to reason it out a little with you. Have you reflected over the precise terms of the resolution? I think not, or else you would not have raised the cry of opposition in the way you have done. If you reflected before raising the cry, all I can say is that I am sorry that I am much mistaken in thinking what I still think that you are men with hearts to feel. What does the resolution demand? It only puts before you the cause of the child-widow—not of all widows, both young and elderly. And what is a child-widow? Is she not the girl who is married to-day when she is 10 or 12 or 13 and whose husband dies perhaps the next day or before she comes to know the meaning of marriage? Do you think it speaks well of the loving capacity, the humane heart, of a people who doom this innocent girl to life-long widowhood while they allow an old man with one foot in the grave to marry as often as he likes. (Cries of “shame”) I am glad to hear those cries of “shame,” for I see that you are beginning to realise the situation.

ANOTHER KIND OF WIDOW-HOOD.

Well, to go on, I admit that there is a kind of widow-hood which must evoke all respect and approval. When a woman loses her husband after she has lived some years of married life, and, then out of pious memory for him she resolves to lead a life of widow-hood and abides faithfully by that resolution, she must be an object of reverence. Such was, for instance, our late illustrious sovereign (loud cheers)—Queen-Empress Victoria. I admit Hindu society has many an ennobling example of that typical widow-hood which I for one, and, I think I may say this Conference, would deem it a sacrilege to abolish. And the resolution which was put before you a little while ago does not in the slightest degree touch it. You want the restrictions to be removed only so far as they touch child-widows. And do you realise—will you not realise how God's curse has fallen upon us for being so cruel, so hard-hearted, and relentless to the suffering society has gone on inflicting upon this poor creature of a child-widow? Yes, so long as we will not plead for her, so long as we males go on allowing re-marriages in the case of widowers, so long will God's curse continue to fall upon us and blight our society. I say that, because I feel it.

AN APPEAL.

What, am I to sit here and find many of my Bengali friends telling me that they have no sympathy for our child-widows? Then if we are fathers, let us say we have not the love of a father; if we are brothers, we are selfish men, inhuman men, not deserving the name of brothers. (Cheers) I ask if there is one amongst you who will now tell me that there are many still against the resolution which created some sensation a little while ago? (Several voices "No. none.") Just wait, however, before you say that. I am glad you are listening to me so kindly, but I have a little more to say, for I am determined not to go away disappointed from Calcutta. I just said God's curse had fallen upon us because we have hardened our heart against the child-widow. And I will tell you how. On many an occasion I have heard some of my countrymen who are gifted orators rising on platforms and telling their Hindoo audiences that the Hindoos are full of kindness, pity for the forlorn, sympathy for the suffering, and so on.

HINDOO KINDNESS.

And I have now and then heard European visitors address-

ing my countrymen in a similar strain ; that is all very good. It gratifies our vanity. It flatters our prejudices. And it is true the Hindoo is kind and loving, full of sympathy for the suffering. But alas ! it is all kindness and love and sympathy more of the passive than of the active character. Is it or is it not so ? Am I wrong in saying that ? No, for, just note this. A little while ago, Lala Lajpat Rai of Lahore, who has done good work in the Punjab in connection with Hindoo orphanages, has just told us in this very place what you all heard with cries of "shame"—he told us that while Christian Missionaries had started orphanages, Mohammedans had also orphanages, the Hindoos, who form the majority of the population of this country, had very few and those struggling for existence. He said it had been found very difficult to get funds from the Hindoo community to help their orphans. Well, I am not surprised. Where our society teaches its members to be relentless to their widowed daughters and sisters to their own kith and kin, how can it expect them to be active in sympathy for the deserted children of others ?

THE MOTE AND THE BEAM.

We find fault with Government when the famine-stricken starve ; and yet we have not a word of indignation for our society which treats the child-widow as if she has no right to exist ! It is the home in which all the active virtues that adorn private and public life should be not only taught but actively exercised. Charity, it is said, begins at home—yes the *charity*, the true meaning of which is Love. But in our homes, if there are widowed girls, what are we taught. We are taught not to feel actively for their sufferings. We are ordained to be passive in our sympathy for them, to bear their condition with equanimity instead of raising our hands for the betterment of their widowed condition. Society has gone on without pity for the child-widow. God who pleads for her, and who has pleaded long, but in vain, has taken his revenge on our society by so weakening it that, when famine stalks through the land and many a child is left an orphan in the Hindoo community, the community wails not, works not, and the orphans have to be taken care of by others than Hindoos. This is Divine retribution, I assure you. We, Hindoos, are full of family affection, but in social concerns it has proved to be affection of the dormant type. There is no life in it, there is no active, vigorous, sympathy for the suffering, the forlorn, because some of our social

customs especially this custom rigidly prohibiting the marriage of child-widows, have helped in drying the waters of that active sympathy and made us selfish, timid, weak and thoughtless.

CONSCIENCE SLOWLY AWAKENING.

Our conscience is being awakened, however, though very slowly. Though the cause of the child-widow has yet difficulties to encounter, yet I see some hopeful signs of the times. People in the Bombay Presidency, in the Madras Presidency, in the Punjab and other places are gradually beginning to feel that the child-widow has been grievously wronged. The prejudice against it is not what it was some ten years ago. And yet in Bengal, we are told, the prejudice has increased and even the educated share it. Is that so? Can it be the case? I won't believe it. When I was in Nasik, a holy place of pilgrimage, two years ago, I was told by a number of strictly orthodox Brahmins that one disastrous effect of the plague had been to have in almost every Hindoo home a child-widow. They curse the custom, but admitted that they had not the courage to rise in revolt against it! But they told me they helped the cause of the Social Conference as it pleaded the cause of the child-widow. If it is so in Nasik, and other places, am I to be told here in Calcutta that many are opposed to the very idea of removing the restrictions on the marriages of child-widows? (Several "No").

BENGALI PROGRESS.

We hear a great deal of the progress made here by Bengalis, but I shall go away bitterly disappointed if I am to carry back with me the impression that the heart of the Bengali is wanting in the spirit of humanity for the child-widow: (Ories of "No! No!" and loud cheers.) Surely you, my Bengali friends, who opposed the resolution, did not realise your position. I feel sure that now that I have endeavoured to explain it to you. you will retract your words and show that you have humanity enough and to spare for the child-widow. If we cannot and will not, be humane to her—if her wretched condition will not move us to pity and draw tears from our eyes—if we will not do our best to get society to better her lot—why, we shall continue to be guilty in the eyes of heaven of a cruelty that heaven will never forgive. (Loud cheers.)

HINDU SOCIAL REFORM.

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(From the Indian Magazine and Review.)

A meeting of the National Indian Association was held on May 28 in the Hall of the Society of Arts, when Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, of Bombay, gave a very interesting address on "Hindu Social Reform." Sir Charles J. Lyall, K. C. S. I., presided.

It is now sixteen years since I paid my first visit to this country, and although during that visit I was thrown, as it were, into the midst of the General Election which was then going on, and was enabled to see a good deal of the political life of England, what impressed me more than the political life was the social life of this country, and of all the meetings I had the honour of addressing during my three months stay, the one which interested me most, and of which when I returned to India, I carried away the liveliest recollections, was an address that I delivered at Somerville College, Oxford, on the subject of social reform in India. It was the last lecture I delivered before I returned to India, and the audience was mainly composed of ladies, only two or three gentlemen being present, including myself. On that occasion I came in contact with a number of English ladies who seemed to take a great interest in the conditions of life of Hindu women, and in the cause of social reform among Hindus generally. When therefore, an invitation came to me from Sir Charles Lyall and Miss Manning, asking that I should deliver an address on the subject of social reform among Hindus in connection with the National Indian Association, I asked myself this question—whether those sixteen years had made any alteration in the opinions to which I gave expression in 1885. These opinions have not been altered at all. On the other hand, every opinion to which I then gave expression has become stronger, and to-day I stand before you with the conviction I entertained sixteen years ago strengthened—namely, the conviction that the future of India depends upon the social salvation of the people.

What I propose to do on this occasion is to give a short sketch of the present situation of the cause of social reform in India, in which you are all interested. But first of all, it is

necessary that I should dwell upon one point—namely, how the cause of social reform stood sixteen years ago, and what changes have taken place since then. The meeting at Somerville College to which I referred was called at a time when India was in the midst of an agitation which created a great deal of interest and sensation in the country. That was an agitation as some of you probably know, in connection with the case of a lady, by name Rukhmabai, who had been married at seven or eight years of age, and when she was a woman she refused to live with her husband. Her husband brought a suit for the restitution of conjugal rights, and the judge who tried the case in the first instance gave a decree in her favour. This caused great dissatisfaction amongst the whole Hindu community from Bombay and through British India; and there was considerable agitation in newspapers and on platforms; and it was said that if the decision was maintained it was to lead to the downfall of the Hindus and their social system. Opinions were given for and against legislative interference; but were divided amongst ourselves. The Hindu community, indeed, was divided into two camps: reformers on the one hand, and reactionaries on the other. The controversy became very heated, and a good many personalities were imported into it. There were people who utilised that opportunity for their own purposes, and tried as far as possible to create a strong prejudice in the minds of the orthodox against the reformers and against the Government. There were also people, some of them good friends of my own, who thought that the reformers had carried the matter a little too far, and had thrown the case of social reform backwards by exaggerating the feelings of the Hindu community. Mr. Justice Telang on one occasion said that some of us had passed the bounds of moderation, and that there was a great deal said which ought not to have been said, and that bitterness had been imported into the controversies because of the strong language and exaggerations used by those who espoused the cause of social reform. An effort was made to counteract as far as possible the mischief done by the reactionary party. Lectures were delivered at different centres, and one lecturer said that if the result of English education was to introduce into our society western civilization, he for one would give up talking or thinking in English; both Mr. Justice Telang and Dr. Wordsworth thought the reformers did a little harm, Dr. Words-

worth at that time wrote a pamphlet in reply to my friend, Mr. Malabari which seemed to say that we must not complain of the evils of the restrictions of widow marriage, rather of the prohibition of widow marriage, because in European countries there are convents, and women devote themselves to an enforced widowhood by becoming nuns. I remember a conversation with Dr. Wordsworth at the time, and I thought he had not done full justice to the case, and had taken the side of the reactionary party in a manner which would do some mischief. It did do mischief, but fortunately at that time when the meetings at Poona were held it was seen that things were not as they ought to be. Then a good many gentlemen threw themselves on the side of the cause of social reform, and ever since that, although the reform party did commit mistakes because we are all human beings, and probably there were exaggerations : Still, looking back upon what was done, we have been able to accomplish a great deal of good. Take now the spiritual heads of the community ; we are all accustomed to think of Hindus as people tied down by authority, slaves to custom and who will do or will not do a thing according to the mandates of the spiritual heads, who are called Swamis. It is true we are ruled by the Swamis or spiritual heads. But sixteen years ago the matter stood thus . The spiritual heads had only to lay down a rule and people would follow. Now-a-days I think I may fairly say that the spiritual head of most of the communities would think of consulting his disciples before he laid down a rule. In other words he feels that if he were to lay down a rule without consulting his disciples it is likely that the disciples might revolt. A spirit of liberty and free-thought is abroad. We are situated in the midst of circumstances, the force of which we feel, and the spiritual heads are also feeling that their position is a little trembling in the balance. This, you will say, is merely a general remark. But I can give you many instances, and the treatment given to me was in support of my statement. When I visited England sixteen years ago, of course there was an agitation about my doing so. But nothing was done, and I was received by my caste, and in my family I was treated as if I had never violated any of the rules of the caste. For ten years nothing was done, and two young men of my caste came to England. Of course there was a great deal of agitation. The spiritual head said he would take no notice unless he was forced by the community to do so, No one ventured to take the initiative. Thus,

there was something of an advance. But they waited to see if the evil grew, it would be time enough then to take notice of it. Ultimately I was suspended from the caste, and all communication between me and my family and the rest of the caste was cut off. A meeting of the caste congress was then called. Various opinions were expressed. But the Swami feared that his ruling might not be obeyed, as very few young men will give up going to England to better their condition of life. He found that he stood in the midst of circumstances which were too powerful for him. Though I was eventually put out of caste, those who had associated with me were to be taken back into the caste after going through some ceremonies or penance. I thought that was a triumph for myself, because I knew in spite of the fact that the Swami had laid down the law, altogether about 500 people, according to a calculation made by the Swami, had joined me. They were given time in which they must undergo penance. I consider that was a triumph for us, because it was impossible to control the circumstances attending the question. I mention this to show that progress is onwards. People feel that the whole environment has changed. If you take into consideration the first point, namely, the position of authority and influence of the spiritual heads of the community, I think I may say that these spiritual heads feel that their position is trembling in the balance. It is not what it was some years ago, for they have found that their disciples do not obey them in the same way. I know of other communities where the same state of things prevails. Some people think that the best way by which you can promote social reform is by influencing the heads of the spiritual communities, but I think that has been tried and found wanting. There may be a spiritual head here and there who would agree, but these are as a rule steeped in their own customs and prejudice and you have to work in spite of them.

Another point is this : The question much discussed was, "Is Social Reform necessary" ? Some always referred to the old Aryan times, and said we were better then in all respects, and had nothing to learn from the West. Our customs were perfection. But most of the people who look into the question of social and religious reform are agreed that some change is needed ; that the Hindoo community cannot stand where it is. There are people who represent the Hindoo Community as a very picturesque and romantic community. No doubt we have our good points, and,

as a Hindu, I am not here for the purpose of exaggerating our faults. I am proud that I am a Hindu and I hope I shall continue to be proud of it. We have had a very glorious past, and, although we are now fallen, still I think we have a very bright future before us. The point is this: that whether you go to the orthodox or to the heterodox, to the reactionaries or the reformers, there is agreement upon one point—that change is needed. I will give you an amusing illustration of this. At Calcutta last December I was present at a Social Conference. I thought that the best thing for me to do was to ask a gentleman who enjoyed the confidence of the orthodox party, to preside, as that probably would have the effect of strengthening the cause of social reform so far as that party was concerned. He consented, but said, “Do not let us have anything revolutionary; I am orthodox and I want moderation;” I said, “I am also of the same opinion, and I am glad to find that we agree; I don’t want to revolutionise Hindu Society, or to effect changes which are un-Hindu in character. As to what is revolutionary and what is not, I think it would be easy to decide when we meet.” I asked him to put me in communication with the leaders of his caste. He introduced me to them, and I said that I had come to Calcutta in connection with a Social Conference. One gentleman said: “I am very glad you have come here in connection with the Social Conference; please, for God’s sake, tell our people that our old customs are good, that our young men are becoming bad, that we have to learn nothing from the west, that young men are smoking, wearing English dress, and won’t obey their parents; and the whole society is in such a position that we don’t know what will happen.” I did not like to say anything unpleasant. I knew he would not attend the Social Conference, and I did not mean to invite him. But for half an hour he lectured me, and I listened to him until he said: “There is a great deal of immorality among our young men; and I don’t know what will become of them.” Then I thought it was time to cross-examine him; I said: “What do you want? You have treated me to destructive criticism, and I want something constructive. What is the reform you want?” He said: “Go to the Vedas. These people now want to ape English fashions.” I thought I had got him to the point where I could tackle him again. I said: “Tell me one thing. You are denouncing our young men for smoking and wearing English dress, and trying to ape English institu-

tions, instead of imitating what ought to be imitated in English character. But when you denounce our young men I think I may ask you a question. Here you are sitting with your hookah in your hand. Does the Veda justify this? You are asking us to return to the times of the Vedas. I have never come across anything in those books which justify you in smoking a hookah." He looked confused and said: "It is a habit I required when I was young." I replied: "There may be young men who want to revolutionise Hindu society, still, it is very well to talk of reviving these old customs; it seems to me an impossible task. We may feel ourselves inspired by some of the old ideas. But human society is so constituted that it is impossible to reproduce these ideas exactly." I mention this to show that even old people are dissatisfied with the present state of things. We have come to the position now of asking, are we to proceed on the lines of revival or are we to proceed on the lines of reform? The late Mr. Justice Ranade delivered a lecture in which he pointed out that although there are some people who talk of, "revival," the word has no meaning. He said: "You ask of revival; what is it you want to revive?" There was a time when Suttee was practised. Are you going to revive that? I don't believe in these platitudes in words, whether we are to revive or to reform our institutions. It is a mere war of words, and the question, it appears to me, ought not to be dealt with in that fashion. One point we lay stress upon is this—we ask ourselves, what is this Hindu community upon which these people are casting aspersions? It is an ancient community which had a civilization of its own many centuries ago, and it is a spiritual community, with strong religious instincts. I do not wish to exaggerate when I speak of the Hindu community, because there is a great deal of formality about it. But that is not peculiar to Indian communities because there is a great deal of formality in most religions. But whatever may be the case with the Hindus, they are a race with a strong tendency to spiritual thoughts.

You must bear in mind that reform must be based upon the spiritual sense of the community—it must deal with the spiritual instincts of the Hindu race, and I do not therefore think we can proceed upon secular lines. The question is, 'Are the reforms advocated by the social reformers in accordance with the best instincts of the Hindu race?' The answer must be in the affirmative

Take the question of caste. I know it is a very difficult one,—so much so that at times we become hopeless about it ; and I admit it would take centuries for the Hindu to get rid of his opinion that there are some castes favoured by God, and others not thus favoured. I think most Hindus are beginning to feel that caste is really an evil. But it is so much woven into the Hindu character that I do not know that it will be possible to extinguish it. No doubt, originally there were only four castes ; but every man is apt to become a caste in himself. There are sections and sub-sections. The tendency in these sub-sections is to unite. And there is a feeling in some quarters that these sub-sections should be allowed to unite gradually. Those behind the scenes say that things are tending in the right direction. We say the sub-sections ought to unite ; we say, caste is un-Hindu,—and is opposed to the best instincts of the race. For this reason a Hindu often goes from one place to another on a pilgrimage, and on such occasions all castes will unite, and every godly man, whether a Brahmin or a Sudra, eats in common ; on these occasions all caste distinctions are forgotten, it is, indeed, then considered to be the highest mark of godliness to forget all caste distinctions. If you ask a Hindu, he will at once admit that caste is a bad thing.

But there it is. Take another instance. The spiritual heads of the communities are, in effect, above all caste. Immediately a man becomes an ascetic there is no caste for him. That is the theory. He has gone out of the world. I have met several of those spiritual heads, and I have asked, “Why should they be absolved from caste? While we people who mix with the world should be bound down by these restrictions, so much so that if I happened to be in a place where there are no men of my own caste, I must starve or take food from other caste, and thus lose my own.” They have replied, “we spiritual heads of the communities have abandoned the world. There are no temptations for us. But you live in the world, and there are temptations for you, therefore there must be restrictions. We deal with the spiritual sense of the community, and say caste is an institution based on the best ideals and the noblest instincts of the Hindu race. Some say caste is a good institution and that it will be an evil day for the Hindus when they give up caste. I know there are differences of opinion on this point—differences between class and class. But the evil to Hindu society is that, instead of trying to minimise these differences,

some people exaggerate them so much that there are millions of cases which lead to intrigues and factions of one class against the other. We are apt to idealise the Hindu community and say it is perfection ; but after all, that only reminds one of an old Greek story about the man who asked, "why do you wish to divorce your wife? She is such a beautiful lady." The Greek took up his boot and said, " You see this boot of mine ; but you don't know where it pinches. " We feel the pinch ; we have suffered from the evils of caste. I don't say caste is an institution which deserves to be condemned entirely ; it has done good in the past. No one wants wholesale changes. The difficulty in India is not that we will make people go headlong on ; but the difficulty is to make people move at all. I am not afraid of headlong progress. The forces against it are so strong that we are apt to be driven back, and want some one to pull us onwards. And those who regard caste as a very good institution should remember that probably it was good when it was started, but that it has been pernicious, and has sown discord amongst us. It is the one thing that has proved the enemy of every reform ; and as Sir Alfred Lyall has pointed out, although Hindu religion is not a proselytising religion, none is actually more dangerously proselytising than it is. When you speak of the Hindu community, it must be remembered that there are thousands of communities of different degrees of civilization, from the highest kind of monotheism to the lowest kind of devil worship. To root out all the evil will take centuries. But we wish to appeal to the best instincts of the Hindu race by pointing out that the school of the reformers who preached attachment to God, have all tried to put down caste. That was the reform which Ram Mohan Roy and many others advocated. They tried to make the Hindu community into one ; They all appealed to the spiritual instincts of the people and were able to found sects. Take another subject of social reform : the case of women. There is an idea that the Hindu woman is badly treated ; that the husband is master, and she simply a slave. Nothing can be more erroneous than an opinion of that kind. I don't know how it is in Bengal, where the zenana system prevails, or in the North Western Provinces ; but whatever some people may say, we have Home Rule in India. You don't know how we are mastered by our wives. It may seem that because they are ignorant we can control them ; but sometimes it is difficult to

manage Hindu wives. They are very loving and very faithful; but where the question of control comes they make us sometimes uneasy. They have also intelligence because although they do not receive an education in schools, still they possess a large amount of natural intelligence. Again, remember this, that according to the ancient Shastras woman must always be dependent. Still, there are some Shastras by which woman is regarded as the deity of the house; and even in Manu she is spoken of as the protectress of the house. Archbishop Trenchard said somewhere that the civilization of a nation can be judged by the treatment she gives to her women. These words carry us back to the ancient history of our country, they show us the time when the woman was respected and regarded as the angel of the house, and as "help-mate." Let us not forget that though we are talking in the time of lady journalists and lady reporters, you have no land lawyers amongst you, yet we had a lady lawyer in ancient times who wrote a treatise and a law-book now often cited as authoritative. If I had time I could give the names of several ancient Hindu ladies, who wrote books, who held discussions, and were regarded as learned, and who were, in fact, the pride of their race. In connection with all this I recall the fact that when medical education was thrown open to ladies in this country, the students made it very uncomfortable for the ladies. I remember sixteen years ago, when attending lectures, that when ladies rose to speak there was a little hissing. On the other hand in my own country, though ladies do not enjoy the position they ought to enjoy, there is this to be said—never has a Hindu lady appeared upon a platform but she has always been listened to with the greatest respect. Even some months ago, when there were certain disturbances at the Grant Medical College and at Poona, because the ladies had been granted certain privileges not according to the men, the Hindu students behaved with great dignity. All this shows there is a strong sense of chivalry in the Hindu mind. We are a fallen race. But even in our degenerate condition I would ask, what is really the ideal of the Hindu woman, the ideal we would cherish? It is that of a deity in the house, a protectress—one on whom the fortune of the family depends. It is through the spiritual, instinctive ideal that we wish to exalt the position of women. Now let us turn to the question of widow-marriages. That is the question which creates most prejudice in

any country. We do not say every widow should be married. The ground on which we put it is that in a country where you allow infant marriages—the marriage of girls of ten or eleven—then if the husband dies, to say that the girl should be condemned to the life of a widow, is monstrous. But the Hindu Shastras, it is said, lay it down that infant marriage is religious. There are some books which say that a Hindu girl should be married when she is eight. Looking over the laws in this respect which prevail in some European countries, I find that it is said a girl should be married at fourteen. What is meant is that these early ages shall be the minimum. But if we go into the traditional history, we find that the marriage hymn which is recited is a marriage vow. When you hear it in Sanskrit, you cannot but feel there is a grandeur and sublimity about it. The bride-groom who takes the vow tells the bride he will be a faithful husband; the wife replying that she will be a faithful wife, and be united to him for better or worse. Such a vow could really be made when a woman was adult; it could not have been invented for baby marriages. But, of course, after coming in contact with other peoples, it was thought best that girls should be disposed of early in marriage, especially at a time when the Hindu community was not safe from depredations. After all that is said and done, infant marriage is not in accordance with the best spiritual instincts of the Hindu community. Let us turn to foreign travel. As regards crossing the seas, it is said there is some text forbidding it. So strictly it used to be interpreted that when a Hindu gentleman had to cross a creek in a boat he was excommunicated. These men are not excommunicated for coming to England or a European country, but, because of the text, for crossing the sea. I put this matter before a learned Shastri, for whom we have the greatest respect as a great Sanskrit scholar. Wanting to give his opinion according to the views of his *clientele*, he said it was a sin. “But where does it say going to England was a sin?” “oh,” he replied, “it is crossing of the seas.” “But men go to Aden and Zanzibar, and so fourth, and they are not excommunicated; then he quietly fell back upon the plea that it is a custom. If you put it upon that ground, the result would be as Bacon has put it, that we will make good customs. The whole point comes to this, that the question of social reform is based upon the spiritual in-

instincts of the Hindus, and may be associated with the best and noblest aspirations of the Hindus. People say it is all very well to appeal to this spiritual sense of the Hindu community, but to bring about reform is another matter. The reformers of old were not able to effect much. I admit the difficulties before us. I know that inspite of the best ideals of Buddha, and others, their mission of reform was a failure. But in comparing such times with ours we must remember we enjoy certain advantages which they did not. We are brought in contact now with what I may call the world force, East, West, North, South are becoming one, and this throws out of count the boast that the Hindu people have stood their ground for ages, and that they will go on as in the past. To-day we are standing in what may be described as a situation of competition. We are brought into close contact with races of greater activity, while we are a people who loose ourselves in the subtleties of thoughts, and by contrast we learn that the mere metaphysics of the past will not do, and that we must adapt ourselves to the new circumstances. All this makes me hopeful that, though the mighty reformers of old failed, still we have advantages they had not, and therefore our opportunities are greater. The Indian community must remember that unless it awakens it is bound to die. Do not rely upon mere numbers. It is the character of the individual which tells; and every person is a society in himself. The principle on which I have taken my stand is that I typify in myself my society. As Martineau says. "what is society but the individual typified, writ large?" and if every individual will do his part then society will move. We want enthusiastic workers, active and proud of the Hindu race, but conscious at the same time of its short-comings. With such a party working amongst us, though we may not succeed to-day, or for ten or for twenty years, yet success is eventually assured. I am proud of the fact that we have been brought into contact with the people of this island, which, though small in itself, is an island, which has achieved much to its own credit and for the civilization of the world. I consider it a piece of good fortune and the finger of God working in history, that we in India have been brought into relationship with the people of this land of the ancient Britons—energetic and fair-minded. England and India, for better or worse, are tied together. Whether it be for better

or worse rests in your hands and in ours. Our contemplative spirit, our sense of contentment, our gentleness. you have learnt from us. But what have we not to learn from you in point of activity, in point of the highest aspiration, in point of action? Of this contact between the two countries I pray that it may prove permanently conducive to the well-being and good of both India and England (cheers).

INDIAN SOCIAL CONFERENCE, 1904.

The Indian National Social Conference commenced its proceedings at Madras Wednesday, 30th Decembr 1904, with the Honourable Mr. Justice Chandavarkar's preliminary address, under the auspices of the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association. The Meeting was held at the Anderson Hall, Esplanade. Mr. V. P. Madhav Rao C. I. E., Senior Councillor Mysore State presided. The following is the full text of Mr. Justice Chandavarkar's Speech :—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentleman :—In taking stock of our gains and losses during the year just closing in its relation to the problem of social reform, our attention is naturally drawn at the outset to the deaths that have occurred during the year in the ranks of the party of social reform. Months ago when I was laying down plans with my coadjutors for the holding of the National Social Conference at Madras, there was no desire more prominent in my heart than that of having the privilege of meeting here on the occasion which has now called us together in this city. Prof. A. Subba Rao, about whose righteous life and labours I had for years heard from some of his sympathetic friends and admirers, was a pioneer of social reform. Besides that I had read now and again in the papers of his social and other activities. The cruel hand of Death has, however, removed him from the field of his labours, and the party of social reform mourns to-day the loss it has sustained in the death of one who was one of its pillars in Southern India. All accounts agree in describing him as a genuine man, courageous in convictions, fearless in the expression of his views, with a heart that felt keenly for the social wrongs and struggled in its own way for their redress. He was a man of liberal tastes, whose cultured mind, so far from making him a slave of the intellectual sense enabled him to stave in the midst of a social environment of a depressing character to seek light in the harmony of a higher life. Tell me not of the struggles and the consequent failures and falls of such men. Their very failures and falls on occasions when they could not hold fast to the light because the struggle was too hard are the monuments of the struggle in the noble cause.

and indicate steady though slow march of the spirit of enlightenment among us. When all is said and done by way of attack on the reform party of men that are said to talk much and do less, the fact remains that the world too critical sees more of their failures than their silent achievements and forgets that even the failures of such men are achievements for the cause. Lives such as these, of men like the late Mr. A. Subba Rao, ought to impress us that the success of the cause of social reform is ensured for the country when at the outset it has given us a number of men of sound heads, stout hearts, touching us by their lives, and teaching us the value of the discipline which comes of conscious and courageous efforts in a good cause. They may have failed and fallen below their ideals—but they never remained fallen but strove on. Of the same class of

GOOD AND EARNEST MEN

whose lives are dictated by the social impulses of the genuine type was Rao Bahadur Sabapathy Mudliyar, whose lamented death some months ago is to this day deeply regretted throughout the country. He was, I believe, a self-made man with a remarkable spirit of enterprise which at one time enabled him to make his fortune as a merchant. A man of action than of mere thought he too was one of the best pioneers of social reform and assisted the cause in a variety of ways. The death of Maharaja G. N. Gajapati Rao has removed from us one who throughout his life sympathised with and supported generously the cause of religious and social progress. On my side of India, the Deccan has lost a good and old man who felt the need of social reform and, as far as he could, generously assisted social movements which, he thought were likely to be potent for good in the country. I refer to the late Rao Bahadur Ganesh Govind Gokhale who some ten or twelve years ago retired from the post of State Engineer in the Native State of Gondal and devoted himself to agriculture and gardening which he loved ardently. To him we owe the free gift of a land for the Hindu Widow's Home which is doing excellent work at Poona under the direction and superintendence of my friend Prof. Karve of the Fergusson College and his noble wife. These are the losses which we have sustained during the year. But there is one death more which I should mention as one of our mournful events of the year. The late Dewan Bahadur Shrinivas Raghava Iyengar was not one of the Social Reform party—at least he never

belonged to any social reform organization. And yet I cannot but regard his loss as a loss to our cause, I had the privilege of his acquaintance and the honour of his friendship and such conversations as I had with him led me to look upon him as one of those whose misfortune is that their greatness does not go beyond their high intellectual sense. He was a born thinker and revelled in the science of statistics. The keen power of analysis which was his forte saw a great deal more than many others could see. With a little more of the genuine impulse of daring he might have, if he willed it, proved a man of action in social reform—his life might have been prolonged instead of being cut short at the age of 54, had his social surrounding been otherwise ordered by custom! In spite of it all, there is no gainsaying he discerned by the light of his quick intellectual sense the dangers ahead which are slowly and silently but all the same stubbornly leading Hindu society to disruption. Writing of the condition of the lowest of our lower classes who form the backbone of the country he wrote.—“The best thing that can happen to the Pariah is conversion either to the Christian or Mahomedan religion, for there is no hope for them within the pale of Hinduism, which originated with a small minority of colonists, who to prevent their civilization being swamped by barbarism, constructed certain moral barriers to prevent fusion of races.” Again.—“We feel flattered at American audiences listening to Swami Vivekananda but at home we have to depend on the ministers of an alien faith for the salvation of the movements of social reform and the charge levelled against them by some critics that they were the movements of go-ahead and giddy men with more zeal than discretion, the late Dewan Bahadur Shrinivas Raghava Iyengar expressed it as his deliberate opinion that if he had to choose between these men and their critics who did nothing but carp and criticise, he would cast in his fortune with the former. The time is coming when the more thoughtful of the country, wherever they are and however circumstanced they may be, must make the choice in the manner indicated by this good man whose death is a great loss to the country in a number of ways.

WORLD FORCE OR THE TIME SPIRIT?

Every year that passes is not only bringing to the front this momentous problem of social reform but shows how the ferment is deepening and broadening and leading onwards by slow and silent

marches the cause. The World Force is producing events too fast for us and it is pressing us on whether we will or not. It was that World Force which last year witnessed the bonds of the prejudice against foreign travel broken by the visits of a number of our Princes to England in honour of our Sovereign's Coronation. The visit of so orthodox a Hindoo as his Highness the Maharaja of Jeypore was alone enough as an object lesson in that respect. But whether you call it the Time Spirit or whatever name you give it, testimony has come from high quarters and diverse directions this year that ideas of social reform are working ahead. It is a sure sign of the times when, for instance, His Highness the Aga Khan tells the Mohammedans in plain language and emphatic terms that it is the seclusion of women and the dogma of fatalism which are responsible for their ignorance and their backwardness, —when, again, His Highness the Gaekwar, one of our most enlightened Princes, whose exemplary life has been the theme of praise in all quarters, publicly condemns the caste institution as it has obtained in India as the real cause of our deterioration. But even more significant is the keynote struck this year on the side of social reform by two ladies, each influential in her own way. On the one hand, Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal has declared herself on the side of female education. On the other, Mrs. Annie Besant, whose name and whose work in this country have achieved for her great influence, made speeches in the earlier part of the year at Bombay, condemning the custom of early marriage which, she said, was shattering the youth and spoiling the manhood of the country; and the college she has reared up at Benares has taken one step further this year to stem the tide of that custom. These utterances of some of the high and thoughtful among us show whether and how the wind is blowing. They are signs of the ferment that is going on and ought to inspire us with hope, courage and patience. The signs are not confined to the utterances to which I have just referred. This has been

A YEAR OF SOCIAL CONFERENCES

more than any other. To mention only some besides the annual Provincial and District Conferences, the Jain communities had a well attended Conference some months ago at Bombay under the presidency of one of their leading men, a venerable gentleman orthodox but enlightened enough to discern that some, at any rate

of our social customs are proving our curse. At this Conference resolutions were passed on some of the subjects which are to be found in the programme of the National Social Conference. The Kashmiri Pandits held a conference at Daraganj in September last, where they took up the questions of social reform and declared themselves in favour of most of them. Of a small village, Badoli in the Idar State, containing not more than 2000 souls, we learn that upwards of a thousand Audiah Brahmins on that side of Guzerat assembled in conference under the presidency of Mr. Chaturbhuj Mankeswar Bhatt, District Magistrate of Idar, and passed resolutions condemning some of their caste customs. The time at my disposal does not enable me to notice other similar conferences held during the year but what I have said ought to be enough to show that there has been an improvement on the previous years. But perhaps I shall be told that conferences cost nothing and end in mere talk. That is one of the familiar charges against social reform organisations. I dare say there is much to be said in support of that kind of criticism and whether it is deserved or not, it serves at any rate to keep the eye of the country on this question of social reform, besides that it shows us the necessity of working up to our ideals, if our movements are to fructify. But that all is not talk and there is also action is attested by the more memorable events of the year just closing. The question of

FOREIGN TRAVEL

has pressed on, and two of the influential communities in the Bombay Presidency—the Bhatia and the Kapole Bamas—are now called upon seriously to face it. The victory is not yet on the side of the foreign-travelled men of these castes who have returned to the country, but the struggle has commenced and the orthodox party are bewildered. Turning to the Madras Presidency we have the cheering fact that the Malayali community of Travancore accorded a cordial welcome to one of their England-returned men and took him back openly into their fold. The Hon'ble Mr. Venkat Rao, the President elect of the National Social Conference this year, returned from England a few months ago and has been welcome by his Brahmin caste people without any ado or fuss. The Saraswat Brahmins of Canara have found this year more clearly than before that the spiritual head did not act wisely in putting the England-returned of his caste out of his fold; and his

anathemas have borne fruit in the very opposite direction, so much so that every order fulminated by him has had the effect on the one hand of creating chaos in the community and minimising his influence and on the other of increasing the number of England-returned or returning Saraswats, the last of whom will shortly be in the country as a member of the Indian Civil Service. The situation upon the whole is this, that the prospects of foreign-travelled men getting back into caste have become more hopeful and the orthodox are finding that the times are against them. As to

INFANT AND EARLY MARRIAGES

the situation is best summed up by Mr. Francis, the Census Commissioner of the Madras Presidency, who observes that the Brahmins themselves are beginning to get rid of these evil customs, being less addicted to child-marriages than they were ten years ago. He thinks that this improvement is due among other causes "to the efforts of the party which has of late years been working for reform in this and other social customs gradually bearing fruit." Even in Bengal, where the social reform movement is the weakest, we have the authority of the Census Commissioner of Bengal to show that the custom of child-marriages is getting slowly into disrepute. He says.—"In North Bihar, the great stronghold of infant marriage, there has been but little change, and in Durbangah the practice is still becoming more prevalent. But in all other parts of the Province it is steadily falling into disrepute, especially in East and Central Bengal." That infant marriage is doomed no one questions now; and I may be told that we ought not to be gushing over it as a sign that the tide is in our favour; but to look in other directions of social reform and say whether the tide is really so. For instance, that vexed question of enforced widowhood, it is said, is going backward and often we are reminded that we are knocking our heads against the wall in pleading for the child-widow. I do not deny that it is

A HARD FIGHT.

This for the child-widows and perhaps it may be harder now that even she, for whom we all entertain great respect and whose solid work among us in the shape of the Hindu College at Benares ought to lay us under everlasting gratitude to her, even she has no tears for this most unfortunate of our fellow creatures—the child-widow. But after it is said, even other events are getting too stubborn for that poor creature's opponents. Those events must

necessarily move slowly—very slowly—indeed, considering the prejudice of ages that has to be encountered. But even then the march is onwards. There were five widow marriages in the Bombay Presidency during the year ; two at Badhapore in the Bijnor District ; three widow marriages in Guntur, one at Calcutta, the capital of Bengal, where every fourth girl is shown by statistics to be a child-widow ; one in Madras and one at Lahore—all among orthodox Hindus, some of them Brahmins. This is indeed a very small number but it shows that the movement is not dying but pressing on in spite of tremendous difficulties and stubborn prejudices. There is no year when it has not its number of widow marriages. True they are a mere drop in the ocean but the beginning is made and it is the first few widow marriages that tell, few though they are, of what is slowly but surely coming on. A drop in the ocean, true, but even a drop is enough to prove the possibilities of the Niagara or the Atlantic to those who have heard of neither, but yet can see and reason. My friend, Professor Karve, who ought to know, tells me that the Widow Marriage Association of the Deccan has on its roll the number of 800 as open sympathisers, of whom 100 openly dine with remarried couples. An England-returned Brahmin—a member of the Indian Civil Service—married the daughter of a remarried couple at Poona and the marriage was attended by a large number of Brahmins, and I have it from those who ought to know that the widow-marriage movement is steadily gaining ground at Nagpur in the Central Provinces. The gift of Rs 2000 and an Inam land of 12 acres by Mr. Guram Veerareddi of Palan for a building for the Widows' Home at Guntur is another encouraging sign of the times in this direction. That we are not pleading in vain for the child-widow—that her cause is not so hopeless as some would represent—is perhaps attested by no fact more clearly than this, that my friend Pro. Karve has been able to get Rs 12,500 this year from about 800 people all over India for the Hindu Widows' Home in Poona without difficulty and in most cases unsolicited.

THE DECLINE OF THE HINDUS.

No fact ought to serve more to open the eyes of Hindoos to their social evils than this—that they are being slowly reduced in number. Mr. Baines in a lecture which he delivered at the Art's Society, London, on the main feature of the last Census brought out

this fact and emphasised it by figures Brahmins, he showed, who were $72\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the population in British India in 1891, have decreased by the "small" fraction of 40 per 10,000 "small" with an ominous fate. Islam has increased by 7.6 per cent, Christians by $27\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. The drawback of Hinduism which is calculated in the long run to tell on its future fatally was pointed out by the Dewan Bahadur Shrinivas Raghava Iyengar in these words.—"As soon as the person of the lowest classes of the Hindoo population is converted either to the Christian or Mohammedan religion, he emerges at a bound from his position of social degradation and is acknowledged by persons belonging to the higher classes to have done so ; and he often turns the tables against the latter by calling them Kaffirs or heathens ; it is also noteworthy to what extent the social stigma of degradation stimulates the industrial activities of the classes who have been relieved of it. The Moplahs of Malabar for instance, are far more active and enterprising and well-to-do than the classes of the Hindus from whom they have succeeded." The credit of trying to remove this blot on the Hindoo society is due to the Arya Samaj During the year just closing, under the auspices of the Arya Samaj of Gujranwala, a Mohammedan by birth was taken openly into the fold of the Arya Dharma ; and the fact to note in this connection is that the Sanatan Dharma Sabha of Jalundar "purified" on the 20th of February last a Khatri who had turned a Mohammedan some time back.

WHAT ARE NATIONAL LINES ?

The complaint is often made, however in some quarters that the social reform movement fails to make any appreciable impression or create any tangible influence on the people because it borrows its ideas mostly from foreign civilizations instead of proceeding strictly on what are called national lines The objection is one which deserves to be seriously considered, for if it is sound then the sooner our social reformers set about revising their programme and correcting their methods the better I am one of those who cling to the belief that all reform, to be productive of good and lasting, must begin by taking into account the past history of the people for whom it is meant and it ought to regulate itself on lines which do not conflict with their highest and noblest ideals. There is no difficulty in accepting this as the starting-point of all reform movements which aim at success ; in fact, so far as I have been able to judge, there is no difference of

opinion among our thoughtful men on this question as an abstract principle. But it is when we come to examine the question what are national lines, and what are the highest and noblest ideals of the people, that we get into numberless conflicts of opinions. Now, I for one will not complain of such conflicts. All progress is the result of conflict, and it is, I consider, a healthy and hopeful sign for a people if they seriously ponder over their problems and show by means of it an active awakening of their minds and their conscience, though it may be accompanied by a perplexing diversity of views. But one thing to be deplored in our social controversies entered into without a serious sense of responsibility is what partakes more or less of the nature of petty squabbles ending in personalities and obscuring the real problem which the community is called upon to face. Hence it happens that though this problem of social reform has been before us for so many years, we yet hear the question raised—What is social reform? Does India need it?

INDIA AND THE STRENUOUS LIFE.

I do not propose to deal with this question on this occasion for the simple reason that they have been answered in the past. But I think I ought to say this. The answer to the question whether social reform is needed or not depends on the answer to the much simpler question—Are you going to accept or not the strenuous life of the modern times? Just ponder over this. We are no longer local and circumscribed. The times are gone when the Bengali, or the Madras, or the Punjabi, or the Bombayite—when the Brahmin or the Shudra or the Hindu or the Musalman walked each in the name of his own good and his own limited circle. The time is gone when our conceptions of duties and necessities were narrow because our life was narrow. In this stage of things, while our lives are widening immensely, our customs cannot stand still. The environment is changed and for very life we have to strive to be complete in it or else be swamped by it. If you think our ideals of life must be confined to creeping low instead of fitting ourselves for this vigorous life—then undoubtedly social reform or for the matter of that all reform is a nuisance and we may well hunt it out of the field. But in that case we must be content to be told that we are not fit company when we go to the Transvaal or to the Australian colonies. The race in national life is now to those who work ahead and look

ahead—who recognize seriously that a vigorous national life is the result of a harmonious development of the powers, the intelligence and the moral forces of all those who go to constitute the people. It is upon the recognition of this hard fact—this of the strenuous life of the times that the social reform movement is based.

SOME MISCONCEPTIONS.

On the present occasion my purpose is more to notice one or two misconceptions about the mission of the social reform movement which for the last seventeen years has bodied itself forth in the National Social Conference. We hear it said that neither our programme nor method is national. Now the word national is very enchanting but it is one of those words which I venture to think, some people have been in the habit of employing without defining to themselves or to others exactly what they mean by it when they use it as an argument against our social reform movements. The result, I venture to think, has been this. In the case of some the criticism has been a convenient excuse for either doing nothing at all or for simply opposing the movements; in the case of others who are carried away by the phrase national lines it has served the purpose of arousing their emotions without stimulating their activity. We have in this indefinite use of the phrase an illustration of the complaint which Socrates makes in the *Phædo* :—“To use words wrongly and indefinitely is not merely an error in itself; it also creates evil in the soul.” The charge against us is that we adopt western ideals and methods of reform and therefore endanger the prospects of success. I should respect this criticism highly if it came from those who have taken upon themselves the burden of work in social reform. However, that is by the way. If what is meant by the criticism is that the Conference embraces within its fold men of all the Indian sects and communities, and that it is trying to erect a social platform for them I claim for the Conference this that in that respect it is working, and, in my opinion rightly working, on national lines. In his memorable speech delivered at the meeting of the Conference held at Lucknow, the late Mr. Justice Ranade made the aims and objects of the Conference clear in these words which, I think, must always be borne in mind :—“In this vast country no progress is possible unless both Hindus and Mohammedans join heads together.In the backwardness of female education, in the disposition to overleap the bounds of their own religion, in the matters

of temperance, in their internal dissensions between castes and creeds, in the indulgence of impure speech, thought and action on occasions when they are disposed to enjoy themselves, in the abuses of many customs in regard to unequal and polygamous marriages, in the desire to be extravagant in their expenditure on such occasions—in these and other matters both communities are equal sinners." That address of Mr Justice Ranade's deserves particular study because it shows how he brought the historical method of inquiry to bear upon this problem of social reform and with the insight of a practical statesman into the social problems of the day saw that our social reform movements were not a fungus growth of the present times but had their root in the higher activities and ideals of the past and that therefore they could justly claim to be based on national lines

THE TENDENCY TOWARDS DISRUPTION

The greatest evil that has been for centuries threatening the country is the tendency towards social disruption. In his work on "Tribes and castes" the Rev. Mr Sherring says that there are about 1800 subdivisions among Brahmins. The Census Report of the Bombay Presidency for 1901 shows that among the Gujar Brahmins alone there are 400 hundred subdivisions and many among Shudras. If we take the whole of India the castes and subdivisions are innumerable—their number is legion and it is doubtful whether they can be counted. Now social stratification and religious differences are, I admit, inevitable in all developed communities and they existed in ancient India. But this at all events appears clear that whether in the times of Manu or of the Mahabharata, the rules about interdining and intermarriage were not so strict as they are now. We have it from the Mahabharata—"A Brahman may take his food from another Brahman, a Kshatriya, or a Vaishya, a Kshatriya may take his food from a Brahmin or a Vaishya—but not from Shudras who are addicted to evil ways and who partake of all manner of food without scruple." Diversity did exist but the philosophers who may be called the reformers in that they discountenanced the tendency towards disruption, were diligent in preaching the unity that underlay the diversity. The unity of Godhead which found sublime expression in the words of the Rig Veda:—"Ekam Sad Viprah Bahudha Vadanta," struck the keynote of unification in religion and philosophy. The same keynote was struck by the Mahabharata in these words.—There is no dis-

tion of castes ; the whole world is created by God." This was in the rationalistic age. Perhaps the earlier fourfold classification of society was a step in the direction of unification not disruption. Whatever may be said about Brahmans and Kshatriyas, who were small communities, the Vaishyas and the Shudras could not have been homogeneous castes. They were comprehensive names given to a variety of professional subdivisions of the country.

Any how the claims put forward by the Brahmins and not supported by their intrinsic merits drove the rationalistic mind in ancient times to insist upon the unity of man underlying class distinctions. The Sanatana philosophers taught it as in the Mahabharata. The Buddhist and Jains emphasised it. We have instances of non-Brahmins raised to Brahminhood in ancient India. These instances will be found summarised in the Aryan Tract Society's pamphlet on "The Caste system" Saty Kama Jabala, Kavasha, Vyasa, Parashara, Vasishtha, Visvamisra, Arishtasena, Sindhudvipa, Trayaruna, Pushkarin, Kapi, and the two sons of Nabhaga were all non-Brahmins converted into Brahmans Kanva yana, Gargya, Maitriya, and Mandgalya represented Brahmin family of Kshatriya origin. We have instances of non-Brahmins who became Vedic Rishis. In fact, as pointed by Mr R. O. Dutt in his "Ancient India," in the entire range of the Vedas "we have not one single passage to show that the community was cut up into hereditary castes." It is true that as ages went on, in spite of the philosophical tenets and earlier traditions, self-multiplication of castes went on but side by side with that degenerating tendency, reformers also rose from time to time. Mr. Wilkins in his work on "Modern Hinduism" has a chapter on the sects of these reformers. Mr. Barth devotes a chapter in his "Religions of India" to the same subject and in his concluding chapter he makes the remark that the history of Hinduism has been a history of perpetual reform. The late Mr. Justice Ranade's lecture on Maratha Saints serves also to teach the same lesson from our past history.

UNIFICATION—OUR KEYNOTE.

The Social Conference aims at no other object than this unification which has formed the keynote of the best and noblest of the ancients of the country. In that sense, it has a right to claim that it works on national lines. Now as to our programme and our methods, the criticism to which it is often subjected is

that the programme is too wide—so wide in fact it is said to be—that where it ought to help it only serves to hinder the cause of reform by alienating from us the sympathies and the support of a large number of people who would really join us if only we cut down the programme and restricted it to two or three social evils. Now, I do not wish to deny that the objection raised in this form to our programme is not without some force. It is often a good thing to confine activity to a few rather than to dissipate it in many directions and fritter away energy on many objects where it can be usefully converged on a few and those the most pressing. But the question is, which of our social evils are the most pressing that we must need confine all attention and activity to them? Are we agreed on that point? And if we debated the matter, are we all likely to agree upon it? It has appeared to me all along ever since I have been thinking on these social questions, as I may venture to say it appeared even more clearly to the late Mr. Justice Ranade, that all the items in the programme of the Social Conference are more or less pressing some perhaps more than others, but the evils to which those items relate are merely external signs of one evil which is the root of them, and these several customs which the Conference proposes to reform are merely the off shoots of that one evil. That one evil is the tendency towards social disruption and disintegration which I have said has been going on among us in this country for ages. It is a superficial view to take the cause of the degeneracy of a community of people to say that it has gone down solely because it is divided into innumerable castes, it enforces infant marriages, it prohibits widow marriage, and keeps women in seclusion. What a society needs as the starting point of all healthy progress is an intelligent and earnest capacity of outlook as regards both individual and social life. Before any particular reform there must be

THE REFORM OF THE HEART AND THE MIND,

which can only come from the intelligent consciousness that a healthy society is that, the units of which are taught that every one of them is a responsible being, that every one of them is and ought to be a hopeful being, that every one of them has rights with its attendant responsibilities and that the neglect or suffering of any unit must tell on the whole. This is social reform. You cut the whole into this and that item of reform for the sake

of convenience to draw attention to the particular evils which mar society. But the social reform goes behind the particular customs, and takes hold of the symptoms for the purpose of diagnosing the disease. To carry forward the struggle of society for a higher life, to fit it up for the responsibilities and the stress of a strenuous life, you need to look at its customs in a wide, comprehensive spirit. What the social reformer must first equip himself with to make the reform really beneficial is what Emmanuel Kant called the spirit of "illumination"—the sympathy and love which enables us to comprehend the solidarity of society and to work for the removal of all social evils whatever and wherever they are. If a community goes wrong and becomes the victim of a number of evil customs which weaken the sense of true manhood and noble womanhood, it is because it has to exercise its capacity to discern character, by character being meant not merely the passive virtues but the more active virtues which keep the life of the individual units in vigour and through the life of the community as a whole. The capacity to discern character is lost or it dwindles when a community substitutes conventional morality and ideals for the morality and ideals of what Carlyle called the Eternal Aye or the Eternal Nay and what in our own Mahabharata is termed the Sanatana Dharma. As has been truly said:—"The abolition of slavery, the recognition of the essential nobility of labour, the abolition of infanticide, the emancipation of woman—all these are due to the release of men's minds from purely conventional notions and the courageous application in their place of the fundamental laws of righteousness and love. If progress is still to continue, it must be by the same method." Convention, custom, these have been our social gods—they have to be dethroned before we can be equal to the demands and necessities of the times; you cannot dethrone them without pursuing them at all points and elevating the ideas of our men and women about life in general and society as a whole. To work at particular reforms is good, but to work at them with the consciousness and conviction that they are parts of a whole is better because necessary.

THE WORK OF THE SOCIAL REFORMER

is indeed uphill work—all the more so when the hand of nearly every body who is not a social reformer is ready to be against him. But the more one thinks of it and the more one acts up to the ideals of social reform, the more one feels and ought to feel

that the cause has a great future before it. If it fails at times, it is not because of opposition but because its supporters and sympathisers are not sufficiently active and united. There is a good deal of the impulse of social activity in the country—from all I have been able to see and hear since I have been General Secretary of the National Social Conference I can say that what we need is the organising of our forces which at present lie hidden and scattered. It is for that purpose that we have gathered together at this time of the year in Madras and what purpose can be more noble, more animating than this of having assembled to strive for an improvement in our social ideas and impressing upon our countrymen as far as we can impress this solemn teaching of the times in which we live, which the late Mr. Justice Ranade summed up in these words.—“In the place of the old worship we accustom ourselves and others to worship and reverence new ideals. In place of isolation we must have fraternity, or rather elastic expansiveness. The new mould of thought must be cast, as stated above in fraternity, or all attractive expansiveness and cohesion in society. We cannot walk on our feet but require stilts or crutches. This is our present social policy and now we want this deformity to be removed; and the only way to remove it is to place ourselves under the discipline of better ideals and forms. Now this is the work of the reformer.”

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

AT THE INDIAN NATIONAL SOCIAL CONFERENCE, 1905.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice N. G. Chandavarkar delivered the following inaugural address on Saturday, the 30th December, 1905, at the Indian National Social Conference.

“ The ancient world, said Mr. John Morley in his lecture on Machiavalli, delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre on the 2nd of June, 1897, thought that Man existed for the State whereas we in modern times, think that the State exists for Man. Aristotle, he continued, could not conceive of a good life apart from the State ; for, according to the ancient Greeks, outside it a man's moral obligations disappeared. The relation of man to humanity at large, to the universe of which humanity is but a part, was not an integral factor of the common morality of the ancient world, though Socrates made an approach towards universal morality. The same opinion is shared by other thinkers of our times. For instance, Mr Bernard Bosanquet, in his ‘Civilization of Christendom and other studies.’ remarks that the conception of a universal humanity, that humanity has a birth-right, is absolutely modern and is the outcome of the conviction that ‘a single principle or will lies at the root of nature and is also embodied in the minds and actions of men’ forming ‘the inspiring conviction of every progressive society, as of all science and practical energy.’

“ These remarks are suggestive of the question, all important to us who are gathered here to think on and promote the cause of social reform—the question whether the ancient Hindus fall within the description of Mr. John Morley and Mr. Bernard Bosanquet. I am not the man to go into hysterics over our ancient civilization and paint it in colours of exaggeration because it suits our pride at the present moment ; but, viewing it in a spirit of calmness and making due allowance for its defects, it appears to me that the Rishis of old, who laid down our laws and conceived the ideas, out of which Hindu society emerged, started with the conception of a universal morality and the birth-right of humanity as the deep-down basis of life. What is familiar to us in these days as the ‘Eternal Verities’ or, as the ‘Everlasting Yea’ and the ‘Everlasting Nay,’ in the expressive language of Carlyle, had found its eloquent ex-

ponents in the Rishis, who never tired of their faith in the principle of unity underlying the mind and actions of men as well as the mind and actions of nature. They gave it the name of *Sanatan Dharma* or the *Shaswata Dharma*, i. e., the religion of the eternal verities unconditioned and applicable to all human beings of whatever caste, class, or creed, embodying the laws of the universal mind, and the principle of universal morality, as distinguished from the *Varnashrama Dharma* or the laws applicable to particular castes or conditions of life. For instance, in the *Apaddharma Parva* of the *Shanti Parva* of the Mahabharata, Truth is represented as the *Sanatana Dharma* or the Religion of the Eternal Verities and Truth is described as comprehending the virtues of *Samata* (equity or justice), *Dama* (self-control), *Amatsaryam* (freedom from jealousy), *Kshama* (mercy), *Hri* (self-respect), *Titilsha* (patience), *Anusuyata* (freedom from fault-finding), *Tyaga* (liberality), *Dhyana* (meditation), *Ayutva* (magnanimity), *Dhriti* (resolution), *Daya* (sympathy) and *Ahinsa* (humanity). And in the Bhagavat Gita God after saying that he has established the Dharmas of the four castes, according to qualities and actions—not, mind you, according to birth—declares that He is the Creator and Founder of the *Shaswata Dharma*, i. e., the religion of the Eternal Verities or Universal Morality. This conception of the fundamental unity and universal morality is acknowledged by Emerson as finding 'its highest expression' in our Vedas, the Bhagawat Gita, and the Vishnu Puran, which, he observes, 'rise to pure and sublime strains in celebrating it'. But it is not the purely religious books alone that dwelt upon it; even the legislator took notice of it, as may be judged from the immortal stanza of Yajnyavalkya on universal morality.

"Starting with this idea of the fundamental unity and universal morality, the Rishis conceived of man, as a spiritual being, standing for the spiritual interests of the world. Get into the heart of the best of their description of man in relation to the universe surrounding him, pore over their subtlest analysis of his actions and emotions and you find that Man, the individual, stood to them not as 'a mere fraction of society' or what the ancient Greeks and Romans, according to Mr. John Morley, regarded 'as a mere cog or pinion on the vast machine of the State' but as an 'epitome' of the Society and of the State as well. Hence our ancient law books begin not with the duties of the king and subjects or

the rules of the complicated machinery of Judicature, State or Society, but the first place is given to the development of the individual and family life. The deep significance of that, is, as I conceive it, that to the ancient Rishis, the true social bond was the moral ideal; spiritual evolution was the end of Society and State, and progress, which consisted in fulfilment of the moral ideal, was to be attained through Man, the individual and the Family as the unit of Society and the State.

“Hence the perfection of the individual was the first problem to which the Rishis applied themselves. They seemed to say: ‘Get hold of your individual first, develop him and your ideal of State and Society will be realised.’ They laid down rules for his education when young, his daily life in adult and old age. These rules may indeed seem to us in several particulars, minute and tedious and here and there crude. But we must not judge of a people’s civilization by the details of the rules and laws prescribed for a particular period of their growth. The cardinal fact is to find the central idea underlying them, and the ideal by which those rules were evolved. The rules were merely applications to the details of life as it existed at that time; they were mere forms and machinery. But they recognized that the forms and machinery are transient, the central idea of them as the root of the civilization stood for permanence. It was on that account that they laid down the rule that custom was above the *Shastras*. But whether over custom or the *Shastras*, one law was intended to stand supreme—the law of the *Sanstani Dharma* or the *Shaswata Dharma*: the law of Universal Morality or Eternal Verities embodied in the single word Truth—Truth standing for Justice, Love and Mercy. What, then, was the central idea round which the machinery of Society was made to move by the Rishis of old? In the mass of the detailed performance of duties prescribed for the individual one idea stands out most prominently, *viz.*, that he was to pray, to yearn, and to seek for ‘Light.’ The *Gayatri*, which the individual was to utter with unerring regularity morning and evening, is no more and no less than the cry of the human soul for Light. It is an appeal to God that His Light may be shed on the mind of the individual to illuminate it. It is a national prayer, because it is the form enjoined on each individual; and we are taught there to pray, not for bread, because ‘man was not born for bread alone’ but for ‘Heaven’s Light, our Guide’—it teaches us ‘to

bask in the great morning which rises forever out of the eastern seas and be ourselves children of Light.' It is not the *Gayatri* or *Sandhya* alone which points to the ideal yearning. The Upanishads too emphasise it, for there again we are taught to pray every day of our lives for light, the light of truth. '*Asatomam Sadgamaya ; Tamnsomam Jotirgamaya*,' i. e., 'Lead me from Untruth to Truth: from Darkness to Light.' Such was the yearning for light that, according to the *Geeta*, men learned in Brahma are said to find salvation when they depart in 'fire, light, day time, the bright fortnight and the six months of the northern solstice' When God reveals Himself to Arjuna, it is the refulgence of Light that Arjuna saw. And, realising the value of a symbol as the best argument, the Rishis sought to enforce this ideal yearning for Light by means of ceremonies. The ceremony by means of which the boy, when he is eight years of age, is invested with sacred thread and initiated into the responsibilities of serious life is performed before Fire, the emblem of Light, to teach the boy that his principal duty is to be a child of Light. The marriage ceremony, too, is performed in the same presence ; but more, the man and woman, wedded as husband and wife, are enjoined to preserve the sacred fire in whose presence the material bond was tied, and to worship it. Family life was thus conceived and represented as the centre of the social system ; the home was made a shrine or a sanctuary, not a mere lodging house but 'a haven of rest and strength' where God dwelt *because Light Shone*.

"This was the central idea and ideal of ancient Hindu life—the pivot round which society was enjoined to move. 'We were children of Light' And what did this national yearning for *Light*, prescribed in the best of our prayers, solemnised in one symbolic worship and idealised in spirit of grace and grandeur by the sweetest of our prophets and poets, mean ? For what did it stand ? It stood as a lesson to us—a lesson to sink into our hearts and animate our lives—that we should always move with the times by means of the light of knowledge acquired, experiences gained, and events revealed,—that we should ever move forwards, instead of standing still. It stood for the light of the seer, the insight of the sage and the foresight of the statesman. Are we children of Light now ? Institutions and customs, good enough perhaps for the times for which they were devised, intended to meet the wants, the necessities and surrounding circumstances of particular age, as

suited to the environment, according to the Light that then shone on the minds of our ancestors, have exalted themselves at the sacrifice of their end ; and the central ideal of the people, the yearning for light which discovers a new age, new necessities, new aspirations, has been obscured by the ideal of blind usage and customs, with the result that we have become seekers after the *very darkness* which we are taught by the Rishis to avoid. Life has become monotonous and the sacredness of personality—that which contributes to the growth and greatness of people—has gone out, making us, as Mr. John Morley would say, mere cogs or pinions on the vast machine of society. The Rishis said, 'Seek Light' and the Hindu went to foreign lands, founded colonies and spread abroad his religion, and returned with his love for his country made all the stronger for the excursion. We all know what becomes of the man who always stays at home and never gets out—Browning in two of his poems 'Parting in the Morning' and 'Meeting at Night' illustrates the common-place truth that, that man is happy who leaves his house in the morning, spends his day abroad and returns home at night, rejoins his family and then his home becomes all the sweeter and brighter for the day's outing. These two little gems of a poetic piece are intended by the poet to convey the truth that the two supreme necessities of human existence, whether individual or national, are going out and coming in—going abroad and returning to one's own country. One learns one's country better, loves it more by looking about and travelling abroad. It is to the man who goes abroad.

'The common air, the sun, the skies,
To him were opening Paradise'

But we have put a ban on foreign travel—and this is how we yearn for *Light*. The Rishis said husband and wife are one and are to seek Light—the light of Truth, Justice and Mercy—together. They enjoined upon them both together the worship of *Grihyagni* or the *Domestic Light*, because by means of it they sought to impress upon them the lesson that both together should be seekers of the Divine Light of intelligence, i e., Truth. So much was this enjoined that they laid down the law that a man shall marry again on the death of his first wife, because he cannot seek Light without the co-operation of a wife. But they hedged that around with the restriction that no man shall marry a second

time who has a son by his first wife. But now who thinks of the *Grihyagni* or the yearning for Light? That is gone; and an old dotard with one foot in the grave who has sons is not ashamed but thinks he is only carrying out the injunctions of the Rishis when he marries a babe of a girl and society encourages him in the name of the *Sanatan Dharma*. Woman to yearn with the husband for Light must have intelligence cultivated—but she is steeped in *darkness* and has taken her revenge upon us, and we have become the children of superstition. And yet we talk of this as our *Sanatana Dharma*! What would the Rishis have thought of this! Where is their religion of the Eternal Verities, the Universal Religion, the Religion of Humanity on which Mr. John Morley points out, all conception of modern progress is based as constituting ‘the only safe foundation of modern politics’—while we will not raise even a finger to help the fallen but will uphold the tyranny of caste, and the ignorance or seclusion or miseries of womanhood. The Rishis of old said ‘This poisonous tree the World, has produced two species of sweet fruits, Love and Poetry.’ And they made *Ahimsa*, Humanity the first leading principle of the *Sanatana Dharma*. But we use that sacred word, are proud of our *Sanatana Dharma*, while we go on perpetuating castes in minute sub-divisions and think nothing of and do nothing for those whom custom has treated as the lower classes. Our love is for ourselves and our castes and the neighbour is nothing to us. And yet we stand up for the *Sanatana Dharma*.

“If we are to fit ourselves as a people for the work of the world in the modern times, we must rise to a juster and nobler conception of that which, according to Mr. John Morley, forms the moving spring of modern civilization. And such a conception ought not to be difficult for us to attain, because, after all is said against our ancient civilization, it forms its central ideal. To a people for whom their Rishis have laid down the prayer for Light, as the very essence of their daily lives, when truly lived, who in the spirit of that Light conceived the idea of universal morality and humanity which is the foundation of modern progress, it ought not to be a great effort if only the educated among them will go back to this national yearning for Light and use the sacred words *Sanatana Dharma* not lightly but in the spirit of seriousness and will not confound it with the narrow morality of castes. But we shall never get to a just conception and proper realisation of

that inspiring ideal of our ancients so long as we fail to perceive what the Rishis perceived that the *home* and *family life* are the real units of Society and State. Truly has it been said by one of the greatest sages : ‘ Domestic events immediately concern us; public events may or may not ; that which is done and cared for at home—not what is carried on or left undone in the State-house—must be the history of times and the spirit of the age to us.’ ”

“And this is what the ancient Rishis realised. Hence in their utterances we see the grand strokes of Light typified as the emblem of Truth and Holiness. To those who cry down and oppose the Social Conference as the enemy of Hindu ideals and of the *Sanatana Dharma*, here is the answer. We appeal to the tenets of the Dharma as the very key-note of the mission of Social Reform. Times change but eternity remains—‘the times are a mere masquerade of the ‘eternities.’ ‘We do not seek anything new—we desire to cast into the mould of the new times the very oldest of thoughts which has been bequeathed to us as a precious legacy of the Rishis in the form of the *Sanatana Dharma*. What is the very first virtue prescribed by that Dharma? *Ahimsa* or Humanity. *Samata*, Equity or Justice. And we ask is it consistent with *Ahimsa* or Humanity to neglect the fallen, to treat any man, however low his birth, as beyond care and kindness, and doom child-widows to lifelong misery ? ”

“And I am not afraid to ask this question when we are met in this holy city of Benares, sacred to Hinduism,—a city the very look of which ‘breathes grandeur upon the very humblest face of human life.’ We are met on the bank of the holy Ganges, the source of which the Rishis of old, indulging in one of the brightest of their divine illuminations, drew from “ a skily fount ” and so taught us to—

‘deduce the stream of human life
From seats of power divine and hope or trust,
That our existence winds her stately course
Beneath the sun, like Ganges, to make part
Of a living Ocean.’

“And I am glad to say the question is not asked in vain. Day by day the stream of Social Reform, drawing its source like the

Ganges from the skily fount of *Light* which we are taught by the *Sanatana Dharma* to worship and cherish is slowly but surely flowing onwards, to make the people part of the living ocean of the life of the present age. I speak in no spirit of boast when I say that the year just ending has written its word of encouragement and hopefulness on the page of our history. Of some of the years preceding I spoke in my inaugural addresses as years of Social Conferences, provincial, district or communal. But the year 1905 has a brighter record on its credit. While Social Conferences in several provinces have not been wanting, it has been a year of ladies' gatherings and widowmarriages. The experiment made in Bombay in the December of 1904, by holding a gathering of ladies, presided over by that model of a Hindu woman, Mrs Ramabai Ranade, has told and similar gatherings in several places have followed during the year. The good example has caught and our womankind are to the fore slowly but surely. And the holding of a ladies' gathering here in connection with our Social Conference, under the presidency of the Rani of Partapgarh, is more eloquent of the growing spirit of our cause than any words of mine. As to widow marriages, I have not the exact figures before me just at this moment, but I am, I think under the mark when I say that there have been during the year no less than 30 widowmarriages throughout British India—a great advance upon any of the preceding years. And I repeat what I have said in every inaugural address of mine on the platform of the Social Conference—the right of the Hindus to be in the vanguard of progressive peoples will be judged according as they plead for the widow and the so-called lower classes of society. The question about these classes is a very serious one. But even there the movement is not without its effects of awakening. My friend, Mr. Shinde, missionary of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay, has been making a tour in the country to find out what is being done for the elevation of those whom we treat as the outcasts of society, and he has published in the papers an interesting account of what he has seen. The signs are so far hopeful.

"In the name of the *Sanatana Dharma* then, the Religion of Universal Morality and Humanity, in the name of the ideal of old, which enjoins us to be 'Children of Light,' I call upon you to go back to the heart of your religion and by means of the ancient light to learn to speak the language of, to-day—to make use of

Light to fulfil the obligations imposed on us by the requirements of modern times. The *Sanatana Dharma* does not mean rites and ceremonies which come and go but *equity* and *right* which stand for ever. We see degeneracy everywhere because we do not produce great minds, and it is a universal law of nature, attested by history that 'great minds are not produced in a country where the test of a great mind is agreeing in the opinions of the small minds' Let us rise to a sense of man-worthiness which can only come of woman-worthiness. The one need of the age is men with convictions, not men with mere opinions who will ring changes on such sacred words as the *Sanatana Dharma* without the will and the daring to practise it. There is enough of talk but the great thing is action conceived in the spirit of sobriety, self-restraint and self-respect. 'Nothing is impossible to the lover.' Not by hatred of others, not by jealousy of others, not by petty controversies and party conflicts is regeneration possible to any people. Sir Francis Younghusband said the other day in his speech at one of the English Universities that we of this dear land of ours are fitted to be the spiritual leaders of the world. In every sense—in more senses than perhaps he meant, that is true—"the people who see Visions will never perish' But we must see Visions as the old Rishis—in a spirit of calmness, of truth, love and resolution, and the Vision must be the ideal of the man who thinks his mission is to uplift the fallen, and relieve the miseries and inequalities of life.

"The idea that no man is bound to act up to what he thinks right, what he is convinced is right, but that he must submit to customs, however bad, because society is bound by them, is, I say, un-Hindoo because it is in our own Hindu sacred book—The Bhagwat Geeta—written, that 'children only and not the learned speak of the speculative and the practical faculties as two They are but one, for both obtain the self-same end and the place which is gained by the followers of the one is gained by the followers of the other. That man seeth who seeth that the speculative and the practical doctrines are one' These are your ideals—'children of light' that you were, sanctify yourselves as a people consecrated to the cause of the Social Conference because it draws its inspiration from the genuine *Sanatana Dharma* of the Rishis and is broad-based upon

the great truth, illustrated by the rise and fall of nations, and emphasised by Mr John Morley in his lecture on Machiavelli that whether it is a Society or State, that which will not co-operate with 'the Universal Mind' and move on the lines of humanity and love, truth and justice, equity and right, self-control and the sacredness of personality, is doomed to starve, to decay and perish 'as a dead carcass.' "

THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

At the public meeting held on Sunday 27th November, 1910, at the Framji Cowasji Institute, Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who presided delivered the following address :—

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is now my duty as Chairman of this Meeting to sum up the proceedings and to emphasise the lesson which has been conveyed to you by the several speakers who have addressed you. The lesson is that this cause of what we call the depressed classes in this country is not merely their cause but with it are bound the interests, progress, and welfare of all classes in India. All the speakers before me have dwelt on the gross injustice which has been done for centuries in the name of Hinduism to the depressed classes by the higher castes of the Hindu community ; and have exhorted us to do our best to wipe out this blot on Hinduism. No one can reasonably deny that the charge is true , at the same time let us not forget the other and brighter side of the case. If the pages of the past history of Hinduism with reference to the treatment of the depressed classes are darkened by deep shades, let us not forget that the history has its lights also—lights obscured indeed by a variety of circumstances but still there, working in the present and showing that Hinduism in its best and purest aspects contains within itself elements favourable to the growth of the cause and mission which have for their object the elevation of the depressed classes. It is important to bear this in mind, because from the way in which this question of the depressed classes is sometimes handled one is apt to suppose that it is only now that we are making an effort to raise them ; that the movements for their elevation are of our time, without any past going back to some generations back. No social reformer can be worth his work who ignores the past. He must be both an idealist and a practical man—an idealist deriving inspiration from all that was done before him in the past, and a practical man, because he must be patient, loyal to fact, and making the best of the actual situation around him.

In a valuable paper read some months ago on the *Bhakti* or devotional School of Hinduism by Mr. Sidgwick, a member of the Indian Civil Service and Assistant Collector in the district of Poona, at a Meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, he said that the paper was the result of the advice given to him one day by the late Mr Jackson, whose death at the hands of an assassin has caused great loss in the world of antiquarian research in particular. Mr Jackson, observed Mr. Sidgwick, advised him to study and cultivate an intimate acquaintance with the literature and history of the devotional school of Hinduism. That advice meant more than appears on the surface. In giving it Mr. Jackson gave proof not only of the cultured taste and talent of a scholar but also the insight of a practical administrator. We are told that no British official can understand the people or be understood by them unless he is able to speak to them in their own vernaculars. A better way of putting the same idea is, I think, this : that a British official cannot do better than study the Vernaculars with the help of the literature of the *Bhakti* School, for that is the surest way to enter into the inner mind of the people, to evoke their sympathy and understand their lives. It is no exaggeration to say that what has kept up the heart of the Hindu, be he high-caste or low-caste, is the music, the poetry, the life of the saint of the devotional school. In Europe the translation of the Bible into the spoken languages was the starting point of popular progress. Similarly, at a time when the priesthood of the country had in India kept all knowledge of the Hindu Scriptures to themselves and made it a sin for any body to communicate it to the lower caste, it was the saints who appeared on the scene, and opened the door of religious knowledge to all, high-caste or low-caste, in the name of the brotherhood of man. As a result, nearly every caste produced its saints ; and these denouncing dogma, formalism in religion, and caste tyranny, sang songs, lived lives, and spread abroad principles, which and which alone have saved Hinduism from sinking into utter degradation and ruin. What makes life tolerable to the poor man living in his muddy cottage ; what inures him to the daily struggles and worries but the songs of that galaxy of saints--songs which the poor despised sing morning and evening to illuminate their lives ? As a Mahar preacher exclaimed, some years ago, in a sermon which he preached "When the Velas and the Brahmins deserted us Mahars as the despised of the

earth, O, ye saints, you came to our rescue, and it is because of you, your preachings and practices, your words of comfort, and hope, that we, cast away by the higher castes as untouchable, bear the burden of life with content, reposing faith in Him to share whose Love you daily invite us when we chant your hymns and songs." There is a legend about the Mahar Saint, Chokha Mela, which in this connection has profound significance. According to the legend, Chokha Mela one day appeared before the Temple of Vithoba at Pandharpur to offer his prayers. As he was a Mahar, he was not allowed to enter into the precincts of the Temple; so he stood on the road outside, fronting the idol. When the Brahmin priests saw that, they thought the sight of the Mahar was pollution to the deity, and so they turned him out of the place. Chokha Mela, however, went round the Temple, and stood on the road behind it to pray. The deity, so the legend runs, turned his face towards him from inside the Temple—and the priesthood was alarmed. There was, they said to themselves, the anger of God because they had turned out his devotee. What was more, at night Vithoba, the God, dressed in the humble garb of an old, decrepit Mahar, appeared before Chokha Mela to worship the saint. This legend runs through Hinduism—even Brahmins love to recount it with pride! Many other legends of that kind are there—and the Vishnu Purana, the elevating sentiments of which fascinated Emerson, tells Hindus that Hari, meaning God, dwells among the peasants and those we consider untouchable, and often comes in low disguise. This was how the Bhakti School tried to save Hinduism from decay. And its history illustrates what James Martineau has pointed out as one great lesson of all history that "Social degeneration descends from the ornamental ranks, while social regeneration ascends from the despised." There is a warning to us all. There can be no reform or hope for the higher so long as the so-called lower castes are despised. Those we despise and refuse to touch are verily among the salt of the earth!

It is an interesting question for the historian, how far the teachings of the *Bhakti* school operated in the old times to raise some Shudra castes to Brahminhood. But it must have had, I presume, some influence in that respect.

A great deal of our present social degradation is undoubtedly due to the narrowness and bigotry of Brahmanism; but when we

condemn Brahmanism for its sins of omission and commission, let us remember another fact of history that several of the Brahmin castes of the present times were at some time of the lower castes—Shudras, and raised themselves to the higher by means of pious notions, and that with the help of the purer Brahmins of the old times themselves. This has been pointed out by Sir Alfred Lyall and the late Sir Henry Sumner Maine. Writing of the lower castes so raised, the latter observes in his “Early Law and Custom,” “Once taken under the shelter of Brahmanism, the fiction can hardly be distinguished from a fact.” And this conclusion of that eminent Jurist derives corroboration from a remark and an exhortation in the *Smṛiti* Parasara, which runs as follows: “Do not despise the religions of the successive ages (though they differ from your own); do not despise those who have acquired during them Brahmanism. (because) Brahmins were made by the times, not born.”

युगे युगे च ये धर्मा तन्नतत्र ये द्विजाः ।

तेषां निंदा न कर्तव्या युगरूपा हि ते द्विजाः ॥

Here are the two forces of Hinduism at its best and in its ideal state on our side. It is true that this bright side of Hinduism has failed to accomplish its object and to assert itself so as to free it from bigotry, ignorance, superstition, and blind conservatism; and notwithstanding the saints and prophets of the Bhakti school the depressed classes are with us and continue to be despised. But we live in an age and amid surroundings which make the problem a great deal easier of solution than it was before the introduction of British rule in India. The effects of that rule have more than ever before brought the problem to the front. The equality of all in the eye of law declared by the statutes of Parliament and the Proclamation of 1858 was of itself a great gain in the beginning. The work of Christian Missions did and is doing much to elevate these classes. Everything almost about us—the forces of the time—are working under the Government we live under, to break the man-created and artificial distinctions between man and man; and though those distinctions in some shape or another will always remain in this country as in others in all ages, the depressed classes cannot, will not, under modern influences, continue long as the despised and untouchable of the land.

It is made a charge by some against Government that they have

neglected these classes while they have done a great deal for the higher castes which take pride in treating the depressed classes as beyond the pale of Hindu society. One of the earliest questions which British statesmen had to settle after the introduction of British rule in India was whether the Government should concern itself with the education of the classes, leaving the latter as natural leaders of the people, to diffuse their knowledge among the masses, or whether Government should take up mass education and leave the higher castes to educate themselves. The earliest records are an instructive mine of information on the subject and one of the most interesting episodes in the history of the controversy is, if I may so call it, the amiable quarrel between the brothers Sir Henry Lawrence and Sir John Lawrence, the former of whom stood up for the aristocracy and higher castes, and the latter, a zealous Christian, stood up for the masses and the lower castes. The battle was won by those who belonged to the school of Sir Henry Lawrence. It was declared that Government should encourage the higher education and the higher castes, and look to them for the enlightenment of the lower castes. This is what has been called the filtration process of knowledge—education filtering down from the classes to the masses. Whether the policy so adopted was sound or not it is not for me to say here. But this history of higher education shows the object which the earlier British statesmen had in view in laying down the lines of educational policy and the obligation imposed on the educated classes. In identifying ourselves therefore with the present day movements started for the elevation of the depressed classes we are but endeavouring to discharge that obligation. The movement is not of the present day. In 1855 some educated Hindus in Bombay started an Association and some schools for the untouchables. But that attempt was short-lived because the time was not ripe for it. There is a periodicity in the history of all movements for public good and this movement of and for the depressed classes is no exception to the general rule illustrated in the pages of the history of all progressive countries. In 1870 Keshub Chander Sen returned from England and delivered a lecture in this very Hall, in which he called upon the members of the Prarthana Samaj to do something practical to elevate the lower castes. Accordingly the leaders of the Samaj established Night Schools and two of these schools were for the so-called untouchable classes. That, so far as I am aware, was the

first practical, though humble step taken in the matter. In 1891 Mr. Damodhar Sukadwalla, an earnest and leading member of the Samaj, who has honoured us with his presence at this meeting, started at his own expense a third school for Mahars at Byculla in Bombay. The Prarthana Samaj may justly claim to have initiated the movement of which we hear so much now-a-days in connection with the depressed classes. I have no time to go into the history of the movement but the country owes a debt of gratitude to Christian Missionaries, to the Brahmo Samaj, to Col. Olcott and the Theosophists and to Swamy Dayanand Saraswati and the Arya Samaj for what is being done to elevate the depressed classes. It is they who have been pioneers of the movement, sympathy for which has called us together here this evening. During the last few years there has been an appreciable awakening in the matter and people's consciences have been more or less touched and it is a hopeful sign of the time that to-day's meeting is largely attended. Those who are working for the cause night and day, and the leading members of the depressed classes tell me that though the difficulties and prejudices to be conquered are great, yet public sympathy for the cause is increasing. If we work with patience, I am sure we shall win and that word "untouchable" which stands as a blot on the fair name of the great Hindu community will be a thing of the past. One caution, above all, is needed. We must take care to plead the cause of the untouchables without importing a spirit of narrowness and rivalry into it. It can do no good to the cause to support it by abusing the Brahmins and denouncing them as the class which has kept for their own aggrandisement the depressed classes out of the pale of Hindu society. The Brahmins, like all the higher classes in every country, have their faults and narrowness ; but what caste among us can take credit to itself for largeness of heart and breadth of vision ?

Was not Eknath, one of the sweetest singers of Hinduism who lived and prayed for the untouchable, a Brahmin ? Was not that child of God, Narsi Mehta, the saintly poet of Gujrat, a Brahmin ? Was not Buddha a Brahmin ? Was not Dayanand Saraswati, a Brahmin ? It is God's law that out of the very narrowness and bigotry of a people comes out the creed of liberalism and love and humanity. The Jew hated the Gentile but Christ Jesus, who made the Jew and Gentile one, came out of the Jews. So in India, if Brahmanism has done mischief, it has.

produced heroes to remove it. This movement for the elevation of the depressed classes, rightly conducted, sympathetically directed, with patience, must elevate us all whether we be high-caste or low-caste. So long as we have the untouchables among us, we shall bring to ourselves the contamination of untouchableness. He who tries to lower and degrade others and treat them as castaways, ends in the long run by lowering and degrading himself. We are all members of one another, said St. Paul ; and that saying embodies a literal truth, a historic fact ; and in applying ourselves to the task of educating and enlightening the depressed classes we are not only teaching them but also ourselves to make our lives brighter, and purer than they are or will be so long as we allow any portion of the community to lie before us as the despised of the earth.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL REFORM. THE PARSIS.

(*Indu Prakash* 16th March, 1885.)

At the end of my last communication, headed "Religious and Social Reform," I proposed to deal with the question whether the present generation of educated natives were taking as much interest in the cause of that reform as the earlier generation of them had done. Native society in Bombay is split up into various communities each presenting a type of character, social as well as religious peculiarly its own ; so that in order to get a fair idea of Bombay's progress in general, you must mark the stages through which each community in particular has passed—each community, that is to say, which has taken a leading and memorable part in the building up of Bombay's fortunes and in the gradual development of her religious, social, as well as political, life. Of your varied native communities, therefore, two prominently attract attention, viz., the Parsis and the Hindus. These have borne a prominent part in contributing to the advancement of this city and have mainly led to the formation of what I have termed your "new life," under the influence of the civilizing agencies set to work amidst you by the spirit of an enlightened Government such as India had not witnessed or enjoyed before. In comparing, therefore, the present generation of your enlightened men with the generation that has preceded them, as regards their social and religious activity, I must take each of the two communities just mentioned separately and point out how it has borne its share in Bombay's social activities in the past and how it stands in relation to those activities in the present. I deem it the more necessary to do this, because, having watched for many years the steady progress your new life has made through its different stages, I have come to the conclusion that Bombay owes more to the Parsis than to any other community and that they have exercised upon it in times that are gone as, I believe, they are destined to exercise in times that are coming, an influence of which they have every reason to be proud.

There is another reason, which induces me to consider separately the history of social progress among Parsis, and it is this that that history contains many incidents from which your Hindu reformers might draw several useful lessons to their own advantage. Without at this stage anticipating those lessons, I may state that it is creditable to the Parsis that all throughout the old and the new have worked *almost* together—the old perceiving slowly the signs of the times at every stage and the new giving way to the old where expediency demanded submission. Thus, you may say social progress among Parsis has been marked by this pleasant feature that the orthodox and the heterodox have ever met, as it were, each other half way, instead of either insisting that *their* will alone shall be done. That progress has not been without its difficulties but nevertheless, as I shall presently show, it has been from the beginning steady and sure, mainly because the earlier generation of educated Parsis were actuated by the true and earnest spirit of enlightened men proceeded vigorously but also cautiously in bettering the intellectual and social condition of their community. I do not, of course, deny that the race is even now not without its shortcomings; that it has still to make its way on and fight against certain customs, which are as much to be deplored as certain social customs amongst Hindus. But the work of the present and of the future depends on the present and future generations of educated Parsis—and if they will go to work as did their elders, they will, I doubt not, be able to achieve success and make their community still more advanced and enlightened than it even now is.

The admirable "History of the Parsis," which Mr. Dosabbhoy Framjee has recently published in an improved and enlarged form, tells you a good deal that is worth knowing about the race. The information that it gives you on the different subjects, concerning the Parsis, is at once interesting and instructive and shows clearly how from a small and exiled community, they have risen into importance and occupy at this day a leading position in matters of social, domestic, and political reform in Western India. And the most striking part of it is that there was a time in their history, when they were almost as superstition-ridden and custom-ridden as their Hindu brethren. There are certain incidents relating to that history, to which Mr. Dosabbhoy might well have made an allusion in his in-

structivē work but the omission of which is, I suppose, due to the fact that the author looked upon them as of comparatively minor importance. But at times it so happens that small things lead to great ones in the progress of a people. At any rate, if you trace the social progress of the Parsis to its very original beginnings, you will be struck by the fact that events, which are on the face of them trivial, have been partly the cause of that progress. At present your idea of an enlightened Parsi of the day is that he is one who is not subjected to the tyranny of castes and priests—that he is free to go anywhere, and dine with anybody without the slightest fear of being ostracised from his class by being subjected to the penalties of excommunication. Nothing, again, is more common in these days than to see Parsi ladies drive and walk by the side of their husbands, and preside at the family table. Besides, at any public gathering, where ladies are invited, you see them in large numbers. But there was a time when the Parsi gentleman and the Parsi lady were hemmed in by restrictions and such things as you now witness and as indicate that domestic and social reform has taken deep root in Parsi life, were not at all tolerated. For instance, I have a very vivid recollection of the time, when any Parsi that dared to dine with any one of a different race was sure to be treated as a social vagrant. Some of my old readers remember, I daresay, with what bitter feelings and wailings the news was received by the Parsis in 1840 that Mr. Maneckjee Cursetjee, who was then on a visit to Europe, had openly dined with Europeans. When shortly after, Mr. Maneckjee returned from Europe to Bombay, the question was taken up by such of the members of the Parsi Panchayet of the time as were not on good terms with Mr. Maneckjee's father, who was also a member of the same body. The former thought that they could turn the opportunity to account by putting their enemy's son out of caste or inflicting on him some other equally humiliating punishment. Mr. Maneckjee, however, tried an expedient, which succeeded very well indeed. He interviewed an influential European member of the Governor's Council of the time, and complained to him of the plot which was being hatched against him by his father's enemies. The European Councillor promised to intercede. He saw Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, (who had not then obtained the Baronetcy, but who, nevertheless, was even then the leader of his people), and other members of the Panchayet and appealed to their good sense

Sir Jamsetjee used his tact and the ticklish question was allowed quietly to drop and no one heard of it any more. There are men of the old generation even now who shut their eyes with what they call shame at the change that has come over their class a change that freely allows its members to dine with the people of other communities and tolerates the free employment of Goanese cooks and butlers in the Parsi household. But the men that think so and lament the spirit of the times form a dwindling minority and in respect of this particular custom you may safely say that it has almost entirely gone out of fashion. There is another incident, which is equally instructive as showing how conservative the Parsis were at one time. A Parsi gentleman, who was one of the leading and wealthiest members of his community, married a Parsi lady in 1852, and soon after the marriage the couple began to drive together in a carriage and pair and visit European shops in open daylight. None from among the Parsis had before dared to give his wife this sort of liberty. The idea was supposed to be entirely new and in imitation of European manners and customs. The event, therefore, created quite a sensation. The Parsi papers of the time mercilessly criticised the pair for the fashion, which they had so boldly undertaken to bring into vogue by their example. Old men asked—what are we coming to? There were some of the new generation who of course applauded the gentleman's conduct. But the general sense of the community was against him and so violently was he denounced that some of the rising social reformers of the day came forward with letters to the editor of the *Bombay Times*, publicly approving of what the Parsi gentleman had done and defending him against the unjust criticism to which he was being subjected. Dr. Buist, the memory of whose latter days as an Indian journalist Bombay cherishes by the name of "Bloody Buist," then edited the *Bombay Times*. He took up the subject and eulogised the public spirit which the Parsi gentleman had shown in bringing out his wife. Unfortunately, in spite of the support given by the small band of rising reformers and the *Bombay times*, the gentleman in question was unable to bear the hostile criticism which bitterly pursued him from the bigoted section of his people. And he gave up going out with his wife. The social reformers, who had expected that he would stand firm and fearless, were of course disappointed; and^t till 1865 you scarcely saw a Parsi, who had the courage to go ou

for a drive with his family. But the young reformers had been in the meantime preparing for the change that was coming and an incident occurred in that year, which deserves to be recorded in the pages of Bombay's social history. A French Circus paid a visit to Bombay that year. Its tent was pitched on the ground, where the building of St Xavier's College now stands. The late Mr. Rambalkrishna, a Hindu reformer of the day, and several of his Parsi and Hindu friends formed themselves into a committee for the purpose of getting native gentlemen to visit the Circus with their families. Notices were given in the local dailies by the gentlemen just referred to, requesting Parsi and Hindu gentlemen, who might wish to visit the Circus, to apply to them for tickets. The notices did not seem to have attracted attention at first—at any rate, they excited no hostile criticism—probably because no one expected at the time that they would find a ready response. Some native families, however, did apply for tickets; and when one night, for the first time in Bombay's history, some Parsi and Hindu gentlemen entered the Circus with their families, the people who had gathered in the large tent of the Circus to witness the performance were, as it were, stupified by surprise. It was a sight to see. All eyes were turned on the "reformed" men and the ladies—all was silence, not a voice was heard for some time,—so spell-bound was the large gathering by the spectacle. The incident did not, however, evoke any opposition at the time, as the incident last mentioned had done, and for this change in public opinion I shall account further on. But mark how at present Parsi ladies visit theatrical performances, drive with their husbands, and move about freely and cheerfully without encountering the slightest social prejudice or opposition. Note, again, another social incident of equal interest—one of these little events in the progress of a people, that are striving to move onward, which silently indicate the coming change. I have hinted above that a Parsi home, now-a-days means a home, where the domestic virtues of the Englishman are carefully cultivated—where husband and wife meet at the table, and the drudgery of a day's hard work is followed by happy reunions of the family circle in the evening. But twenty years ago this was more than you could think of. Like the Hindu, the Parsi dined first and wife afterwards and family gatherings were almost unknown. It so happened on one occasion that Mr. Dhrujeebhoy Nusserwanjee Cama, who then resided in the

house near the Gowaha Tank, which is now owned and occupied by the Free Church Missionaries, invited a few friends with their families—(among them I should specially mention Mr. Dosabhoy Framjee Cama—a name that I here beg of the reader to note most carefully, as further on I shall have to say more about him)—to dinner. The host, his family, their few select guests and their families met at the same table. The party was a private one; no one had intended that it should be talked of or known publicly. But somehow the secret oozed out; and a *Parsi* paper—the *Chabook*—came out with a most rabid article, denouncing the men, who had dared to set up what the excited writer called a sinful innovation. “What!”—asked the writer—“can anything be more deplorable than to see A dining with B’s wife and B dining with A’s wife?” The social reformer, however, had silently been abroad and this opposition did not cool the ardour of the enlightened men, who wished to refine the customs and manners of their community. And you see how the innovation has now lost entirely its odium, and has grown into a popular custom with the Parsis. The causes of these wholesome changes that have now made *Parsi* society more enlightened than it was thirty years ago I shall point out in my next communication.

I now come to the causes, which have brought about the state of things to which I referred in the foregoing part of this communication, and which have helped to make the *Parsi* community what it is at present—more enlightened and free from the fetters of bigotry and superstition than it was thirty years ago. One is apt to suppose that their spirit of commercial enterprise has mainly made them more progressive than other communities in India, but you have in the Bhatias and the Banias a living proof of the fact that people may be highly gifted with mercantile instincts and show the highest spirit of commercial activity and yet remain as bigoted and ignorant as ever. First of all, I do not think the Parsis would have been what they are—socially progressive—if their earlier leaders had not clearly perceived that female education is the root of all reform. It was not that *Parsi* females of the older generation were compelled to remain entirely ignorant and illiterate. As Mr. Dosabhoy Framjee has pointed out in his “History of the Parsis,” even in old days, when female education had not a systematic basis as it has now, girls were sent to school with boys, but after marriage their education—if knowing to read and

write with some difficulty and to say prayers can be called education at all—as a rule ceased. No one ventured to go further; and the result was that Parsi females were as much the emblems of ignorance and superstition as their Hindu sisters. But the late Mr. Framji Cawasjee Banajee, to commemorate whose public services and charities the Framjee Cawasjee Institute was erected by the public of this city, was the first Parsi, who had the courage to brave the prejudices of his time in this respect. He gave his daughter an English education which Parsi ladies were by no means accustomed to receive in those days and his excellent example was followed by Mr. Maneekjee Oursetjee and by Sir Jamseljee Jeejeebhoy, the first Baronet. Mr. Framjee was not himself a very highly educated man nor was he a man of very liberal ideas on questions of religious and social reform; but his contact with Europeans enabled his naturally shrewd intellect to take a sober view of social questions, and to see, what ordinary men of the day could not see, the signs of the times. He knew what reform meant and what was the right way of working to promote its cause. For instance, when the Grant Medical College was first established, bigoted Parsis, whose number was legion, could not tolerate the idea of Parsi youths joining the College, because, they said, cutting dead bodies was against their religion. Mr. Framjee was a member of the Board of Education at the time. He saw that it would be injurious to the future of his people if Parsi youths were prohibited in this way from receiving medical education; at the same time he also felt the necessity and the wisdom of acting with caution, so that he might both gain the object he had so much at heart and do nothing to offend the susceptibilities of his bigoted co-religionists. And he hit upon a very clever expedient, which did succeed in both directions. He provided separate rooms for Parsi students near the College, so that after dissection they might have a bath there and, before taking their meals, go through such purification ceremonies as, according to Parsi ideas, were deemed necessary. This disarmed all opposition, and Parsi youths were allowed to study in the College. I have said that he was the first to set the example in the matter of imparting English education to females. But even as regards the Vernacular education of Parsi girls there was not before 1849 any organised effort except that here and there individuals encouraged such education in the case of their own families. What was want-

ed was a popular basis for it and this it obtained soon after from the efforts of a band of enlightened young men, who had formed themselves into a society called "The Students' Literary and Scientific Society," which is still in existence. The reading of an essay on female education at one of its meetings made the young men seriously think of giving a practical shape to their ideas on the subject. Schools, taught by paid teachers, could not be in the very first instance opened without pecuniary support and on such support the young men could by no means count, as female education had more opponents than friends at the time. But still—such was the spirit of youthful energy by which the young men were fired at the time—it was thought that something should be done and an humble beginning was accordingly made. Morning classes for girls were organised, where the young men gave gratuitous instruction by turns for nearly two years. The regularity and enthusiasm with which the young scholars of the Elphinstone Institution discharged this self-imposed and noble task was not long in receiving its reward. At the outset of these remarks on the social progress of the Parsis, I called attention to one good and remarkable feature of that progress—the feature that the old and the new have throughout worked *almost* together. And here you find an apt illustration of what I have said. The self-sacrificing example set by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji and his young friends caught the eye of some of the more elderly gentlemen of the day and of these the most prominent figure was the late Mr. Cursetjee Nusserwanjee Cama, in whose death Bombay lost but recently a moral hero, of whose life it might be truly said that it approached Wordsworth's ideal of "plain living and high thinking." Of the services rendered by the Cama family generally to public progress but specially to the cause of female education I shall speak further on. But here I should not omit to say that it was Mr. Cursetjee Cama, who enabled the young champions of female education to supply a want most sorely felt by them by establishing regular schools for girls. There is another incident relating to this instructive history of female education among the Parsis, which ought to be recorded here, for it has also served to further its cause. On one occasion—whch, I daresay, Mr. Dadabhai Naorojee now recollects as a memorable one in the history of female education among the Parsis he put his thoughts on the subject on paper and wrote to Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, requesting the favour of an interview.

Mr. Dadabhai received a prompt answer from the generous Baronet. The young champion of female education was desired to meet at the office of the Parsi Panchayat. The Baronet arranged that Mr. Dosabhoj Sorabjee Moonsthee, a leading but strongly conservative Parsi of the day, should be present at the interview. The interview took place, Sir Jamsetjee asked Mr. Dadabhai to state his thoughts; and when they were stated, he turned to Mr. Dosabhoj, saying —“Well, Moonsthee Sahib, what do you say to that?” The Moonsthee Sahib of course could not quite relish the novel idea of educating females. He said in words such as these .—“The young man wants to educate females. But what do females want education for? It will only spoil them. You see, you should not supply more oil to a lamp than it can bear, for, otherwise the light is sure to extinguish itself.” The comparison, however, was turned to advantage by the Baronet most ingeniously. Turning to the Moonsthee, he said .—“Well Moonsthee Sahib, I quite agree with you there—the lamp should have no more oil than it can bear. But you see, this young man does not wish that females should receive more knowledge than they want. He wants to give them a moderate education. So your illustration supports what he wishes.” The Moonsthee opposite was thus disarmed and Sir Jamsetjee promised Mr. Dadabhai to think on the matter. Shortly after, Sir Jamsetjee opened four schools for Parsi girls in connection with his Benevolent Institution. These four, together with the three opened by the Students’ Society, served to give an active start to female education. The latter were taken up in 1856 by the Parsi Girls’ Schools Association—a body, which has done and is doing excellent service to the cause for the promotion of which it was started. And to it also the remark I have twice made most aptly applies, for, in organising it, its young promoters did not work solely on their own responsibility but took such of the older people into their confidence as were both influential and enlightened. Its organisation was due mainly to the exertions of Mr. Framjee Nusserwanjee Patel, and to Mr. Nowrojee Furdoonjee and to Mr. Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengalee. The first began as Chairman of the Association—a post which he occupies with honor to himself and to his community even at this day. The two latter began as its Secretaries. Mr. Nowrojee was Secretary to the Association for nearly ten years and it would take pages to recount the services he

was rendered to the cause of social reform among his people in the midst of his other arduous work, he was able to find time to devote himself to the cause of female education, and worked at it with an earnestness and vigour, which ought to put many a young man of the present day to shame. There were others who felt perhaps as enthusiastically on the subject but none else had the dogged perseverance and the steady industry of Mr. Nowrojee. And in Mr. Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengalee, he found a most valuable co-adjutor. Thus the cause of female education assumed under the auspices of these men an organised shape. What deserves your admiration more than this organising and working power of the educated young men of the time I speak of is the tact and practical good sense with which they proceeded. Instead of rushing headlong like rash reformers, Mr. Nowrojee and Mr. Sorabjee never failed to consult persons more elderly and experienced than themselves. And this was the secret of their success. Where there would otherwise have been strong opposition, they were able to secure sympathy by the use of tact and temper. For instance, wherever Mr. Framjee or other old men objected to certain details in the management of the schools, Mr. Nowrojee and Mr. Sorabjee gave way, knowing that if they were able to maintain the schools and keep them going on, time would remove old prejudices and bring about a change in the feelings and prejudices of their community as a whole. And this is a lesson which all social reformers should take to heart, for, often have I found the members of useful bodies now and then quarrelling over minor questions and hindering all progress. The schools of the Parsi Girls' Schools Association are now in a very prosperous condition and you may form some idea of the progress female education has made among the Parsis from the fact that 95 per cent of the Parsi girls receive instruction at this day.

In what has preceded I have mentioned the names of some of the more prominent gentlemen. belonging to the earlier generation of educated Parsis, who devoted their attention to the subject of social reform, and to whose steady and self-sacrificing industry the happy results, indicating the present progressive spirit of the Parsi community, are chiefly due. Let me now dwell a little on the splendid services rendered by the Cama family to the cause of social progress in general and female education in particular. The name of that family will always live immortal, for it has - given

Bombay men, the memory of whose lives is highly inspiring, because their history is one glorious, though silent, record of charitable deeds and generous actions. There have been great and good men among Parsis and Hindus but none greater or better than Mr. Cursetjee Nusserwanjee Cama, and Mr. Dosabhoy Framjee Cama. They literally lived the life of benevolence and *intelligent* charity—*intelligent* because it was as discriminating as it was liberal. Nearly every good object had their heartiest sympathy and their purses were freely opened to almost all movements calculated to benefit and improve the public. The Parsi Girls' Schools have now an endowment of Rs 60,000, half of which was contributed by various members of this truly noble family alone. Events are moving fast in these days and the present generation is apt to forget what its predecessors did, in these times of rapidity of motion and rapidity of thought. But the unbounded generosity of the Camas, their active sympathy for the welfare of their fellow creatures, and the spirit of progress, which formed the mainspring of that sympathy, deserve to be made known to those living in the present or coming in the future. Mr. Cursetjee Nusserwanjee Cama, whose recent death deprived Bombay of a life that was singularly noble and liberal, was, as I have said already, the man, who propped up Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee and his friends when these first struggled hard in the cause of female education. I have before me a copy of 'An Oration,' delivered by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on the occasion of the funeral service performed by a Freemasons' Lodge (to which Mr. Cursetjee N. Cama belonged) in memory of the latter shortly after his death. That "Oration" ought to be placed in the hands of every young man. There you read how Mr. Cursetjee lived and worked to serve his countrymen—how enthusiastically and yet quietly he took into his confidence the rising young men of the day, and spared not himself in furthering the cause of social reform, which they espoused. As Mr. Dadabhai has said there, at a time when the cause of female education was denounced by a considerable section of the Parsi community—when, to use Mr. Dadabhai's words, "the self-bondage in the higher ranks and the moral bondage in others was a barrier not easy to be overcome"—Mr. Cursetjee Cama cheered up the young champions of that cause, and gave them his counsel and his money, looking for no earthly reward in return. In that generous and exemplary effort, he was heartily supported

by his father and by his brother Dhunjeebhoy. Mr. Dosabhoy Framjee Cama, who is still living, was the man, who in the days of his prosperity, gave several thousands a year through Mr. Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengalee for the use of girls' schools and other objects of public charity. The best feature of that charity, which knew to give and when to give, was that it not only did not seek publicity but made it a sacred condition of its gifts that the name of the giver should remain a close secret. Silently he gave his support and Bombay for years did not know it, until Mr. Sorabjee some years ago, felt it his duty at a public meeting to acknowledge his liberal gifts. Nor was his generosity confined to Parsis alone. So catholic was his sympathy that once he sent through Mr. Sorabjee a respectable sum of money to the late Mr. Karsandas Muljee, when the self-sacrificing devotion, with which the latter had laboured hard to promote the cause of social reform among Guzerati Hindus, subjected him to persecution and made him helpless. Mr. Karsandas to the day of his death did not know from whom the money came. Fortune has now ceased to smile upon "immortal" Dosabhoy, but even in adversity he is what he was in prosperity—as warm as ever in a good cause, "rejoicing in hope, patient in tribulation." This is a character for study and imitation—a character, that shows humanity in its highest and best form, ever ready to sacrifice itself to the cause of mankind, in prosperity serving most ardently its fellow-creatures, in adversity standing firm and fearless to brave it, and always carrying with it an equal temper, a feeling heart, and a most charitable disposition.

An Indian Carlyle is not likely to find a worthier hero for worship than Mr. Dosabhoy Cama,—

'A man that fortune's buffets and rewards has taken with equal thanks.'

Next to female education, I ascribe the social progress of the Parsis to the attempts made by the earlier generation of the educated members of that community to diffuse knowledge by means of tracts and publications and through the Press. The first effort in this direction, so far as I remember, was made by Mr. Nowrojee Furdoonjee. In 1840, he started a periodical in Guzerati, which was called the *Vidya Sagara*. After it came the *Jagatmitra*, a periodical

also in Guzerati, started in 1850 by Mr. Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengalee. The second, like the first, dealt with questions of social and literary interest, and both in their time helped to diffuse knowledge among the people and to accustom them slowly to the new and more advanced ideas of the time. In 1851 the Dnyan Prasarak Mandali, a vernacular branch of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, commenced to publish in the shape of pamphlets essays read at its meetings. But there was yet a need for a periodical, specially adapted for females and this need was supplied for the first time in 1857, when the *Stribodh* or the "Instructor of Women" was started. This again was due to Mr. Dosabhoj Framjee Cama's active sympathy for female education and advancement. In fact the magazine was started under his patronage. To attract readers and place it within the reach of all, its annual subscription was kept so low as one rupee. At the very beginning, its subscribers numbered 1000; but the cost of printing and illustrations being in those days very expensive it for years resulted in a loss; and this loss was borne entirely by Mr. Dosabhoj. To the educated youths of the time he gave encouragement and thus the magazine was kept up. I may mention here Mr. Nanabhai Haridas, now a Judge of the High Court, was for some time its editor and, I believe, Mr. Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengalee and some other rising reformers of the day frequently contributed to its columns. And it must be said to their credit that, with Mr. Dosabhoj Framjee Cama presiding over their energies like a guardian angel, they made the *Stribodh* a useful and interesting magazine—liked and welcomed by the ladies for whom it was specially intended. Thus it rendered yeoman's service to the cause of female education at a time when there was pressing need for such service. But a more potent influence for good in the direction of social reform was exercised by the *Rast Goftar*. To this paper the Parsis are very highly indebted for its staunch and continued advocacy of liberal and enlightened ideas. It was started by Mr. Dadabhai Nowrojee in 1851. He conducted it for some time as an unpaid editor, and the loss, in which it resulted for some years after it was started, was borne by Mr. Oursetjee Nusserwanjee Cama. Another interesting fact, which I think it necessary to mention, is that Mr. K. R. Cama, the well-known Oriental scholar, sent printing papers for the journal from England at his own expense for some years. After Mr. Dadabhai, a relative of his edited the paper. Then it

was conducted by Mr. Jehanghir Burjorjee Vacha, who was succeeded on the editorial chair in 1858 by Mr. Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengalee. When some time after Mr. Sorabjee retired from the editorship, it was taken up by the late Mr. Karsandas Mulji and Mr. Jehanghir Burjorjee Vacha, who were, about twenty years ago, succeeded by Mr. K. N. Kabrajee, its present Editor. Now, the point to remember about this paper is that from 1851 to 1858 it dealt almost exclusively with religious, social, and domestic questions, relating to Parsis and sometimes to Gujarati Hindus, and it was only very rarely that political topics found any place in its columns. And this affords another proof of what I have undertaken to show in these communications—namely, that the earlier generation of educated natives did more for religious, social and domestic, reform than the present generation is doing.

Two other institutions, which have materially helped the cause of social reform among the Parsis, remain to be noticed. They are, firstly, the Parsi Law Association, and, secondly, the *Rahnama Mazdiashna* or the Religious Reform Association. I shall not say much about these, for ample information is given about both in Mr. Dosabhoy Framjee's "History of the Parsis." The first, *i.e.* the Parsi Law Association, was established at a public meeting of the Parsis held on the 20th of August 1855; and here again the moving spirit was Mr. Nowrojee Furdoonjee. He and Mr. Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengalee worked as Honorary Secretaries of the Association during the ten years when it was in existence. Its object was to secure for the Parsis in the Presidency towns and the Mofussil a uniform law relating to inheritance and the marital contract, and to raise the legal *status* of Parsi women. Most of the old Parsis looked upon it with no kindly feelings; some even opposed the attempt to ask for a law against bigamy and other similar practices which had found their way into the Parsi community. But no amount of opposition or prejudice could discourage the indomitable Mr. Nowrojee. He had a will and a courage of his own and he stuck to his object like a leech—working steadily and getting others to work with him for the accomplishment of that object. And it was fortunate that in such men as Mr. Framjee Nusserwanjee Patel he found active sympathisers and supporters, whose co-operation and counsel were of immense use to the struggling young reformers. After several years of patient and steady industry—a period of difficulties and anxieties to the young

workers—they at last succeeded in inducing Government to give the Parsis a special law of inheritance and divorce, suited to the changing conditions of their social progress. Well, you hear now a good deal about “infant marriage and enforced widowhood” in connection with Hindu society. Some say—Legislate against these evils ; while others cry—Beware how you meddle with the social constitution of a conservative people. Bigamy was allowed among the Parsis before 1865 and not without some opposition was a legal ban put upon it that year. I would advise the Hindu reformer to make a note of this fact and to work in the spirit, which actuated Mr. Nowrojee Furdoonjee and Mr. Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengalee in connection with the Parsi Law Association. Public opinion may be against you to-day and it is invariably so when you try to disturb a long established usage ; but if the custom, against which you seek for legislative action, is inherently bad—which all allow to be the case as regards the system of infant marriages prevailing in India—and if the principle, for which you are contending, is inherently good, be sure the best way of silencing your amiable and patriotic “Let Alones” and of worrying the Government into action is to sit to work with the doggedness and industry of Mr. Nowrojee Furdoonjee and not to give way until you have gained your point. Remember well that the agitation for special laws for Parsis, suited to their advancing conditions, lasted from 1832 to 1865. As I have said already, it had at first only a few sympathisers and supporters ; and yet it succeeded in the end, because its apostles, if I may so call those who led it, did not give way until it was able to fulfil its ends. As to the Rahnamæ Mazdiashna or the Religious Reform Association of the Parsis, started in the year 1853, its organization was also due mainly to Mr. Nowrojee Furdonjee and Mr. Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengalee. The former began as its President, the latter as its Secretary. It represented the rising young men of the day and naturally it met with opposition at the beginning. Another body, hostile to it, was organized to counteract its influences. Nevertheless the Rahnamæ flourished and it has been a valuable instrument of religious reform among the Parsis. Religious progress is always slow everywhere but the Rahnamæ has succeeded to the extent of reforming certain customs—those, particularly, which relate to marriage and death ceremonies. Another effort in the direction of religious reform, made by the earlier gene-

ration of educated Parsis, was the founding of a College for the education of Parsi priests. . The late Mr. Rustumjee Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy most actively supported this object, towards which was started in 1863 the *Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy Zurtoshti Madressa* with Mr. Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengalee as its Honorary Superintendent. The Madressa, however, has not been a success, owing solely to the traditional respect, which the Parsi priesthood are accustomed to pay to ignorance.

I must confess that among the present generation of educated Parsis, there is a lurking tendency to be indifferent to religious questions. The religion of Zoroaster was pure monotheism and Mr. Dosabhoj Framjee in his "History of the Parsis" has pointed out its excellences. Surely an ancient religion like this and one professed by a community, whose watchword is progress, deserves to be cared for and developed. No community can live without religion and I was delighted when I read the other day that an educated Parsee priest had come forward to lecture to the public on the principles of Zoroastrianism. Mr. Kabrajee, the Editor of *Rast Gofar*, who has made his mark as a social reformer and under whom that paper has fully maintained its reputation as an advocate of enlightened ideas, deals in its columns with religious, and social questions and this is an example which the rising generation ought not to be slow to follow.

I must now bring my remarks on religious and social reform among the Parsis to a close; and I trust I have succeeded in showing that it is to the attention and the energy, devoted by the earlier generation of educated Parsis, to questions relating to that reform that their community owes its present position as an advanced and enlightened people. In speaking of that generation, what most strikes you is the wonderful capacity for work and the many-sided activities, which distinguished most of those, who represented it. It is surprising how, in the midst of their ordinary business, they found time to devote themselves to public interests. For instance, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji had his work at the College and yet you see how many institutions owe their origin to him and those who worked with him—the Students' Society, the Dnyan Prasarak, the Bombay Association, the Rahnamæ Mazdiashna, the Irani Fund, the Kasrat Shala, and the Girls' Schools. Mr. Nowrojee was a Translator at the High Court and as Secretary of the Bombay Association he had much to do. Nevertheless, his mind and

his energies were not confined to his profession or politics but were as enthusiastically devoted to the social and religious interests of his people. As I write, the recollection comes over me of the time, when after a day's hard work at the Court, he used to sit till after mid-night, with a clerk by his side, dictating to the latter replies to adverse critics of social and religious reform. Few could equal his industry and his tenacity—two qualities, which even advanced age has not been able to knock out of him. As a social reformer, he ranks very high indeed and the Parsi community cannot point to a better and nobler example of such patience and perseverance under difficulties as he showed in all he undertook. Mr. Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengallee had as a business man his day-time, during the period of which I speak, fully occupied he being then mainly dependent for his living on his work, and yet for years together you found him zealously working in connection with girls' schools, the Religious and the Law Association, and at night getting through his share of the articles for the *Jagatmitra*, the *Stri-bodh*, and the *Rast Goftar*. I could go on multiplying other instances of this type of character, which laid the foundations of that social progress, which so prominently distinguishes the Parsis at this day. But I have shown and said enough for the purpose with which I started. It is such type of character that advances human happiness and multiplies human comforts; and as such, the examples I have laid before my readers ought to be copied by your present and future generations. In my next communication I propose to deal with religious and social reform among the Hindus.

Addresses to Students.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF STUDENTS.

(*Under the auspices of the Wilson College Literary Society, 1886.*)

I have announced my subject to be "Our Students and their Responsibilities" Perhaps some of my young friends here will say that it is difficult to understand what I mean by proposing to deal with the responsibilities of young men, who are not called upon yet to take any part in the various activities of the world, and whose responsibilities cannot be expected to extend beyond their studies and their examinations. They may suppose that as long as a young man is a young man, and as long as a student is a student, he is not expected to do more than this—to mind his own studies, to attend his school or college regularly, to pass his examinations creditably, and to behave like a good, industrious and modest young man. These undoubtedly are the students' responsibilities; but they are not all. The responsibilities which I have just now mentioned force themselves upon your attention every day and almost every hour; every school-boy knows them and is daily reminded of them. And it is because they force themselves on your attention every day that I do not mean to dwell upon them here. I wish to speak of other and higher responsibilities, which are not so often felt and realised as they ought to be, but which you should not ignore, inasmuch as on them depends the whole of your and your country's future. Those responsibilities, if properly realised, would teach you, in short, this—that your present life as students is a life of probation and preparation; that as you sow now, so you and your country will reap in future; and that you must, therefore, from now begin and try your best to lay the foundation of a good individual character, which shall prove the basis of a true national character—that you must, in short learn to become *men* in the highest, best and noblest acceptance of the term.

It is often said (and there is a great deal of truth and force in the observation) that India has a great and mighty future

before her. When we find that this country at one time occupied a high rank among the civilized nations of the ancient world ; that when it was at the height of its glory it developed to a state of perfection its own literature and some of its own arts ; that then, owing to various causes, its progress all of a sudden stopped and it fell a prey to the attacks of ruder nations ; that each of those nations who ruled it, was weighed in the balance, found wanting and set aside ; and then Providence consigned it to England's more methodical and more civilized rule. When I find that my people, rich at one time in their intellectual and religious achievements and showing even in their present fallen condition some of the traces of their old intellectual vitality, have been brought in close contact with a nation, whose history, though more modern than ours, has been a history of steady and careful progress,—when I find all this, I can hardly fail to be impressed by what I regard as the grandest, because the most striking, historical fact of the age in which we live—grander certainly than that the world has yet witnessed. I perceive in that fact the finger of God working in an inscrutable way to raise and to elevate my fallen country, and to once more make it with the aid of England, the help-mate of civilization and of progress. Every force at work in our midst—every renovating agency that the Englishman has brought with him to this country points to one thing more than to any other, and it is this : that this ancient land of an ancient people has a great future before it. And if you ask me Upon what does that future specially rest ? I answer that it rests not so much upon our present political reformers, not so much upon our present social reformers, not so much upon our present religious reformers as upon those who will be hereafter called upon to be the *masters* of that future. And who else are the masters of India's future but the large numbers of young men who are now attending our schools and colleges,—those, I say, the bright and beaming faces of some of whom I see before me ? Here are the trustees of the country's future ! It is the students of the present generation who will be the men of the coming generation, and if you would have that future made a future of greatness and glory, your first duty is to prepare the students for the future that awaits them, by infusing into their minds those ideas, by inspiring them with those principles and endowing them with those qualities which alone will enable them to make that future which it ought to be.

What, then, is the first idea which ought to be strongly implanted in the minds of those with whom so greatly rests the future of this country? It is this, that their *education* is intended, not for the purpose solely of enabling them to earn their own bread, to seek their own comforts, and to make themselves and their families happy; but that it is also intended to prepare them for higher, nobler and purer ends—for enabling them to fight what the present Poet Laureate of England calls the healthy “breezy battle” of life—for enabling them to dare do all that does become a man—for, in short, fitting them to be the true leaders and guides, not the slavish followers, applause-seekers and popularity-hunters, of their people.

Knowledge, it is said, is power, and it is power because it enables him who possesses it to rule and guide the world. Where knowledge does not aspire greatly, where it does no more than help and enable the man who possesses it to seek his own happiness and rest contented when he has succeeded in earning his own bread and pursued his own selfish ends, regarding himself as the centre of all his thoughts and actions,—there knowledge ceases to be power, because it fails to raise its possessor above the level of the lower orders of the animal creation. Even beasts and birds know how to earn their own bread and seek their own happiness. But what distinguishes *man* from beasts and birds is that he has reason and capacities which he can use so as to make others than himself happy, that he can use those capacities for the elevation and regeneration of mankind in general and his own people in particular. “What is man” asks Shakespeare, “if his chief work and market of his time be put to fee and sleep?” To those whose thoughts and whose aspirations do not go beyond their own self, who think the sole aim of life is to seek their own pleasure and their own happiness, that holy teaching of Jesus Christ’s “Take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed?” “Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.” this holiest of holy teachings may seem to have no meaning in it, and may strike as the teaching of one who took no account of the realities and the daily necessities of the world, and who spoke and acted like a dreaming enthusiast. But if we examine this teaching by the light of those lessons which History teaches—and History is our surest and safest guide in such matters—if we

examine that teaching by the help of those lives which form the soul of all good biography, we shall find that a nation's greatness, and a nation's prosperity have resulted from and depended upon, not a man of selfish ends, not upon the man who earned his own bread and lived contented with seeking his own happiness; but upon those heroic characters who thought less of themselves and more of their country, and who devoted their lives, their talents and their energies to the service of their people. Take away these characters and their deeds from the pages of History, which you daily read and which you daily admire. Then what remains of History at all? History then becomes a perfect blank. It has little to tell; still less to teach. And if countries that have become great and prosperous owe their greatness and their prosperity to the self-denying labours of the men, who thought less of themselves and more of others, who lived, worked, and aye, even died for their country, is not theirs the character which ought to be developed in himself by every student, is not theirs the example, which ought to fire the ambition, kindle the soul and rouse the energies of every young man?

This, then, is the first idea which ought to be firmly implanted in your minds and which ought to inspire you in all you think and do from now—the idea that your education is intended, not merely for the purpose of enabling you to earn your own bread and seek your own happiness; but also for the purpose of enabling you to devote yourselves to the service of your country. In order that the idea may become the leading and the guiding principle of your lives in future—in order that that idea may become a part of your nature and animate all your actions when you will be called upon to play your part in the world as men—it is necessary that you should from now learn to acquire those qualities of the head and the heart, which, and which alone, form the soul and the basis of true patriotism.

Towards this end, your first, your greatest and your present responsibility is to form and to acquire what I shall call a high conception of a high ideal of Duty. Life, it has been truly said, is Duty, and it seems to me all worldly wisdom of the highest character was summed up by the poet in his two expressive lines, in which he said:—

“I slept and dreamt that life was Beauty
I woke and found that life was Duty.”

Yes, Life is duty. It means doing. There is a high purpose in it—something serious about it. It is not given to man that it may be wasted or that it may be trifled with. It is given to him that he may *do* something that will endure, and nothing endures so much as a good deed done for the public good. We live that others may live. A high ideal of Duty, in short, is a high ideal of life. And what is a high ideal of life?

I shall explain what is meant by a high ideal of life. I could give you now in one sentence what I mean by it; but it is necessary that I should make some observations before-hand and prepare you for what I regard as a correct definition of a high ideal of life or a high ideal of duty. There are three ideas involved in it. The first idea is this: A man whose ideal of life or duty is high realises, in the first place, that he is born, not for himself solely but for others—not only for his family but also for his country. Life cannot go on unless men felt one another's value and worked for one another. For the most trifling thing we depend on others. The moment we are born we begin to depend on others. Nature herself teaches us this lesson. A man whose conception of life is high realises the value of this lesson in its entirety. He regards himself as one to whom life has been given that he may serve others and make them happy. He feels that the geometrical axiom that the greater can include the less, but not the less the greater, applies to all the pursuits of man and all the duties of life. He remembers that he is but one of his countrymen, and that if he serve them, he serves himself, because he is one of them. Where the higher end predominates, the lower end follows; but where the lower end takes the place of the higher, the higher is apt to be ignored. Where a man serves himself and his family he serves none else; but where he serves his countrymen he serves others and also himself and his family, for they are included in the former. This then is the first idea involved in what I have called a high ideal of Life or Duty.

A high conception of Duty does not, however, mean merely that you are to serve your fellowmen. It implies something more; it means—and this is a very important thing—it means that you must serve the country, not blindly, not thoughtlessly, not foolishly but wisely and well. There are two ways of serving a country as there are two ways of serving a man. If you are interested in a man, if you are really desire his welfare—if you sincerely love him and if you as

sincerely wish that he should prosper, what is the course which you will, if you are a wise and far-sighted friend, think it best for his good to adopt? Certainly this, that you will ascertain what the failings of the man are. you will not flatter him; you will not let him run away with the idea that he is perfect; but on the contrary you will do your best to inform him of his shortcomings, you will try your utmost to guide him in the ways of wisdom, and to correct his failings. In other words, you will make him see himself as others see him. Again, what is the best advice which is generally given to a man who wants to be great? Do we not tell him to remember the lesson—"Man, know thyself." We tell him not to regard himself as perfect; to remember that his progress can never be complete, and that he has something to learn every day from everybody, and he should be conscious of his own defects. We ask him to bear in mind Cowper's well-known and oft-quoted lines.

" Knowledge is proud that he knows so much,
Wisdom is humble that he knows no more."

Who is that we generally admire and respect—the man who thinks himself to be so wise that he has nothing to learn and no improvement to make, or the man, who, like great Newton, feels that he has yet to learn a great deal more than he has learnt? Certainly the latter. Now, what is true of individuals is also true of nations; for, after all, what is a nation but a collection of individuals? If self-knowledge is valuable to a man, it is also valuable to a nation. If a man is apt to be degraded and demoralized by the idea that he is perfect, that he has nothing more to learn, that his progress is complete, and that he has no failings, a country is also apt to be demoralised by the same idea. The moment a people begin to think that they are perfect and have made all the progress they should make, they prepare the way for their own downfall. Just as a man is apt to be spoilt by blind love and admiration, by foolish flattery and thoughtless advice, a country is apt to be spoilt by blind and thoughtless patriotism and by a false sense of duty. That man does not serve his country well or wisely, who flatters it with the notion that it is perfect, that it has nothing further to learn, and that all it has to do is to regard itself as a country without any shortcomings. A true patriot, on the other hand, who has a high conception of Duty, will direct

his attention more to the failings and shortcomings of his countrymen than to their merits, without, of course, ignoring the latter—he will teach them to know themselves, he will seriously consider both *what is* and *what ought to be*, and will not fear to acknowledge a fault which is a national fault, and to do all he can to set it right. And in this consists true patriotism—a truly high ideal of Duty. A French writer, (the Rev. Father Didon on “ The Germans ”) who has written a book on the Germans, in which he examines the causes which have made the latter a great nation, and led to the deterioration of his own people—the French—begins his book thus —

“ I endeavour to judge my own country without flattery and without self-deception. Passionately loving France, I wish to serve her dispassionately ” This pithily expresses the second idea involved in a high ideal of Duty, which means that you are not only to serve your country but to do it *dispassionately*—you should serve it, not like a blind patriot who flatters his countrymen and hates those who point out their shortcomings, but like a true patriot, who, because, he loves his country, desires to know its failings and invites criticism. The French writer I have referred to also says—

“ I am opposed to short-sighted patriotism, moulded by egoism, rancour. and hate ” That conception of Duty which sets before itself a high ideal, despises short-sighted patriotism, and takes its stand upon the noble principle of serving the country seriously, thoughtfully and nobly, by becoming alive to the causes of its weakness and its fall. A high conception of Duty does not mean telling your countrymen, as some among us are telling them just now, that we Hindus or Parsees or Mohammedans have no right to be lectured by Europeans about our duties and our failings, because when we were civilised the Europeans were barbarous. On the other hand, it consists in finding out seriously why we that were once great have now fallen, and why those that were once fallen have now become great. A high conception of Duty does not consist in telling the people to think themselves wise and perfect, and to abhor and deride all change. It does not consist in practising deception upon them by deluding them with the belief that all they have is good. The true man of Duty is he who will serve and judge his country dispassionately, who will serve it by telling it in unmistakable language what its faults and failings are, who will do his best to impress upon his countrymen the great

truth that nations, like individuals, must know themselves before they can hope to raise themselves. The true man of duty is he who will serve his country by speaking and seeking the truth about his countrymen, instead of trying to seek temporary popularity by flattering their prejudices and their superstitions, and ridiculing with them every one who dares tell them, because he loves them, that they are doomed if they do not and will not move with the times.

I have so far placed before you the *two ideas*, which are involved in what I have called a high conception and a high ideal of Duty. The first idea involved in the term is that *we are born for the service of our country*; the second idea involved in it is that *the services should be dispassionate and thoughtful*. But that does not complete my definition of the term. There is a third idea which is involved in a high ideal of Duty. Just as a man may serve the country by flattering its people; yet that is not true service; it must be *dispassionate* service, so a man may dispassionately serve the country but serve it so in *one matter* alone. But a true and a high conception of Duty implies dispassionately serving the country as far as one can in such a way that a country will make progress in *all those matters*, on which its welfare, its greatness and its glory depend. A man whose conception of Duty is high will always remember that the happiness and prosperity, the morality and greatness of a man and of a nation depend on three things—on his or its governments, and religious faith. Man is not only a citizen and the subject of his sovereign; he is also a member of society; he is not only a member of society, but, what is more, he is *man*, endowed with a conscience and with high moral power, “a breath of Heaven,” as Carlyle calls him. The laws and arrangements of his society, the character and doctrines of his religion, as much, if not more, form his character, determine his temperament and influence his life and happiness, as the laws and statutes of Government. As long as there is such a thing as Government and as long as Government rules, and as long as Government is necessary, a man who is ruled by it is bound, *in the first place*, to be loyal to it, and, *in the second place*, to do his best to see that the Government discharges its functions wisely and well. As long, again, as there is such a thing as society, and as long as society is necessary to keep men together, a man who is its member is bound to see that the laws and arrange-

ments of society are of such a character as to engender in its members the spirit of enterprize, morality and progress. As long, again, as *Man* is Man, responsible to a Higher Being, he is bound to see that his people respect God and walk in His ways. Men, in fact, are what their Government, their social laws, and their religious faith make them. All these three should be of a high order and progressive character in order that men may be happy and progressive. If any one of those three is better and the other worse—if any one is progressive and the others re-actionary men's progress will not be complete. Suppose the Government concedes everything you want; of what use will that be if your society binds you by laws, which keep you down while Government tries to move you up. It has been truly said by an English writer (Mr. John B. Gough):—"You cannot make a model man by putting him in a model house, you have got to elevate the man to the house, or he will bring the house down to his level. It must be by elevating the man that the work will be done." Similarly, you may put men under the best of Governments you can have; but if the men are not elevated to the level of the Government, they will bring the Government down to their level. So much as to the social laws. Now as to religion; no nation can live without faith in God—without that sense of responsibility which comes of belief in the Almighty. It may have excellent political and social institutions, but if these are not based on and supported by a pure and enlightened religious faith, they will fall down and the nation will live in chaos. Men will know that they are brothers and are bound to work for one another only then when they realise that they are the children of One God who watches their action and shapes their destinies. What else is there but religion to bind and keep men together. Human interests, you may say. It may be urged that as long as Nature tells us that men need the support, the sympathy and help of one another, they will be forced to love one another and live together. But nature also teaches us at the same time that self-interest rules man more than anything else; and union, love and nationality, which are based on mere self-interest, can never be lasting. If two men live together and in peace merely because they cannot do without each other, they will separate and quarrel the moment they find that there are matters in which they require no mutual support. Channing, a celebrated American writer, truly observes that we should never forget

‘how suddenly the whole social fabric would quake, and with what a fearful crash it would sink into hopeless ruin, were the ideas of a Supreme Being, of accountableness and of a future life to be utterly erased from every mind.’ Mark, again, this solemn teaching of the same author—“Once let me thoroughly believe that they are the work and sport of chance: that no superior intelligence concerns itself with human affairs; that all their improvements perish for ever at death; that the weak have no guardian and the injured no avenger; that there is no recompense for sacrifices to uprightness and the public good; that an oath is unheard in Heaven; that secret crimes have no witness but the perpetrator; that human existence has no purpose and human virtue no unfailing friend; that this brief life is everything to us and death is total, everlasting extinction—once let men thoroughly abandon religion, and who can conceive or describe the extent of the desolation which would follow?” Do not suppose that there is no meaning and no truth in the saying, which we often meet within the best books we read: “Righteousness exalteth a nation” If there is one thing which History tells us and illustrates more than any other it is this, that nations fell when their religious notions become debased, and that scepticism and agnosticism have never led to national greatness—ay, to national existence. And what do our best historians say as the one great lesson taught by History? Mr. Froude sums up that lesson in these words—

“The moral law is written on the tablets of eternity. Justice and truth alone endure and live Injustice and falsehood may be longlived, but doomsday came at last to them in French Revolutions and other terrible ways.” Carlyle, another historian, in an eloquent passage, observes—“Belief is great, life-giving. The history of a nation becomes fruitful, soul-elevating, great, as soon as it believes.” And M. Thiers, one of the wisest of French Statesmen wrote:—“A nation of believers is more inspired to undertake great enterprises, and more heroic when called upon to defend its greatness.” M. Betham Edwards in his book, entitled “A Year in Western France,” says:—“Religious associations and charitable institutions must combat the moral and material sufferings, which are the lot of humanity, and which it is easier for socialistic tendencies to increase than suppress. The spread of education, the progress of science, literature and art, the rapid means of communication on civil and political liberty—all these are but

one half of civilization, and their influence is only healthful if counter-balanced by Religion. Authority and Reverence." The French writer, to whose book on the Germans I referred a short while ago, writes:—"For a people organisation means power and vitality; whereas a want of organisation means weakness, sometimes decay and death. In Germany all social forces, religion, science, army, fortune, nobility seem so arranged as to ensure the greatness of the country." Nations, then, are what their Government, their society, and their religion make them and hence they are bound to interest themselves in and improve all three of them. In India particularly this fact should be most carefully borne in mind by those who seek to make this country great—by you, my younger countrymen in particular, who will be called upon to do all you can to raise your motherland. By means of our political agitations, associations and activities we teach the people that they have something higher to hope for; that they must learn to better their condition; and that while loyally upholding the Government they live under, they should point out its defects and thus seek their own welfare. But of what use will and can this advice be to our people, so long as those people are allowed to be taught and influenced by their religion and by their caste to be a nation of fatalists? It is said of the English nation that whenever anything goes wrong, they at once cry out:—"What a shame!" In India, on the other hand, whenever anything goes wrong, the people are known to say:—"Can't help it. This is our fate." The religious faith of the people and the caste system have for ages taught them that they are the victims of *Fate* and are not the masters of their own circumstances. It is this belief that has ingrained itself in the national character and which has to be destroyed before you can expect the people to be elevated. Political activity, political agitations are certainly good. They have their value and I do not for one moment mean to ignore their value. But what we do with one hand let us not undo with the other. Let not the principle of elevation which we try to infuse into our people by means of our political activities and National Congress, be allowed to be counteracted by the principle of fatalism, which our present social arrangements and our present religious beliefs teach them. Let us reform and correct the latter, so that our political activities may be helped and supported, instead of being opposed by them. That is, while we teach the

people to be politically great, let us not forget to tell them that their religious and social ideas should be as much improved as their political ideas—that the former should be of an enlightened and elevated character equally with the latter.

I am now prepared to give you in one sentence a definition of what I have called a high ideal of Duty. From what I have said you have, I dare say, observed that three ideas are involved in it. A high ideal of Duty implies, *firstly*, cherishing the conviction that you are born, not for yourselves, but for your country; *secondly*, it implies rendering service to your country dispassionately; *thirdly*, rendering that service dispassionately in all those matters, political, social and religious, on which the country's welfare and progress essentially depend. Thus, then, I define a high ideal of Duty to consist in cherishing the conviction that each one of you is born to serve your country dispassionately so far as you can in political, social and religious matters so as to secure that country's progress *all along the line*.

You may ask—Why is it incumbent upon us to form from now such a high ideal of Duty as I have defined and described and to learn to observe it in all we do. I say, it is incumbent upon you for this reason. You must remember that your education is fitting you to occupy a leading position among our countrymen. As educated men and as enlightened members of your society, you will form what I shall call the *mind* of your people. And it has been truly said that it is the mind which rules the world. There is an Italian proverb which says: "He who reads rules." What is meant by that is, that it is the man of education and enlightenment who after all, really influences the world. The late Lord Beaconsfield, in one of his speeches, observed:—"Instead of the strong arm, it is now the strong mind that is the moving principle of society; you have disenthroned *Force* and placed on her high seat—*Intelligence*." It is no longer the man of wealth, no longer the man of strength, who rules, but it is the man of intellect. And hence it has been truly said that the educated classes of a country are, in a sense, its true leaders and representatives. Being the leading class which possesses, as it were the mind of the nation, it is its duty to have in everything a high ideal, for in proportion as the ideal of the leading class is high, the ideal of the ordinary people of the country—i. e., of the masses—will rise too. If the educated Natives have a low con-

ception of Duty—if their ideal of Duty be no higher than this—“Eat, drink and be merry,” “Let the country alone,” “Blindly love the country”—the ideal of the lower classes will be of the lowest character possible. But if, on the other hand, the educated classes raise their ideal the classes beneath them will insensibly learn by example to raise theirs too, and thus *the national ideal of duty*, i. e., the ideal of the ordinary class of men, will rise. You will be the exemplars of your countrymen, who will try to form their ideals by looking at yours. Hence, as educated men are the real representatives of a country—as they typify what is best in its mind—it is their solemn responsibility to have a very high ideal of duty.

But it is not a high conception or a high ideal of Duty alone that will be required of you when you enter the world. A man may form in his mind the highest of ideals; he may in theory hold that it is his duty to serve his country dispassionately and heroically; but in order that the country may really and substantially profit from his high ideal and conception of Duty, he must have the courage and the capacity *to act up* to that ideal. In other words his high ideal must be supported and enforced by not mere thoughts but by deeds. He must live up to his ideal faithfully. And that he may so live it is necessary that he must develop in himself that quality which goes by the name of *moral courage*. And what is moral courage? It is defined to mean “the courage to seek and speak the truth, the courage to be just; the courage to be honest; the courage to resist temptation, *the courage to do one’s duty*.” Moral courage means this that a man who thinks and feels that a certain thing is right, stands by his opinions and convictions, adheres to them faithfully and unflinchingly, looks to no public applause or favour, but does his best to act up nobly and fearlessly to his principles. When Christ Jesus preached to his disciples the great truth —“Ye shall be hated for my name’s sake. But there shall not an hair of your head perish. In your patience possess ye your souls.” He preached to them the necessity of that courage, which is the foundation of all true greatness. In one of his sweet hymns. Tukaram, one of the saints whom India has produced and of whom India in general and Western India in particular must be proud, says “The world is very strangely constituted. If you are religious, people say you are a fool; if you are irreligious, they call you an atheist; if you are

virtuous, they say you are not fit for the world ; if you are vicious, they call you a rascal ; if you marry, they say you have grown worldly ; if you remain single, they say you are selfish ; if you speak, they say you are voluble ; if you are silent, they say you are proud. It is no use after all to set any great value on what the world says. The best and highest religion for man is to do his Duty and to do what he sincerely believes to be right without fear or favour." *This is moral courage.* Moral courage is the soul, the life and the prop of Duty, and it is that, and that alone, which enables a man to seek the truth and to do good to mankind. And it is necessary for you to have *moral courage* to develop in you this precious virtue for this, if for no other reason, that you will be occupying a high position among your countrymen as educated men. Now we often hear it said that the duty of an educated man is to reflect and represent public opinion. The tendency at present is for an educated man to allow himself to be guided by public sentiment. In the anxiety to become a leader, he fears to set himself in opposition to public opinion ; and instead of guiding it, allows himself often to be guided by it. But it seems to me that the duty of an educated man is not so much to represent as to form, guide and create public opinion. If he finds that the people are wrong in a certain matter, if he feels that his countrymen hold to a view or to a custom which is bad, then it is his duty to set them right. If he fails to do this, he ceases to make the right use of education. If those who receive light are not to shed that light over those who are in darkness, who is to do it ? If those who have received freely will not give freely, who is to guide the people ? And after all the world owes its progress not to the educated men, who in their passion to be the leaders and favourites of their illiterate countrymen, pandered to their prejudices, spoke like them and acted like them and were applauded by them ; but by men, who set themselves in opposition to the prejudices and views of the people, and preached and practised what they believed to be right, heart within and God overhead. When you read history, when you read poetry, when you read biography what are the characters which you admire most ? Do you admire the men, who followed the people, who defended their prejudices and superstitions and obtained a temporary popularity ; or do you admire those, who, caring for no one's favour but simply looking to Duty, set themselves to the unpopular work of reforming and

correcting the ways of their countrymen, those who, I say, were ridiculed, persecuted and killed by the men of their times; but who nevertheless stood fast to their cause unwavering, spoke the truth, and at last by the mere force of their character vanquished their opponents and triumphed? Why do you admire Luther, why do you admire Tukaram? What is it that makes you revere the names, respect the lives, and worship and honour the memories of all those characters in history, who strove hard in their times to reform their people? Surely this that, single-handed, they fought for Truth and endeavoured to create a better public opinion, instead of being guided by that which existed. There are among us just now a number of writers, who fling in the face of the social and religious reformers the fact that a majority of the people do not care for them and that public opinion is not on their side. They suppose that it is a great thing for a man to go amongst the people, to talk like them, to admire blindly with them their institutions customs and beliefs, and to parade before others their influence with those people. Men may be admired by people and called by them their leaders, because they follow their ways and flatter their customs. Nothing is easier than encouraging what people think is right and then speaking in praise of their customs. Such a course of conduct may bring you popularity for the time and raise you to the position of a leader; but, after all, such popularity and such leadership are temporary. There is no glory—no credit—in going amongst the people and seeking their applause by admiring with them all that they say and do, because the man who does so, though he may pass for a leader, is really a follower of the people who call him their leader. All the great reforms and changes of the world were due, not to the men who flattered the people of their times and courted their leadership by pandering to their blind prejudices and supporting their superstitious beliefs, but by men, who, when they found public opinion to be wrong on any question, exerted themselves, in spite of the opposition of the very public whom they sought to reform, to correct that opinion, to be wrong on any question, exerted themselves, in spite of the opposition of the very public whom they sought to reform, to correct that opinion, to enlighten it and create a better, a more enlightened and a more healthy public opinion. The great changes of the world—all its great reforms—were effected by small minorities, which had majorities against them and which counted

amongst them men who had moral courage and who did not for a single moment care for the applause and for the leadership of their people. Those writers and speakers who ridicule the present social and religious reformers of India because public opinion is now not on their side, forget this great lesson which history teaches. And what is a majority after all? Hear what a German philosopher, Goethe, said :—"Nothing is more abhorrent to a reasonable man than an appeal to a majority, for it consists of a few strong men who lead, of knaves who temporise, of the feeble who are hangers-on, and of the multitude who follow without the slightest idea of what they want" Mr. Lily quoting this remark of Goethe's, in a recent number of the *Fortnightly Review*, makes the following observation, which I would earnestly commend to your careful attention —'As a matter of fact, the highest moral acts which the world has witnessed have been performed in the very teeth of an uniformity of social disapprobation. A primary token of greatness in public life is to be absolutely unswayed by the *ardor cuius prava iuventium*. And pravity it is, as often as not, for which they clamour. Did Socrates, did Jesus Christ found themselves upon the public opinion of the communities in which they lived?' How often, alas is this forgotten! If educated Natives would only realise this! The duty of an educated man is not to follow and to represent the public opinion of the country, but where it is wrong, to lead it and create a better one in its place. There lies all glory and all greatness. You, my young friends, ought to know from now that if you are to make your country great, you must stand up for Truth, and have moral courage. Do not aspire to be the blind leaders of the blind, for when the blind lead the blind both fall into the ditch. Learn to be the true guides and leaders of your people. Covet that leadership, which history pronounces to be real because it is immortal leadership, and which consists in telling the people courageously that they are wrong where they are wrong and in trying to reform them. That course may not bring you the applause of the men amongst whom you live, but all reformers have had to face unpopularity. It is only in the end that they won the day. Hence is it that history often tells us that the first becomes the last and the last becomes the first. Hence is it that men who are hated by their contemporaries for advocating great reforms become in

the end the leaders of their people, and often the stone that has been rejected has become the head of the corner.

Having endowed yourselves with moral courage, you must make it your next duty to acquire the virtue of self-reliance. Unless you learn to rely on yourselves you will never be able to achieve anything great. Where men always look to others for help and will not put their own shoulders to the wheel, then they doom themselves to a miserable condition of life. Those people alone can become great, who try to be self-reliant—who, remembering that their duty is to serve their country, courageously serve it without expecting others to do that service for them. In India the tendency is often for one man to expect another to do something for the country. We always busy ourselves with saying that Mr. A. has been doing nothing for his country. Mr. B. has not been properly using his education for the benefit of his people, and so on. The greatest of our national faults is that we are so apt to be dependant on others for help; and that we are so liable to be cowed down and depressed when anything goes wrong and when we are defeated. We lack the quality of the English and the Germans, of whom it has been truly said that they tire an obstacle and never swerve from their aim because they are once or twice or repeatedly defeated. You, my young friends, who are to be the masters of this country's future, ought to try and get rid of this national fault and from now learn to be self-reliant. I shall not dwell upon this point further, for it needs no special education; but if you ask what sort of a boy I would admire, I would answer—I admire the boy, who fulfils the description of the brave English lad of the past generations, given by an excellent newspaper of London—the *Spectator*—in its issue of the 24th January 1885. I will read to you what that paper said. Contrasting the English lads of the present generation with those of the past, the *Spectator* said.

“The conceit of ability to conquer the world is gone away. The kind of lad, whom even middle-aged men remember, who seemed silly with hope, who had not dreamed that London could be ‘stony-hearted’; who only wanted to be free and he would succeed directly, to whom a suggestion of failure appeared an insult and who was in his own eyes king of circumstances; who would as we knew a lad to do, at 17 ask for mastership at a public school; or at 18, submit a book to a publisher, in full certainty of accept-

ance ; who would take the train to Liverpool, without an introduction and only 30 shillings ; meaning to come back right—which he did by the way after 40 years 'fight—is as extinct as the DodoThere is plenty to hope for in the new generation ; but it lacks the old strength to dominate circumstances."

Well, then, learn to regard yourselves as kings of circumstances. It is true that circumstances often make the man ; but it is also true that man as often makes circumstances. That being the case, the better plan in life is to work so as to create and influence circumstances and not to allow yourselves to be depressed by defeat or obstacles. Take courage ; be hopeful in all you undertake, and act in a manly and self-reliant spirit. He who does so alone succeeds. Men who advocated great reforms and undertook to make their people great began under the greatest of difficulties ; but in the end they triumphed, because they had faith in their work, they had faith in themselves ; and they worked on in that faith without relying on others for help. And hence is it that so often we are told—and told very truly—that faith can remove mountains. Bear this in mind, my young friends, and from now, when you are young and can more easily acquire good habits than when you grow to be men, begin to acquire the habit of self-reliance.

I have called your attention so far to what I conceive to be the three highest responsibilities of our students. They are, *firstly*, the formation of high conception or ideal of Duty ; *secondly*, the acquirement of the virtue of moral courage which is necessary to support that ideal in practical life ; *Thirdly* the requirement of the habit of self-reliance, which, again, is essential for the same reason that moral courage is necessary. I call these three highest responsibilities of our students, because they form the beginning and the basis of all individual greatness and life. And national greatness is, after all, the result of individual greatness. Unless the educated men of a country learn individually to fulfil these responsibilities, they will not be able to raise it to the rank of a prosperous, enlightened and elevated nation. You are often told that those people are entitled to be called great, among whom arts and sciences prosper, and who show the highest development in point of politics and learning. But those that say so tell you only what is not the whole truth, for they mistake the effect for the cause. Arts and sciences will prosper, your country will reach a high stage of

political and intellectual development, only if those who can be the agents of such prosperity and development, *i. e.*, such of its men as can think and as alone are, therefore, able to lead it, will in the first place cultivate *those virtues* and *those habits* which are necessary for the cultivation of arts and sciences, and all kinds of development. Give a country, in the first place, a number of men, who will feel that they are born to serve it and raise it ; who will strive to reform it in all matters on which its progress depends ; who will adhere to their convictions steadfastly and courageously ; and will work without relying on others—then it is that you give it life, for when a country is full of such men it becomes prepared to cultivate all that is needed for its progress and prosperity—arts, sciences and everything. Good works make a country great ; and good works need good and patriotic men. And who are entitled to be called good and patriotic but those who realise their real duty in life and discharge it with courage and self-reliance ? Some one has said :—“Tell me what the songs of a people are, and I shall tell you what their character is.” I have heard it also said :—“Tell me what the laws of a people are, and I shall tell you their character.” But to me it seems the best and most appropriate method of putting it is this : “Tell me what the ideal of duty which obtains among the educated classes of a country is and how they observe that ideal in practice, and I will tell you their character.”

And now my young countrymen, you, whom I have called the masters of my country's future, let me, in conclusion, tell you that it has given me the greatest pleasure to appear here to-night and to tell you what are your highest duties and responsibilities. In all I have said I have endeavoured to impress upon you one fact, and that is that it is you, on whom the future of this country will especially depend. If you love, as I have no doubt you do love, that country—if you feel, as I have no doubt you do feel, for her—then, I say raise and elevate yourselves both intellectually and morally, in order that you may be able to raise and elevate her. Try to be, in short, *men*, before you aspire, as you ought to aspire, to be *statesmen*. Form a lofty ideal of your Duty and learn to go through life as men born to carry out that ideal with moral courage on the one hand and self-reliance on the other. And remember this,

above everything else, that India, the country which has given you birth, and England, the land which is educating you, expect each one of you to do his duty. Say with the poet and act accordingly :—

“Give unto me, made lowly wise,
The Spirit of self-sacrifice;
The confidence of Reason give
And in the light of truth Thy Bondman let me live.”

THE AIMS OF LIFE.

(Under the auspices of the Wilson College Literary Society, 1889.)

[Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar delivered at the Wilson College Hall the fourth lecture of the series arranged by the Wilson College Literary Society. There was a crowded audience and the subject of the lecture was "The Aims of Life." The Hon. Sir Raymond West, K. C. I. E., presided.]

The lecturer said if any one had come into the hall expecting that he (Mr. Chandavarkar) was going to say that night that the principal aim of life was the seeking of Government service, he was sure to be disappointed. (Laughter). Mr. Chandavarkar said he had chosen the subject because it arose out of the subject on "The Responsibilities of Students," on which he had delivered an address some time ago in connection with the Wilson College Society. His object that night was simply to suggest to the younger portion of his audience how they ought to fight the battle of life on entering the world. They must first get rid of the notion that life was an illusion. We had to get through life somehow, and we could not avoid it. And as we had to face it, the question was whether we should face it as powerless and aimless beings, or with a bold front and an erect eye. To face life as aimless beings was to descend to the level of dumb-driven cattle. We must, therefore, face it like heroes and to do so we must have heroic aims. What these were was the next question. The first aim, it was generally said, was to earn one's bread. This was not by any means the highest aim, but, nevertheless, it must be noticed first, because every man had first to provide for his material comforts and physical wants. That aim cast upon us the duty of choosing a profession, and, having chosen it, we must stick to it with fidelity and steady application. This is a commonplace truth, and hence required a warning. Some years ago, Sir Richard Garth, late Chief Justice of Calcutta, exhorted an audience of young men to bear in mind that every one ought to regard his profession as if it were a jealous mistress, and as an illustration of that view he instanced the case of a young man who, while at college, was re-

garded as a genius, but who, when he was called to the Bar, failed to make any head, merely because he trusted solely to his genius. Such instances did show that in order to rise in one's profession, one must bend a little, and even the most gifted genius was bound to go through the drudgery and routine of his profession. But it did not follow from that, that we must devote ourselves exclusively to our profession as if it were the sole aim of life. When a man devoted himself exclusively to his profession he was apt to become of the earth, earthy, and narrow-minded. He was apt to judge of everything in life, and of life itself, from the professional, *i. e.* the narrow point of view. For instance, they all remembered what Burke had said of the profession of law. That was a good and noble profession, but, with its good points, it had also its bad points. For instance, it brought one in contact with a good deal of the world's roguery (Laughter and cheers.) It taught one to make the worse appear the better cause—(Laughter),—and a lawyer was apt to mistake skill in argument for truth. These weak points were sure to produce their demoralising effects on any one who aimed at being a lawyer and nothing more (Cheers.) He was apt to sink into the notion that the world consisted of but two classes of people—litigants and lawyers—(laughter),—the litigants existing for the lawyers and the lawyers existing for money. (Renewed laughter and cheers.) What was true of the profession of law was true of other professions more or less. An exclusive devotion to them was apt to make the mind run in one groove and develop one-sidedness of character, which was only another term for narrowness of mind. As Cardinal Newman had pointed out—"They whose minds are possessed with some one object take exaggerated views of its importance, are feverish in the pursuit of it, make it the measure of things which are utterly foreign to it, and are startled and despond if it happens to fail them. They are ever in alarm or in transport" This demoralising tendency of exclusive devotion to one's profession ought to be guarded against. The true way, therefore, of looking at one's profession was to look upon it not as if it were a jealous mistress, but a faithful and loving wife, who, because she loved her husband, allowed him to absent himself from her a little, well knowing that "short retirement urges sweet return" and that when after such short absence he came into her company, that company would be all the more pleasing, charming, and ennobling to him. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.)

We are certainly bound to devote the greater portion of our time to our profession, but we should take care to master it rather than be mastered and enslaved by it. And this we could do by steady application to it, on the one hand, and by a due regard to the other aims of life, on the other. This consideration led to the second aim of life, which was Intellectual Aim. As long as we dealt with man's physical and professional wants and cares, we dealt with him as he was situated in a sphere not far removed from the lower orders of the animal creation, which had also physical wants to provide for. But the first step which raised us above brutes was the mind, on which the world's weal or woe essentially depended. This mind should be developed, because on it depended much of the world's happiness or misery. Besides, we were living in an age when the civilized world was making rapid intellectual progress, and no one thought to lag behind in the race. We were living in an age of public opinion. Now public opinion was merely a collective view which a large number of individuals called the people, took on any question. A majority of these people, called masses were, for want of knowledge, not able to take a broad and liberal view of questions. The duty therefore, doubly rested on men who had received a liberal education to develop their intellectual faculties, and always go on developing them so as to keep their own minds above the level of the masses and assist in the formation, by means of their cultured minds, of a sound public opinion. A University failed of its purpose if it did not teach those trained at it to go on learning all their lives and developing their minds as if there was no end to its development, and if by means of their increased and increasing culture they did not influence not only their own thoughts and lives, but also the thoughts and lives of those around them, (Cheers). Every one should, therefore, aim at being a man of culture. He should select some favourite subject for his study outside his professional studies, and ought to devote at least half an hour every day. The plea of want of time was useless. It was not want of time, but waste of time, that led men to grumble. Even the busiest man ought to find by a skilful and methodical arrangement of his time half an hour for culture, Mr. John Morley went further, and had suggested ten minutes a day for the purpose, and ten minutes conscientiously and regularly devoted could accomplish a great deal. All that was wanted was faith in one-

self and resolution. And how much that could accomplish towards the fulfilment of the intellectual aim they could learn from the example of the man whose loss we had all mourned but eight months ago—the late Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik (Cheers) That gentleman was once requested by a society to read a paper on an important subject. He readily complied with the request. Before he sat to his task a domestic incident occurred which distracted his mind. It would have unnerved a man of weaker resolution. But such was Mr. Mandlik's strength of purpose that he set to his work, did it, and kept up his engagement. This was an example worthy of admiration and imitation. (Cheers.) With regard to the intellectual aim, care must be taken against intellectual exclusiveness. A life of thought ought to go hand in hand with a life of business ; otherwise it was useless and apt even to be mischievous. Most of the men of thought in ancient Greece and Rome were men who while soaring high in the intellectual regions, at the same time took care to mingle with the common affairs of the world. Hence the greatness of ancient Rome and Greece. Most of England's intellectual men were men who combined a life of thought with a life of action. Such a combination was necessary for the greatness of the country. While the intellectual classes should keep their minds by their culture above the ordinary level, at the same time they should take care that their ideas filtered down to the masses, and there was not a wide gap between the men of thought and the men of action. India's misfortunes are due to this wide gap. In ancient India there was no lack of intellectual growth and philosophical thought, but our philosophers and thinkers soared so high in the regions of speculation that they forgot the world, detached themselves from it, professed contempt for it, and dwelt in the regions of theory. The result was that the intellectual class became an exclusive caste as it were—the men of thought and the men of business were separated from one another, and there was no sympathy and fellowship between the two. What was the result? The men of thought became purely speculative and had not the corrective of the world's common and practical sense. The men of business fell down and sank deeper and deeper into ignorance, because thought was not on their side. This intellectual exclusiveness ought, therefore, to be avoided. But culture was of no use if it did not form the basis of a sound character, and this brought us to the third

aim of life, which was the Moral Aim. The moral element in man formed the second step which raised him above the brute creation. To the development of the body and of the mind there was a limit, but the moment we ascended higher and came to deal with man's moral nature we came across a field where man was capable of working wonders and becoming perfect. Here the man of genius and the man of no genius, the man of wealth and the man of want, could stand as equals. It was not within the reach of all to become men of great talents, but it was within everybody's reach to become men of pure lives and develop within himself the spirit of moral manhood to perfection. There was no limit to man's capacity to become a perfectly moral being. That showed that, while God did not expect us to be men of genius, he did expect us to be virtuous men. It might be said that some men were vicious by nature; but that argument could be answered best by reminding them of an anecdote of Socrates. A physiognomist once visited Athens and pretended to tell men's character by reading their faces. Socrates' disciples, with a view to test the truthfulness of his science, asked him to look at Socrates' face and tell his character. The physiognomist saw Socrates and said that his face showed he was a very vicious man. The disciples of Socrates laughed, but Socrates reminded them that what the physiognomist had said might be true, for he (Socrates) had been "vicious" by temperament, but had conquered his passions by the force of philosophy. This shows that every man if he willed could become morally perfect. But morality had a basis, and its true basis was the spiritual element in man. The existence of this spiritual element some denied, but it should be remembered that modern free thought was gradually vowing in a direction favourable to the cause of religion. Atheism was now a dead force, if it had ever been a force at all. Agnosticism had taken its place, and the feature of this agnosticism was, that it admitted that the world was guided by some power of which all that Agnostics could say was that they could know nothing about it. They called that power the unknowable. Agnosticism, again, did not deny the existence of the spiritual element in man. As Mr. John Morley had said on its behalf, science would have still to go back and find out a religion, for without religion neither men nor women could live. It was far from his intention, said Mr. Chandavarkar, to plead the cause

there of any particular religious faith. All he wanted to do was to remind them of the fact, that as man had a physical, mental, and moral, nature, so he had also a spiritual nature, which called for development. The questions,—What are we? Whence are we? Are we to end here or in a hereafter?—were questions of paramount and permanent interest to every one of us, and forced themselves on us every now and then. It should be man's aim in life to develop this spirituality within him, and try to raise himself above this world by bringing his will into harmony with the higher will of God. These four aims of life—professional, intellectual, moral, and spiritual—were personal aims, and no one was exempt from an obligation to try to realise them. Then he was said to become worthy of his status as man. Then he would feel that as he had personal aims, so also he had public aims. He would feel that as he lived in society it was his duty to interest himself in the well-being of his fellow-creatures. This consideration led to the divisions of public aims into two—social and political. Social aims meant a due recognition of two principles and a conscious endeavour to act upon them. The first principle was thus, that a society was either progressive or retrogressive. In some histories they read of certain societies spoken of as stationary, but that term was a misnomer. The law of progress was, whether for individuals or nations, that if they did not move onwards, they move backwards. There was no such thing as standing still. Every society was subject to either growth or decay. The second principle was that the contributors to this growth or decay were the individuals who composed the society. Each individual was a force, whether for good or evil, however poor and humble he might be. A man might think that being an insignificant member of society his opinions and actions on the social customs of his time were of no consequence; but, nevertheless, he was all the while a force exerted on those around him. As Dr. Chalmers put it, "Every man is a missionary now and for ever, for good or evil, whether he designs it or not". This ought to be well recognised; then we would feel that it was the duty of every one of us to try to be a social force for the better. The social aim therefore required that, recognising the force of these considerations, every one of us ought to try his best to remove social evils by precept and example. As to the political aim, Mr. Chandavarkar said that it was not necessary for him there to say much about politics,

now that the days of the next National Congress were very near. All he would say about the political aim was that every educated man ought to loyally and honestly act the part of an interpreter between the rulers and the ruled. This exhausted the list of the aims of life. It was, some might say, a wide list, and to realise all these aims was too vast and difficult for human nature. But if men had faith in themselves and recognised responsibilities as men, they could do something towards the realization of these aims. They must start in life with determination to idealise the real and realise the ideal. They must have before them high ideals, the higher the better. and if they conscientiously endeavoured to realise them, then, though they might not obtain all they hoped for, yet they would rise higher and higher, and then it was that it could be said of them that they had lived to some purpose and made their lives sublime. When they had cultivated high ideals and acted up to them, then they could be said to have done what one of our best poets and saints said we should do : "We must all so live" said Ramdas, "that when the body perished, our glory shall remain behind." (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

OUR SOCIAL IDEALS.

(*Address at the Presidency College, Madras, 1890.*)

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Nothing has gratified me more than to find during my present visit to Madras that you are ahead of us in Bombay in point of intellectual activity. I am not saying this by way of a conventional compliment paid to you in return for the very kind and generous reception you have accorded to me, but I assure you it has struck me as a remarkable circumstance reflecting credit on you that your student classes here are not content with merely standing for their examinations, but are learning to acquire the spirit of union and organization for the improvement of their minds and morals. It is usual to speak of your Presidency as "benighted" and to suppose that it lags behind Calcutta and Bombay in almost every respect. But I do not think it is correct to speak of this Presidency as "benighted". You have here a Madras University Union, formed with a view to promote as I gather from its programme, the spirit of union among the students of the University of Madras, and afford facilities for their general culture and advancement. You have also another body called the Presidency College Historical Association; and you have again, the Presidency Colleges Literary Society. I take these bodies of students as betokening a very noble effort on the part of the younger generation to learn the value of self-help and to promote the cause of union for the purpose of culture. In Bombay and Poona activity of this kind is almost absent. Our Elphinstone College, which is to Bombay what your Presidency College is to Madras, has no Union or Association of students attending it of the kind you have. There was some years ago an Elphinstone College Union, but no one hears of it now—it is perhaps quite extinct. We have a graduates' Association, but it too is not so very active in the direction of promoting culture as you here are. There is a Wilson College Literary Society and it has some life, but that is our only redeeming feature. The Deccan College

Union of Poona was heard some years ago but if my information be correct, Prof Selby, the Principal of the Deccan College, than whom a greater friend of the students it would be difficult to find, has had to give it up because he found it so difficult to get educated men to deliver addresses or read papers before the Union. It is on this score that Associations started on our side of the country for objects similar to yours do not prosper. I am glad to find that you here labour under no such disadvantage. One often hears it said that our graduates on leaving the College and after taking their degree, lose all interest in literary or philosophical or scientific subjects and lead indolent lives, so far as intellectual activity is concerned. But Societies like yours are, or at any rate ought to be, serviceable in drawing out of their seclusion educated natives and getting them to lecture you on subjects of interest. But the value of Societies such as yours lies, and ought to lie, in something of greater importance. I remember reading when I was myself a young student, the lectures delivered by the late Mr. John Bruce Norton at Pachayyappah's Institution ; and one thing that particularly arrested my attention then was the warning he gave his young hearers against what he called the abuses of Debating Societies. These Societies, he said, were calculated to demoralise students if they were merely looked upon as, and if they merely aimed at becoming so many nurseries of orators and public speakers. Now I do not wish by any means to discourage any student in cultivating the art of public speaking. It is an art which has its own value and in these days in particular it is necessary to cultivate it, for by means of it we are able to convey our thoughts and our convictions to our fellow-beings. But after all what is called the gift of the gab and the eloquence of the tongue is only a means to an end, and even as a means it is but a very poor means if behind it there is not earnestness and determination of conviction and action not only to control but to inspire it. We all admire Englishmen for the foremost place which they have acquired among the civilized nations of the world. Now, those of you who have read Addison's Spectator perhaps remember how in one of his Essays he describes Englishmen as a people wanting in the gifts of oratory and public speaking. This may seem rather an exaggerated statement, especially when we have become familiar with the speeches of English orators like Mr. Gladstone and the late Mr. Bright. But England's strength and greatness are due not

so much to the power of speech possessed by Englishmen as to their power of action. Lord Cromer, more familiarly known to us as Sir Evelyn Baring, in the after-dinner speech which he recently made at Cairo, at the dinner given in honour of Sirdar Kitchener, narrated an anecdote which is worth bearing in mind in this connection. When he was a subaltern, Lord Cromer bought a copy of a book entitled, "*Military Speeches*" and he found the speeches made by the great Generals of all European countries except England, as to which all that the editor of the book observed was that there were no speeches of English Generals. Morahsing on this, Lord Cromer said that Englishmen had won their proud position more by action than by talk; and that is a very pregnant remark. And my object in referring to it here and giving it prominence on this occasion is this that Societies such as yours ought to aim at making men of you—men who will go into the world as soldiers prepared to fight the battle of life with coolness, courage and determination.

Your first aim, then, ought to be to fill your minds with high ideals and principles of conduct. Your society is called a Literary Society and literary studies are useful because, when rightly pursued, they give us a firm grasp of ideals and there is the valuable authority of Mr. John Morley, himself one of the best of literary men of the present age, for the sound observation that it is ideals which shape conduct. Mr. Morley says.—"*The great need in the modern culture, which is scientific in method, rationalistic in spirit, and utilitarian in purpose is to find some effective agency for cherishing within us the ideals. That is the business and function of literature. Literature alone will not make a good citizen; it will not make a good man. It is life that is the great educator. But the parcel of books, if they are well-chosen, reconcile us to this discipline; they interpret to us virtue and justice; they awaken within us the diviner mind and rouse us to a consciousness of what is best in others and ourselves.*" Another equally valuable authority is that of the late Cardinal Newman, who says that literature is Man's history—"It is his life and remains;" and the late Matthew Arnold says, literature humanises knowledge, because it broadens the basis of life and intelligence and diffuses sweetness and light to make reason and the will of God prevail.

But when I say that your literary studies and literary societies are of great service in preparing you for the battle of life

by furnishing you with good and noble ideals of conduct and life, I must answer an objection to which my observation fairly gives rise. Of what use, it may be asked, is it to cherish these good and noble ideals of conduct when the moment you go into the world of practical life, after you have completed your career as students, you find those ideals come in conflict with other ideals which have embodied themselves by the practice of ages into customs, traditions and habits? It may be all very well to say that an educated individual must draw from literature high ideals, but what is the use of that individual's cherishing such ideals when the first thing by which he is confronted is, that there is not only a social ideal to which he is compelled to conform if he wishes to continue a member of the society in which he is born and in which he is bred, but that the social ideal has gone further than the stage of mere idealism—it has become a reality, a live actuality and ancient prejudice? As some writer has very properly put it, "We are prevented from following our ideals by the fact that other men's ideals are already realised and embodied in our social conditions". The individual mind is supposed to be nothing before what is called or may be called the social mind; the individual ideal has no hope, no chance before the social ideal that has already realised itself and that compels conformity to it on the part of whosoever wishes for society. Unless those who preach to young men that they should cultivate literature and cherish good ideals of life and conduct mean that these young men should learn to live in a world of their own and not in the world of practical life, the advice is meaningless and had better not be given.

This is a very proper objection to take and I am bound to answer it and to satisfy you that there is a very serious import in the advice that we must all learn to cherish good ideals not only for our own benefit and progress, but even more for the benefit and progress of the society in which we are born and to which we are related. There is, no doubt, such a thing as the social mind. The custom which society follows, and the institutions which it re-veres are the out-come of ideals that have been realised and are the expression of its own past. These customs and institutions are enforced by the social mind, which is the consciousness of the whole society and may more appropriately be termed its *vox populi* which is looked upon as *vox dei*. But, as pointed out by Mr. Fair-

bank in his "Introduction to Sociology". "in the animal, consciousness is an attribute of the whole organism ; in a society, consciousness remains centred in the discrete individual elements. When men's thoughts come to move in the same channel and a group learns its own unity, we speak of 'a social consciousness' but the phrase never means that a society has a brain, 'a consciousness,' apart from the consciousness of the men who compose it". The social mind, which enforces obedience to established customs and thereby holds together the different individual members of a society, represents what may be called the static power of society. But society cannot develop by means of the static power alone. It is organism, and organism is by nature dynamic rather than static. It is usual to say that society seeks to live, like all healthy organisms, by adjusting itself to its environment ; but the environment itself is constantly changing. New needs, new changes, new circumstances arise from time to time and society has to move in response to them. This must especially be so in the case of progressive societies. But something more than a mere instinctive response to these changing external circumstances is required to make the society adapt itself to the altered environment. That something more, you cannot find in the social mind, or rather the *vox populi* of a society, which worships the traditions that have been handed down to it from the past and enforces obedience to them. The social mind represents the centripetal force in society ; it is its conservative power ; but the centrifugal force which is necessary to make society move beyond its customs and traditions can only come from what is called "the idealising reason" or "conscious intelligence" of its individual members. It is the individual mind, as distinguished from the social mind, that alone can see properly the signs of the time, discern the growing needs, focus contemporary wants and interpret them, and make the experience of the past the basis of further development. These two forces which exist in society are complementary of one another. The social force which resides in the social mind or its *vox populi*, being a static power and tied down to customs and traditions handed down to society from the past would, if left to itself, promote despotism and lead to immobility. Wherever that force prevails, societies become stationary, on the other hand, where the social force is weak and the individual mind alone prevails, societies sink into anarchy and confusion. But where the two forces exist and

are active, there it is that order rules and well graduated progress is the result. And this is what philosophers writing on social evolution, are now busily engaged in pointing out and making clear. I shall quote one of them, *viz* Prof Knight, who says —“There is no doubt that the two factors in the historic evolution of the human race have been the power of the individual in leading the masses, and the power of the masses in controlling the individual. These two are complementary forces, centrifugal and centripetal. The power of the individual in determining a new forward movement amongst the mass of his contemporaries is quite as great as any power they can exert in restraining him from a too rapid, it may be, meteoric progress. When a community has sunk into a monotonous uniformity—whether of belief or of practice—when it has been working steadily on in the grooves of tradition, a longing, half understood at first, begins to arise within it for the appearance of a new leader, for the guidance of an individual, for the “coming man” who will be able to focus contemporary wants and to interpret them. In every corporate body—whether it be a state or a church or a philosophical school—there must be leaders; and it is by the commanding force of its greater minds and wills, by their individuality and their special power, that all reformations of opinion and practice are wrought out. The stronger have always given the law to the weaker, although it is also true, as the poet puts it, that “Strongest minds are those of whom this noisy world hears least,” but to suppose that the great movements of history and the formation of its chief philosophies or social institutions, have been due to the unconscious working of blind forces is as great a mistake as it is to ignore or undervalue the latter. The brain power of the individual has been a potent factor in the formation of every philosophical system and it comes out in many ways. It is needed, 1st, adequately to understand the spirit of the age, 2nd, to divine its latent tendencies and apprise its underworking currents, 3rd, to guide it onwards in a wise and fruitful manner, 4th, to reconstruct and to re-interpret ancient traditions by bringing them into vital relation with the present age, and 5th, to sow the seeds of future development in a natural manner.”

There is another point which must be borne in mind in this connection. When a society is in the primitive condition of its growth, its wants are comparatively few and its adjustment to its

environment is more instinctive than intelligent. It adapts itself to its surrounding in an almost automatic and unconscious manner, no high power of discernment or reasoning is required to compel it to adopt any particular mode of life, because it adopts that mode of life which climate, geographical situation and other physical surroundings compel it to adopt. The mode of life so adopted leads to the formation of a rudimentary code of rules suited to its primitive condition suggested by its primitive intelligence. These obtain the force of social laws or customs. But as such a society advances, its relations become more complex, its wants more manifold; but in the meantime, the code of rules adopted by the society has become its law, and custom; but a custom arises at its inception out of some necessity; and it is in its nature to hold its ground and become stereotyped for ages. The principle underlying the custom is forgotten; the form remains. Rules of morality adopted in one age because they were then considered the best and the noblest for the growth of the society tend to become in the long run mere rules of convention. This tendency of realised social ideals of the past to become petrified into mere formalities and the gradual disappearance from the social mind of the moral principle which underlay them, require, if society wishes to advance, to be continuously corrected. They also require to be replaced by new rules of higher morality to suit new requirements. Who can find these principles of higher morality? The social mind cannot perform that corrective and discerning function. It is not given to all the individual minds that, in the gross, constitute the social mind, to discern the principle behind the formula of a custom or tradition; that can be done only by men endowed with the power of insight, courage and wisdom. It is here that the individual ideal becomes of service to society. Where individuals who see that a custom has become a mere formula and convention, do not step forward to hold before the social mind a higher ideal, society will remain "busy with the mint" and a mere slave of fashion and convention—following and adhering to a custom blindly without knowing why. We speak of the social mind, but the social mind is the component of the minds of its individual units. The majority of these individuals are lazy, apathetic and slow to perceive a change. As Emerson says, the majority of us are so lazy as we dare to be. In other words, society becomes, to use the phrase rendered immortal by the late Matthew Arnold, a Philis-

tine. For advance, rectification and revision of ideals cherished by a society because they have been sanctified by the past, become always necessary; or else there can be no advance. This is the function of the individual mind, the social mind cannot in its very nature initiate this process. In the words of Prof. Moyer, of the University of Berlin, "only by compromise by mutual accommodation between the old and new rights—is true development possible. But to be sure, such compromise is rarely reached by peaceful means. "Through struggle shalt thou gain thy right," says the great teacher of law, Ihering . . . Nor is there any remedy except in a periodic revision of whatever is established whether it appears in the form of laws, political constitutions, international treaties, or in the guise of morality and religion."

But it is just here that, I am afraid, we have woefully been wanting. So appalled are we by the sight of the pressure which custom and tradition exert over us that most of us, in spite of their intelligence and education, become more or less their conventional followers. And yet the duty of examining the ideals which our Hindu society cherishes and follows is none the less imperative. And no ideal has that society cherished more blindly than what I may call the ideal of antiquity. We are worshippers of the past and it has become a most important part of our creed that there is nothing for us to learn or to do beyond following the lines laid down by our ancestors. All wisdom, all salvation is supposed to be contained in that, and to go beyond it is regarded as both sin and degradation. I am quite prepared to admit that this ideal of antiquity is not altogether a meaningless ideal and within reasonable limits deserves respect. But for the past, we should neither have lived in nor seen the present. As Bagehot says, man himself is an "antiquity," and we are all made in antiquity. But while we owe a good deal to the past and are bound to treat it with reverence it is necessary at the same time to bear in mind that the past is useful only as a guide for our present and for our future growth. It is useful in so far as we have to make it the basis of further development. The past represents the solid past of the work done by society but does not, and indeed cannot, represent all the work that has to be done by it. "Time" says Tennyson, "makes ancient good uncouth," and while the wisdom of our ancestors is not to be despised, while we ourselves are more or less

spiring reverence upon the past ; and as I have already said, the past should neither be neglected nor treated with contempt. It has its utility, but since the present is not exactly like the past, and the future must differ from it even more, we have to confine our reverence for the past within reasonable limits, and what those limits are can only be determined by the wants, the needs, and the spirit of the times in which we live, the environment by which we are surrounded and the circumstances by which we are dominated no less than by the knowledge that we have gained from the discoveries both of the present and of the past. In so doing, we are not by any means extinguishing the past. We are making it live in the present. There is no better way of utilising antiquity than that pointed out by the late Prof. Freeman. In his "Growth of the English Constitution", he points out that the English people have advanced because in their case "the tie between the present and the past was never rent" and "each step in advance had been the natural consequence of some earlier step"—because, again he says "the ancient custom" in England "has been to shrink from change for the sake of change but fearlessly to change whenever change was really needed..... We have advanced by falling back on a more ancient path of things." This it is that we have to learn. Whenever any change is found necessary or desirable, we must inquire—can we go to antiquity and seek for light by "falling back on a more ancient path of things" in our own history so as to adapt it to the needs of the present.

But no society has improved by drawing its light from its own antiquity and refusing to receive light from outside. It has become a commonplace to say that modern civilization owes the spirit of monotheism to the Jews, the spirit of order to Rome, the spirit of beauty and art to Greece, and the spirit of freedom to England. All societies that have advanced have advanced by more or less becoming *plagiarists*. As God has intended that one man should learn from another, so He also intended that one nation or society should learn from another nation or society. While, therefore, it is essential, on the one hand, to fall back "on a more ancient path of things" in our own history and make changes in our social institutions in accordance with it, we must, on the other hand, not be led away by that spirit of antiquity which breeds in us the spirit of patriotism that is *exclusive*. Here, again, we may profitably draw a lesson from the teachings of Prof. Freeman. He

has said in one place that the English have advanced by falling back on a more ancient path of things contained in their own past history ; but he has been careful at the same time to point out, what most of us need to be told in these days, that the English advanced not merely because they built upon "a traditional basis," but also because they welcomed, adopted, and assimilated their English being "with all that was worthiest in foreign lands." And we see that very process going on before us just now, when nearly every country in Europe is learning what there is to learn from India. There is no want of patriotism either among the Germans or the British ; but they have it far more than we had or have ; and yet that has not only not prevented them from receiving light from the ancient literature of India, but has inspired them to explore that literature and profit from such healthy influences as it has power to exert on human mind and conduct. Why should we alone not go and do likewise ? By all means let us not give up our past, let us certainly make it our first duty to build the present and the future of our development on the past by falling back on what Freeman calls "a more ancient path of things," but at the same time let us not refuse to receive light from outside while we are receiving light from within ; for our *antiquity* being our own mind, its "idealising reason" is apt to narrow our mental vision and mislead us unless it is strengthened by the "idealising reason" of the minds of foreign countries.

The first and most important of our social ideals is *religion* and it is in respect to it that our blind worship of antiquity is apt to show itself most. There is just now vividly visible a tendency to land up to the skies the Hindoo religion and praise the transcendent wisdom of our ancestors for having handed it down to us. I would be the last man to cast any slur on those movements, which are at present seeking to glorify the Hindoo religion. I am one of those who look upon these movements in no very pessimistic spirit. They show that there is a spirit of awakening abroad and that in the midst of the attempts which are being made by other religions to approve themselves to our conscience and magnify themselves as the only means of men's salvation in this world and the next, we are roused both by a feeling of love and regard for what is our own and by the general spirit of enquiry which is the most prominent feature of the present age. There are some who think that some foreigners are poisoning the minds of most of our

youths by subjecting them to enchanting eloquence and persuading them to stick to their own religion and their *Shastras*, as if they were infallible and did not require to be corrected by any influence from other creeds. But the view we ought to take of all this kind of preaching is this, that it is something gained when in these days of agnosticism, scepticism, religious apathy, and mechanical conformity to religious standards, attention is drawn to the religious problem, which is a problem of eternity in the sense that it not only concerns the question as to what is to become of man when he leaves this world, but also that it has in all countries and in all ages been at the bottom of the more important question as to what is to become of man in this world itself. The late Sir John Seely, one of the most eminent historians of the present age, described *religion* as *nationality in an idealised form*, and the character of a people, the nature and tendency of their social and political institutions, are best found in the faith they follow. Any one, therefore, who will draw and engage attention to this great question of religion, deserves to be welcomed; even if he seeks to engage our attention by, it may be, praising the religion of our forefathers indiscriminately as if it contained nothing open to criticism. But the question which each of us has to ask himself is, is the ideal of *religion* which our society has been practically holding before us one that is calculated to satisfy the growing needs and demands of the age in which we live? On the one hand, there is the ideal that life is a mere shadow and a mere mockery and man's best duty in this world is to look down with contempt upon the things of the earth and to find his best life by losing it in a life of contemplation. On the other hand, there is the other ideal which forms the groundwork of our sacred book the *Bhagwad Gita* which bids us, in terms as soul-stirring as they are sensible, look upon this life as made for action and not for mere contemplation, and go through it with *Duty* as our watchword and animating principle without regard to results. In this doctrine we see foreshadowed the principle of Kant's *Categorical Imperative*, and when we find Mr. Ruskin telling us that pure religion consists in "useful work, faithful love, and stintless charity," we almost feel as if he were paraphrasing "the grand old precept" of the *Bhagwad Gita*. That is the precept which the present age has to preach to us; but is it the precept which the *social ideal* is placing before us and in accordance with which we are directed to regulate our lives and our

action? It is the ideal of life held before us by the Bhagwad Gita that alone can make a great people of us; the other ideal which leads to self-annihilation has been played out, though it is the ideal which the Hindu society has cherished for ages and lived upon. Let us fall back, therefore, on this more ancient path of *Duty* for its own sake, and fall back upon it with the conception of duty which modern civilization has enabled us to form and the spirit of which has been developed practically by the Western nations.

Next, let us take our social ideal of morality. It is the great German philosopher Hegel who has pointed out in his *Philosophy of history* that the deterioration of the Hindus has been brought about, among other things, mainly by the fact that amongst them moral freedom has had no free play or, in other words, they have made *morality* unnatural by associating it with and making it the privilege of certain classes. In India, he observes, morality has been the morality of classes or, to put it more accurately, of castes. He is of course careful to point out that in every country class distinctions have existed. Equality in civil life is something absolutely impossible; for individual distinctions of sex and age will always assert themselves; and even if an equal share in the government is accorded to all citizens, women and children are passed by and remain excluded. The distinction between poverty and riches, the influence of skill and talent, can be as little ignored.....But while this principle leads us to put up with a variety of occupations, and distinction of the classes to which they are entrusted, we are met here in India by the peculiar circumstance that the individual belongs to such a class essentially by *birth* and is bound to it for life." And the conclusion he draws from that state of things is that 'every caste has its special duties and rights.' Duties and rights, therefore, are not recognised as pertaining to mankind generally, but as those of a particular caste. While we say, "*Bravery is a virtue*," the Hindus say, on the contrary, "*Bravery is the virtue of the Kshatriyas*." Humanity, generally, human duty and human feeling do not manifest themselves; we find only duties assigned to these several castes." He founds on these observations his sweeping inference that "morality and human dignity are unknown" among us. Hegel would not have jumped to so bold a conclusion had he acquainted himself with India more than he seems to have done. It is an error, if not a calumny on the cha-

ractor of the Hindus that they had only the idea of *caste morality* present to their minds and the higher and nobler morality of humanity as a whole was neither thought of nor realized among them. So far from such having been the case, we may point to the fact that the *Mahabharata* insists upon the *higher morality* or what is called the *Sanatana Dharma*—truth is everything and for all being superior to and more imperative than caste morality or what is called *Varnashram Dharma*. Nor has the ideal of higher morality lain hidden in the *Mahabharata*. From time to time there have been attempts to realise that ideal in life and make it the animating principle of action among all the castes. How are we otherwise to account for the fact that saints and sages have been produced in the very midst of Hindu society, and not merely among its higher but even among the most despised of its classes—the *Shudras*—who preached and practised holiness and tried to enforce obedience on the part of their followers to the dictates of *Eternal Truth* and maintained that the *Shudra* and the *Brahmin* were equally subject to the *moral law*? Hegel's observations require, therefore, to be corrected and qualified by these considerations which ought not to be lost sight of and which prove that if we go to antiquity and search for the wisdom of higher morality, we shall find it, and we have a more ancient path in our own traditions to fall back upon to enable us to move outside the path of what is called *caste morality*. But none the less Hegel's observations are not without some truth and weight. While it is true that the idea that *morality* is the duty of all and not the privilege of the few was and has been present to our society, it has receded before the idea of *caste*, and has thus lost all vitality. The *Sanatanadharma* has become a very weak force; and it is the *Varnashramadharma* which has prevailed and become, so to say, the life-blood of the nation. The latter is the ideal that is realised and that our society worships; and the result of it has been disastrous. "Where", says Hegel, "that iron bondage of distinctions derived from nature"—i. e., *caste*—"prevails, the connection of society is nothing but wild arbitrariness—transient activity—or rather the play of violent emotion without any goal of advancement or development". Patriotism, the love of one's country, has been said to be a virtue which the Hindus have rarely developed; some say, and think rightly, that our *Varia* had no term for *patriotism* and, we have coined it by translating that word borrowed from Western nations.

That is because our love of caste obscured all ideas of love of country ; and all our ends have begun and ended with caste as the dominant factor of lives. "Once we are grouped into circles," says Mr. Crosier, "like circles we can touch only one point—that of self-interest." Each of us has a circle made for him by society ; its sanction has obtained the force of a law of nature ; and each circle has developed the idea of its own interest and there has been nothing to develop the idea of that community of feeling, thought, and action, which holds the several classes of a country together and makes them feel that they are the people of one country and must be animated by one life if they are to advance. It is true that in England too, English society has been ground into circles ; and it is also true that the English aristocracy at one time like our Brahmins, formed the predominant class and looked down upon those below them. But what has saved England from the disaster of caste distinctions is the morality fostered by them that similar distinctions were never regarded there as *natural*. Here again I should ask you to bear in mind Prof. Freeman's remarks. The rule that any Commoner can be made a Lord, that the eldest son of a Peer is a Commoner, so long as the Peer lives, and that even the younger children of the King or Queen are Commoners as he says, formed a bond of sympathy and connection between the upper and lower classes, and he points out 'There is perhaps no feature in our constitution more important and beneficial than this which binds all ranks together and which has hindered us from suffering at any time under the curse of a noble caste' Here, then, is another of our Social Ideals which has hindered our free development. It is not in discouraging union alone that the baneful influence of *caste morality* has been felt. Even if a man be a liar, a forger, or a thief, or has been guilty of some offence affecting his moral character, or leads a life of vice, he remains a member of his caste provided he conforms to caste rules. His society has no punishment to mete to him, and he is as good for its purposes as the best of men. There is in fact no moral indignation felt when a man has been guilty of sin in pure ways of living so long as his act does not come within the idea countenanced by society of sin and impurity of life. Public opinion among us has never been strong in cases where it ought to be strong for the healthy growth of society ; and the hypocrite and the rake are tolerated, whereas

however pure and moral a man may be, he is done for in the eyes of his caste, if he ventures to break through one of its rules.

And there is last but not least of all, our social ideals of womanhood. It is deserving our attention even more than the other two social ideals to which I have drawn your attention, for, after all, if there is any meaning in the oft-quoted lines of Tennyson that "woman's cause is man's" no social ideal of ours has ever any chance of being elevated and leading to our elevation until we elevate our ideal of womanhood. Among the many unpalatable but nevertheless significant truths which Mr. Ruskin has tried to enforce on the attention of the present age is this "that the wickedness of any nation might be briefly measured by observing how far it had made its girls miserable." It is a serious question which each of my young friends here ought to seriously ponder over, for, if we are bent on progress that progress must remain hampered so long as we do not raise as far as we can and ought to raise, the social status of our women. I do not wish to detain you on the present occasion by reading a lecture on female education, but the question of the social elevation of our women is not a question of mere sentiment but one of practical importance. There is much depth of meaning in Emerson's pregnant words "that what is done and cared for at home—not what is carried on or left undone in the Statehouse—must be the history of the times and the spirit of the age to us;" and as long as woman who practically presides at home is left ignorant, it is impossible to expect that the social or other history of our society will be a history of progress worthy of the name. But how many of us bestow serious thought on the question of raising our social ideal of womanhood, though all or nearly all of us who have received a liberal education are willing in theory to own that Napoleon was right when he said that if you wished to make a nation great, you must begin by teaching its mothers? Our attitude has been practically one of indifference female education and female elevation are talked about, but so far as most of us are concerned, there is no earnestness and enthusiasm about it. Here, again, we may say with perfect truth that the more ancient ideal of Hindu womanhood was of a more enlightened and elevated character than the one by which Hindu society finds now dominated. To this phase of the question your attention was markedly drawn in the highly learned and suggestive lecture on "The attitude of educated Hindus towards

the education of Hindu women" delivered by the Hon'ble Mr. Sturrock at the last anniversary meeting of this society. Now, here again we are called upon by the spirit of the present time to fall back on your more ancient ideal and to earnestly make it a part of the mission of your life to devote a portion of your time, talents and energy to female education, and to other reforms which have for their object the social status of our women. We are now complaining of the indifference of educated Hindus to this important question of female education and elevation, but their attitude has not invariably been one of indifference to that cause. When I read the History of English Education in Bombay, I was delighted to find that the first thing which some of the earlier recipients of that education did was to devote themselves to this very question of female education. They on their own responsibility without any imitative influence from outside started schools for girls and each pledged himself to using his influence with his own friends to endeavour to induce one girl at least to attend a school, and what is more, they voluntarily taught the girls themselves. And here is the testimony of a European Professor of the Elphinstone Institute of the time as to the value of the work which they did bravely in those days — "Carefully did they prepare themselves for their studies by reading every work on practical education within their reach, and by holding frequent meetings to consider how best they must instruct the children that were entrusted to their care. Their design was not simply to teach reading and writing, but to give such an education as would have an influence on the whole character." And let it be remembered also that it was not educated Hindus alone who figured so well as pioneers of female education in those days, but there were educated Parsis also who joined them and heartily supported the efforts. And among those educated Parsis, the name of none stands out so prominently as that of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. I have heard from the lips of Mr. Dadabhai himself how he and his Hindu friends, soon after they had finished their Collegiate career, worked enthusiastically to start and teach Girls' schools. We all admire Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and I am sure we all would like to imitate his many virtues; and among them none calls for our admiration and imitation more than the earnestness with which he strove in his younger days to promote the cause of female education and elevation.

I have, gentlemen, touched upon some, though not all of the

more prominent of our social ideals. I cannot say that I have said all that could be said about them. My object has been not to exhaust the subject but to offer for your serious consideration a few suggestive points. You, my young friends here, whom I see before me and whom especially I have this evening enjoyed the privilege of addressing, have it in your hands to make or mar the future of this great and ancient community of Hindus to which we belong. We live in a period of thought, but often is it that the restlessness of that thought, the perplexing nature of its problems, and the vastness of the work that has to be performed to improve that society bring in us a feeling of despair and turn us away from many a resolution we form to prove useful to our countrymen. But after all, the work has to be performed or else we prove false to our education. And there is no better tonic to the mind when it is liable to be daunted by difficulties, than the possession of a good moral character. "The entire object of true education," says Mr. Ruskin, "is to make people not merely do the right things, but enjoy the right things, not merely industrious, but to love industry,—not merely learned but to love knowledge,—not merely pure but to love purity—not merely just, but to hunger and thirst after justice." This is the first ideal that we have to set before ourselves if we wish to make ourselves useful and helpful to others in this life. Learn to be true to yourselves. You are trying to combine by means of associations and to learn to be united, because you feel that in union there is strength. But union is strength where it is the union of good men and true—that is, of men who hate appearances and each one of them is in harmony with his own self. How can I be a useful member of a society when I am not a useful member of myself? How can I reform others when I have not reformed myself? How can I promote union and concord among others when I am at war with myself—when I am one thing outwardly and another thing inwardly. There is a teaching of Emerson's which deserves to be inscribed, if I may say so, on the portals of the heart of every one of us: "There can be no concert between two," he says, "when there is no concert in one." Let us, therefore, learn first of all to lead good and pure lives—lives that make no distinction between seeming and being, but inspire us to virtue, charity, faith and love and lead us on ever to build our own well-being on our own moral strength and on the well-being of those about us.

MR. JUSTICE TELANG AS A STUDENT.



The Hon. Mr. Chandavarkar delivered a lecture on "the late Mr. Justice Telang as a student" before the Wilson College Literary Society on Monday 27th August, 1900.

I need make no apology to this society for selecting the career of the late Mr. Telang as a student for this evening's address. That great and good man, whom we lost seven years ago, and whose loss is still felt by the country, had distinguished himself in different walks of life, whether as a public man, as an advocate, as a judge, or as a scholar. But to me his career as a student seems even more remarkable. He loved learning, and even in the busiest days of his life was wont to betake himself to his favourite studies in literature. He was a student throughout his life—and that means a good deal. Nineteen years ago an article appeared in *Saturday Review*, noticing the death of the historian Green, and recounting his services as a scholar. That article concluded with the observation that the most appropriate epitaph to inscribe on Green's tomb was — "*He died learning.*" Telang, who read that article, pointed it out to me at the time it appeared, and said no better honour could be deserved by a man than to have it said of him after his death that he died learning. We too may say the same of Mr. Telang. The key to his greatness and goodness must be found in the discipline to which he subjected himself as a student and the habits of study which he acquired.

A THOROUGH SYSTEMATIC STUDENT.

Mr. Telang's career as a student is an eminently remarkable illustration of the oft-quoted aphorism that a man's real education is that which he gives himself after he has left the school and college. He had a successful career both in the Elphinstone High School and in Elphinstone College, and his intelligence and his studious habits had attracted the attention of his teachers, but he had not distinguished himself as a particularly brilliant boy. Some of his contemporaries both in school and college had won more prizes, gained more scholarships than he, and surpassed him in

he put himself even more rigorously under discipline, his aim being to acquire the habit of *thinking* accurately and of sharpening the critical faculty. John Stuart Mill's writings were first studied. He saturated his mind with Mill's ideas, and Mill influenced both his style and thought. Telang's simple and chaste English, his knack for argument, the clearness with which he put his points both in his speeches and writings and the absence of theoretical flourishes in them were mostly due to the influence which a close study of Mill exercised on his mind. He went through a course of Professor Huxley and Professor Tyndall, and then devoted himself to a very careful study of Mr. Spencer's works. For Mr. Spencer he came to conceive even greater admiration than for Mill, and to the last retained it. A portrait of Mr. Spencer was the first thing one met as one entered Mr. Telang's study in his house. He read some of Darwin's works, but he did not study them.

HIS MANNER OF READING.

There, then, were the authors that Telang chose for his study with the special object of learning *to think* and of sharpening the *critical faculty*. It is not the books he studied, however, but rather the way he studied them that is and ought to be of special interest to us. During his college days, Mr. Telang had for his Professor of English Literature Mr. Hughlings, who had taught him that the best way of interpreting an author's work was to interpret it by the author himself. While reading Milton's *paradise lost* with the class, Mr. Hughlings would explain the passages in it by means of passages in other works of Milton and get his students to read those other works. To this method of study, the value of which had been impressed upon his mind by Mr. Hughlings, Mr. Telang faithfully adhered. His second method was this—having studied the work of an author, maintaining a certain view, he would go on to read the works of other writers, bearing on the same question, and particularly the works maintaining the opposite view. For instance, after he had studied Mills' *Liberty*, he went on to read Sir James Fitz James Stephen's *Liberty, Equality and Fraternity*, Locke on *Toleration* and Milton's *Areopagitica*. This method of study not only gave him a wide range of mental vision, but enabled him to acquire that judicial habit of mind, which distinguished him even afterwards, and which, as the late Sir Charles Sargent observed of him, fitted him

more for the Bench than for the Bar. Before forming our view on any given question, we must Telang used to say, first acquaint ourselves with the different views that have been taken or that it is possible to take, and the grounds for them. When as a Fellow of Elphinstone College from 1869 to 1872, he had to teach English composition to his class, he used to read the compositions of the students in the class, and where a student had advocated a particular theory, or taken a particular view, Telang would place before them other theories and other views, and ask the students to think over them. "In carrying on a controversy, in maintaining an opinion, learn first not only your mind, but the mind of your opponent." That was his principle.

MILL FOR HIS MODEL.

To be a precise thinker, you must be a *fair critic*. Telang took Mr Mill for his model in this respect, and used to commend highly the preciseness and fairness with which Mill represented the views of those with whom he disagreed. To be able to acquire this habit of fairness in argument and preciseness of thought and language, Telang made it a point for several years to attend the weekly services in the Prarthana Samaj, and after attentively listening to the address delivered there every Sunday, he used to reproduce it in his own language show it to the speaker, and enquire of him whether he (Telang) had understood him correctly and reproduced his facts and arguments faithfully. Nor did he rest content with these methods. To be able to take a sound view of things you must first learn to appreciate the evidence of those things. Now, where the mind is not carefully trained, it is apt to take everything as *evidence*, and not to discriminate between *fact* and *fiction*. Telang used to regret that among us there was a disposition to accept much as *proof* which hardly rested on any good basis, and to consider something as *history* merely because people believed it to be a *history*. Now, Telang from the beginning trained his mind to get rid of this popular cant. Before writing his well-known paper on "Was the Ramayana copied from Homer?" in answer to Professor Weber, he went through a course of study in Biblical criticism and read some works on the "Proofs of Historical Criticism." His view about such proof was expressed later on in an address he delivered at a meeting of the Hindu Union Club.

HIS METHODS OF STUDY.

Those were the methods of study he industriously and systematically followed for some years after he had taken his B. A. degree, and to them he owed that clearness of thought, precision and simplicity of language, and fairness of controversy for which he earned just reputation as a scholar in after life. Often it used to be wondered how he could master a book or show literary activity even when he was most busy at the Bar. I know of people who ascribed it to his natural intelligence. That he was naturally intelligent goes without saying; but it was not natural intelligence so much as the systematic course of study through which he went and the mental discipline to which he subjected himself for some years that gave him the mastery of a *critical scholar*, and made him throughout life a regular worker. He carefully eschewed aimless slipshod, and desultory reading. He read novels, but not many at the time—Dickens and George Eliot were his favourite novelists, taken up, however, only in the intervals of more serious study and when the mind needed light reading to refresh it. He used to read newspapers to keep himself in touch with the questions of the day, and contribute to one or two of the native weeklies in Bombay, but as often he told me, he had made it a rule never to take any newspaper to read during his morning hours, which were set apart invariably for his more serious studies. He used to attend debating societies and take part in discussions there, but never spoke on any subject which he did not know or had not studied. To this latter rule he rigidly adhered throughout. I remember he attended two meetings held in the early seventies in the hall of the French General Assembly's Institution in Khetwadi—at one of which Dr. Murray Mitchell delivered a lecture on Christianity, and at the other at which the late Mr. Mahadev Moreswar Kunte delivered an address on "Symbolism in Hindoo Religion." Mr. Telang attended both the meetings, and at both of them he was asked to speak by the late Dr. Wilson. But he declined. Those of us who were present then—young men in College who admired Telang as an attractive speaker and wished to get as many opportunities as we could of listening to him—felt disappointed. Years afterwards when I came to be intimate with him, talking of the old age, I asked him why he had declined to speak at the two meetings after so great a man as Dr. Wilson had done him the honour of urging him to rise and speak. His answer was that he had made it a

rule never to speak for speaking's sake, and never to address a meeting on any subject unless he was pretty sure of his ground.

THE CAPACITY TO THINK AND CRITICISE.

It was this mental discipline that enabled him afterwards to make his mark in more than one departments of life. Though busy at the Bar he found time for literary activity. He read papers from time to time on literary subjects at the meetings of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society. His contributions to antiquarian literature are well-known. With a view to bear his share in the development of Marathi literature he translated Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*. Such was the power of ready and regular work that he acquired by the discipline to which he had subjected himself that he was able to keep up to his literary engagements faithfully. The proprietor of a native newspaper, finding that he could not get any friends to write regularly for it, begged of Telang to give him some matter every week. Telang agreed, and for two years—1879 and 1880—he supplied that paper with matter with unerring punctuality. Such were the habits he acquired by means of his discipline in earlier life. From what I have said it will be clear that Telang started with the aim of acquiring the capacity to think and to criticise. The books he chose, the methods of study he pursued were all directed to the end. And his industry and his system furnished him with the power of analysis and the spirit of controversy. His legal studies helped him also to strengthen that power and encourage that spirit. But the analytical power, useful as it is in life, is useful only upto a certain point. Mere criticism is neither life nor life-giving. Learn to be a critic only, and you become a carper. Learn to be a *fair* critic only, and you become a doubter, and to the doubting mind, says the *Bhagvata Gita*, there is neither in this nor the other world happiness. Some one has said :—"At twenty we believe there is only one side to a truth ; at thirty we suspect there may be two ; at forty we see there may be many." And he who ends that way hardly realises himself in life. Life is positive ; criticism is negative. Life wants sustenance, but the merely critical faculty has a tendency to destroy life where it requires to be sustained. Where "the critic is everywhere, the lover nowhere," life is apt to become a burden, not a blessing.

RESULTS OF THE MERELY ANALYTICAL SPIRIT.

Telang was not long in finding this. His old faith in Hindoo

superstitions, to which he had blindly clung till his B. A., had been shaken by his study of the *Shankar Bhashya* Mill and Mr. Spencer, Tyndall, and Huxley had led him onwards in the path of doubt. They sharpened his critical faculty and bred in him a tendency to employ the mind in doubting and destruction. Life, however, was not made for mere combativeness. The mind must rest somewhere, must love something after it has fought. Telang was saved from the dread results of the merely *analytical* spirit by a variety of influences. At the outset, he had chosen, it is true, agnostic writers like Mill, Spencer, Tyndall and Huxley for his masters. But the agnosticism of these writers is not the agnosticism of certain writers of the eighteenth century, who played with criticism in dealing with the higher problems of life. There is, with all their scepticism, a kind of breeziness—a tone of masculine thought—in the writings of Mill, Mr. Spencer, Tyndall and Huxley which holds before their readers a high ideal of life, and which serves to lift a conscientious student above the petty vanities of life. There is not merely philosophy—there is a breath of poetry—of inspiration, in them. Of Tyndall it is said that he used to point out “how very closely akin are the modes in which the poet conceives and executes his work to those moods of the laboratory in which the scientific man ponders not only upon the facts that are before him but the causes of them, and *through the imagination*, upon the effects which those facts are calculated to produce under widely different circumstances.” The true man of science and of philosophy had to be touched by “the inspiration of hypothesis” as the poet. If the former teach us to *doubt*, they teach us to *doubt well*, and as Plato put it, philosophy is *the art of doubting well*. Whatever they say or however much they wrangle about prevailing ideas on religion, they not only do not get rid of the *eternal verities* or “the immensities of life,” as Carlyle called them, but emphasise them. And their own pure lives, added to their intense moral earnestness, only go to foster in the mind a tone of seriousness and teach it to approach the problem of life in a reverential spirit.

HIS ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE DEEPER PROBLEMS.

Telang had learnt from them to be an honest thinker, and taking his cue in 1873 from the passage in Mills *Autobiography*, where he speaks of how Wordsworths’ poetry saved him from the haunting spectres of melancholy; Telang took to the study of

Wordsworth's *Prelude* and *Excursion*. Wordsworth gave him, he used to say, a new glimpse of life—brought him to those ideas and ideals which keep us at peace with ourselves and the world.

Wordsworth and the Bhagavat Gita taught him to sooth his mind where it doubted. He never distinctly said what his religious views were. Like Dr. Jowett, he threw suggestions and never imposed opinions. But he never made light of the deeper problems of life. With always an attitude of reverence towards them, he acted up to the highest standard of morality. I have it from those who knew him best in home, that before his morning meals he used to read regularly that paper in the Bhagwat-Gita. And when in 1890 the Hindu Union Club presented him with an address congratulating him on his elevation to the Bench, he in the course of his reply to that address referred to his habit of taking Wordsworth's poetry and striving to recreate his mind when it wanted repose and strength. In attaining his attitude of mind it must be owned—and I know he owned it himself on several occasions—that he was helped by something more than reading. His life-long and personal contact with these men—two of whom passed away from us about the same time that he passed away, and the third of whom we are privileged to have among us still—exercised on him a good deal of influence. A life of Telang would be barren of a good deal that is instructive and good unless the names of Nulkar, Paramanand, and Dr. Bhandarkar figured in it largely. Nulkar had not a particularly religious turn of mind, but was a man of sound common sense. He was a believer in discipline, and his administrative experience, and his stern sense of duty made Telang one of his admirers.

THE INFLUENCE OF HIS FRIENDS.

The latter used to say of Nulkar : "If you find doubt or difficulty in worldly matters, consult Nulkar, he is a safe adviser." Equally strong was his attachment to two others—Narayan Mahadev Parmanand and Dr. Bhandarkar. He sought and enjoyed their company and learnt to inspire himself by conversations and discussions with them. His reading led him toward agnosticism—whereas the reading of Mr. Parmanand and Dr. Bhandarkar as well as the bent of their minds was distinctly religious. Telang regularly attended for some years the meetings of the Theistic Association, and took part in the discussions there on religious questions. Dr. Bhandarkar ranged on one, Telang ranged on the

other. Parmanand, who was more of a saint than a scholar, would listen to both, and say to Tolang : "I cannot reason it out as you two do ; but I strongly feel that which you, Kashinathpant, (i.e. Tolang) seem to doubt and deny in your argument"—re-minding one of Emerson, who said on one occasion :—"I delight in telling what I think. but if you ask *why* it is so, I am the most helpless of men." But with Tolang it was only the taking of a side in the controversy, and the company and friendship of the two good and righteous men—Mr. Parmanand and Dr. Bhandarkar—profited him in that it confirmed in him that reverential spirit created in his mind by his thoughtful reading. Mere mental agility he continued, and held that there could be no sanity of intellect unless the thoughtful mind corresponded with the pure life. It was thus that he built up that *character* which added a charm to his scholarship.

HIS LOVE OF LITERATURE.

And he was a scholar because he was a student in the true sense of the word. He took in light whencesoever it came. No man loved Sanskrit literature more deeply than he, but he felt that the oriental mind required to be liberalised and corrected by the literature and vigorous thought of the West. Our minds must learn to run in other grooves than in our own. or else they would get cramped, he would say. I asked him once whether Sanskrit literature was not quite capable of making us good thinkers and acute reasoners, and cited to him Emerson's testimony that the literature of the Hindus was the best gymnastics for the mind. He said :—"Yes, in a way it is so. But the art of criticism was often overdone by our writers—they dealt in it as if the life was made for mental logerdomain." His faith in and love for English literature was great, and in after life he used to read largely, among others Ruskin, Matthew Arnold, and Carlyle. While a fellow in Elphinstone College, he devoted a portion of his time to the study of German. It is this catholic taste of his as a student that gave him both a *liberal mind* and a *liberal heart*. At the public meeting held in his honour on his death, the late Sir Charles Sargent said that what struck him most in Tolang was that though he had never left India, he had so well absorbed the thought and the higher spirit of the west that he would take a correct measure of European civilization, habits, and life. The fact is that Tolang as an assiduous student had trained himself to

discern facts and life in all their aspects. A Hindu by birth and breeding, he had by his study acquired largeness of heart and of vision. What divides one race from another is merely external—the human heart is at the bottom *one*, and this unity of the human race in the higher phases of its life the scholar alone can discern. But petty patriotism and pride of race or caste and true scholarship cannot co-exist.

THE AIM OF LIFE.

These are the points that I have deemed it proper to bring together in picturing to you Telang as a student. Those points convey several lessons to us which I need not here stop to detail at length. We constantly hear it said that the quality of the present day University graduate is fallen, and we have men with degrees but not many men with broadened minds. And it is so because most of us think that when we have got our degrees and have left College we have completed our education. "Colleges," says Emerson, "can only highly serve, when they aim not to drill but to create"—*i. e.* when "they set the hearts of their youth on flame." But when we leave College, commences a career of *drift*—not of *drill*—whether in thought or in action. We read aimlessly; work if we work at all, unsystematically, and that too because there is some pressure and we must work. What is wanted is a systematic course of reading—and reading of the best kind, calculated to excite the highest thought and influence the noblest action. The next thing is, we must, like Telang, learn to take broad views and regard that one-sidedness of intellect which sometimes or perhaps often passes for thought and patriotism as mere mental imbecility leading to moral suicide. *To be thoughtful, to be fair, to be reverential, and, above all, to be pure*—this must be the aim of life. Telang attained it because he began life as an earnest and honest student, and remained so throughout his life. Hence he learnt to approach all questions with the dignity, the truthfulness and the sanity of a *cultured man*. And he was a cultured man because he was a true student.

COLLEGE LIFE IN INDIA.

*The following address was delivered by Mr. Justice Chandav-
lar at the Anniversary celebration of the Fergusson College, Poona
on Sunday 27th March, 1901.*

In introducing me to you the Principal of this College observed that you had reason to be grateful to me for coming all the way from Bombay to address you in connection with this anniversary gathering. It appears to me, however, that seeing what I have seen since this morning—the bright faces of the Professors and students the sports, and the games, the music and the dinner and other festivities in which we have all taken part in some way or other—I have more reason to be grateful to Mr. Principal Paranjpe for inviting me to this gathering, and enabling me to share with you in the festivities of the day. It has since this morning been a round of festivities and the striking feature of them all is that the young men of the College have been working hard to make the anniversary memorable. Their enthusiasm, the spirit of brotherhood with which they have entered into the work of the day, helping one another, emulating one another, and their mirth carry back an older man like me to the old days when I was privileged to be a College student myself, reminding me of the pleasures, the attractions, and the charms of College life. It is on occasions like this when one feels the force of what the poet said: "To be young is very heaven." I hope that the young men I see before me, the students of the Fergusson College, who have done so much to add to the joyousness of this anniversary day of the College, will not let the day pass without deriving from it the lesson which such days more than any other ought to imprint upon their minds. An anniversary day loses its significance and misses its mark, if it leaves no impress behind it upon the mind than that of a holiday enjoyed for its pastimes and pleasures.

STUDENTS AND MANLINESS.

Such harmony and brotherhood as we have seen to-day among the students, the alacrity and willing submission with which they have helped the Principal and the Professors to make the day's

programme a thorough success. the gentlemanliness and self-respect no less than the manliness with which they have carried themselves on the play-ground as well as at the dinner gathering—these are and ought to be the reminders to you, my young friends, of the qualities, intellectual and moral, which it is the aim and purpose of a College life to develop. Here within the walls of the College you are brought together in a place which is a world in itself, and though that world looks as nothing, looks infinitesimally small compared to the larger world outside, yet this little world which you know of and you speak of is a higher, and mightier world for you, for here it is that you sow in order that you may reap in the larger world hereafter when you shall grow to manhood—here you learn what shall be your attitude in life, aye your lives themselves in the larger world for which this college life of yours is a preparation. I daresay that you have heard it said that every man is born a philosopher—as some one has said, every man is born either a Platonist or an Aristotelian. The saying is true—most of us are not conscious of it, but the fact is no human being lives but has a philosophy dominating his life whether he knows it or not. The life of each of us, whether he be educated or uneducated, has some philosophy for its basis—it may be the philosophy of fate, or indolence, or avarice, or virtue, but there it is, either writing the life down or writing it up. And one advantage of a College life more than of any other life is that it enables or at any rate ought to enable us to fashion intellectually a philosophy and poetry of life fitted to dominate us throughout our career in this world. Where a young man, brought up in a college has missed his chance of fashioning for himself such a philosophy of life and leaves the college without it, he has missed all—and you may be sure he has missed the making, only gained the marring of his life. In his “Tales of the Hall.” Crable introduces us to a village school boy, “who,” in the words of Cardinal Newman, “not in the wide world, but ranging day by day around his widowed mother’s home, a dexterous gleaner in a narrow field, and with only such slender outfit as the village school and books a few supplied, contrived from the beach and the quay and the fisher’s boat and the inn’s fireside, and the trade-man’s shop, and the shepherd’s walk and the screaming gulls, and the restless world to fashion himself for a philosophy and a poetry of his own.” There is a type, the ideal for you to follow. The College is your mother—you have to range round

lier, dexterous gleaners, and with the help of the books you study within these walls you have to learn what shall be your attitude in life, which is only another mode of saying what shall be your philosophy and poetry of life. I do not know how it is now, but in my time, College life—I speak of my College the Elphinstone—had certain traditions in point of the philosophy of life of which I am speaking. When I entered the College I used to hear it said that in the days when Sir Alexander Grant presided over it the students were apt to borrow their philosophy of life either from Aristotle or Plato, because Sir Alexander was himself a devotee of these two.

PROFESSOR WORDSWORTH'S TEACHING.

But at the time I know Aristotle and Plato were only names in the Elphinstone College, but somehow the philosophy we prattled in was that of John Stuart Mill. Whether we understood him aright or not is another question; but we know Mill was then in the ascendant, Spencer was just then coming out, and Mill's "utilitarianism" had for us—those at any rate, of the students who felt stirred by the intellectual atmosphere of the College—a certain fascination. But when we fell under the spell of Professor Wordsworth's teaching, and he in lecturing on Mill's Logic, expounded the weak points of Mill's philosophy, and drew attention to Mill's admiration for the poetry of Wordsworth, who felt that while it was good to know the different schools of thought among philosophers, the best and wisest of them with all their jarring systems agreed that above all philosophers, there was one which lifted up life and saved it from wreckage—the philosophy of not only having or doing but being good. That is liberal education—to know that as the sum-total of College teaching and life is the end of all this training which you undergo here, there is another standpoint from which you may look at the question. It is often said that the weakness of our College life is that most students go there go not because they love knowledge for its own sake or to acquire "culture" as an end in itself but because their parents wish them to get by means of their education an honest and respectable livelihood. That no doubt is so—and it is so here as in other countries. Carlyle and Dr. Smiles inveighed against this mercenary view of education years ago because they thought it prevailed in England. The motive of learning in a College for the purpose of getting in life an honest livelihood is not dishonourable in itself but it is apt

to degenerate into a dishonourable motive if that purpose becomes an end in itself, and if it is not realised that to get a living is not by itself to live. Life is a whole of which getting a living is a part; life is an end, getting a living a means, not the end. And the object of College education is to fit you up with that without which the art of getting a living so indispensable to all of us is apt to degenerate into mere existence, which certainly is not life. The point I am making here is best illustrated by drawing attention to the difference between a man who receives a sound liberal education and then learns the art of his special profession and another man who has merely had a professional education. The latter is a man of more routine a mere machine, passing perhaps for a practical man, which is another name for a prejudiced man. with "nothing like leather" for the motto and as the ideal of his life. whereas the former has a more commanding outlook on life by reason of his culture. Why are our present subordinate Judges—the B. A. LL. B.s, to whom the late Sir Charles Sargent paid a high compliment in his evidence before the Public Service Commission—superior to the Munsiffs of old? Because of their literary training, which has enabled them to understand and apply the principles of law better. We are talking a great deal of technical education and there is a tendency here and there to look down upon literary education. But nations which have shown great industrial development are beginning to find that the former cannot be efficient without the latter. "Experts," says Lord Bacon. "can execute and judge of particulars one by one; but the general counsels and the marshalling of affairs come best from those that are learned."

VALUE OF EDUCATION.

In an article in a recent number of the "Nineteenth Century" Lord Cromer points out how a learned civilian is best fitted to counsel and guide mere military experts. Remember, therefore, that the education you receive here is the best of all educations because it gives you the vantage ground of an enlarged mind, a capacity for a more extensive comprehension of things in life than mere professional education can give. For one thing, it teaches you to see things clearly, and to see the principle of unity in the diversities of life; and for another it incites in you the intensity of intellectual action; lastly, it enables you to imbibe as the result of a wide culture a progressive spirit. The knowledge you receive here is light; if you are touched by it and do not merely

cram it into your minds, the knowledge which is light becomes
 lightening; and then it leads you forward. Bear this view of a
 College life and education in mind. I emphasise that view be-
 cause I hear complaints from all quarters—from those who ought
 to know—that there is a good deal of mental and moral indolence
 among our college students. One Professor writes to me that there
 is no eternal curiosity, no sustained labour and thought, and no
 susceptibility to the ideas of great writers among our students. A
 firm of booksellers which sells books largely to students tells me
 that Hindu students generally go in for books on free thinking,
 Parsee students for novels. Another learned Professor of a
 secular college who is by no means partial to Christianity, tells
 me how difficult it is to get our students to read the Bible if only
 for the sake of its chaste style, directness of expression, and
 literary imagery. The same remark was made to me by another
 Professor—I see him here, I mean Mr. Principal Selby. Nearly
 all the Professors I have written to complain how difficult it is to
 get our students to read their books prescribed for their examina-
 tions in such a way as to make of those books the centres of mov-
 ing thought, inspiring intelligence, and cultured curiosity. No
 one advises you to read largely; large reading is apt to be desul-
 tory reading; but whatever you read, read it with thought—let it
 excite thoughts, make it a radiating influence which will per-
 meate your mind and heart and enable you to let “knowledge grow
 from more to more.” For this purpose you must learn to disci-
 pline your minds by means of reverence for truth, instead of
 allowing them to be enslaved by those whose ideas and ideals are
 borrowed from convention, and custom, or the market place. We
 have been too much the slaves and victims of these three gods.
 Are you going to tighten the cords of that mental and moral
 slavery round your necks? No—I hope not, I am sure, not. Here
 within the walls of the college, let the dignity, the spirit of har-
 mony, gentlemanly bearing and charity and joyousness which has
 distinguished you in to-day’s festivities—let these animate you,
 and trained under that ideal, you will not fail to make of your-
 selves masters of men because you have mastered yourselves.
 (Applause.)

Convocation Addresses.

AS VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY.

Address, 1909.

Mr. Chancellor and Members of the senate.

Following the example of my predecessors in the office which I have the honour to hold, I should begin by paying a tribute of respect to the memory of those of our Fellows—Ordinary as well as Honorary—who have been removed from amongst us either by death or resignation. The retirement of Dr. Selby at the beginning of this year has deprived us of the services of a distinguished scholar and educationist, who for thirty years moulded the destinies of higher education in this Presidency, and who as Vice-Chancellor of this University, during about four years, has left behind him a record of work and influence which, I need hardly say, has heightened the prestige of the University. By death we have lost the Rev. Dr. Pym, who, as Bishop of Bombay, was our Ex-officio Fellow, and whose courageous career in this Presidency, short but eventful, earned him the respect of even those who differed from him. We have also lost Mr. F. R. Vicaji, one of the *alumni* of our University. He was for several years a Professor of Law in the Government Law School; and those who knew him well will, I believe, agree with me when I say that his literary gifts lent a charm to his conversation and the articles which he now and then contributed to the columns of some of the newspapers of Bombay. Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, a model gentleman, and Sir Hurkissondas Narottamdas, a philanthropist, rendered valuable service to the University as members of our Board of Account. Mr. Macdongall, Professor of English Literature in Elphinstone College, won golden opinions among his pupils and his

death is a distinct loss to that institution. During the few years of his career he gave hopeful tokens of his high ability but his life has been prematurely cut short much to our regret. Mrs. Pechey Phipson was the first lady appointee Fellow of this University under our old system. Her name will be long remembered in this Presidency in connection with the question of women's medical relief and education. The late Dastur Hoshang Jamasp Asana was a venerable oriental scholar of high repute; Dr. A. P. Andrade, in the old days, fought hard in the debates of the Senate in support of Portuguese as a second language at our Matriculation. The Rev Dhanjibhai Naoroji was a man of saintly character, whose great ambition in this world was to lead a life of holiness in imitation of the Master whom he sought to follow. He bore his Cross nobly and who that knew him did not find the inspiration of courage and hope for the struggles of our mortal life? Last but not least of all I should record here the loss we have sustained by the retirement of one whose name is engraved in the heart of every Indian as one of our best friends. I refer to Sir Lawrence Jenkins. Though the arduous duties of the high office of Chief Justice, which he held here, left him little time to take an active part in our affairs, yet from frequent conversations I had with him on University questions in general and our legal curriculum in particular, I can say that he was one of the well-wishers of this University and did what he could to encourage those of its *alumni* who deserved encouragement by hard work and integrity.

The principal events of the academic year that has just closed, are stated in the Registrar's report, but one requires special reference and that is the award of the Springer Research Scholarship. In the letter which His Excellency the Governor in Council has addressed to the Senate proposing certain changes in our existing curricula for Arts and Science studies and in our system of examinations, it is pointed out as a defect of the present system that "with too few exceptions, the University has not produced graduates who have evinced capacity for original work in the various branches of life." The Springer Research Scholarship is a promising beginning in this direction and let us hope that we shall have more of such scholarships which will enable deserving graduates to devote themselves to research work. The course of lectures on Higher Commercial education delivered under the auspices of this University by Prof. Lees Smith, of the London School of Economics and

Political Science, is a feature of this year and betokens great possibilities for the future of this institution as a teaching University. The interest which he has aroused and the public opinion which, I believe, he has succeeded in awakening on the subject, make it likely that sooner or later we shall be called upon to take up this question of Higher Commercial Education and supply what is becoming one of the pressing demands of instruction in these times of industrial activity and progress.

I may on this occasion draw attention to what used to be maintained in the earlier years of our academic life by some of the scholars to whom this institution owed its rise and progress. There is an idea abroad that we have taken for our pattern rather the older Universities of Oxford and Cambridge than the modern ones such as that of London. But if I remember rightly, the late Sir Alexander Grant observed when he was Vice-Chancellor of this University, that we should have the London rather than the Cambridge or Oxford University for our model and that we should move with the times instead of sitting tight and adhering to orthodox views of higher education. Sir Alexander Grant was one of those who directed the destinies of this University in the earliest years of its career. That was a time when the ideal of University training was borrowed from a saying of the old Edinburgh reviewers that liberal education consisted in knowing something of everything and everything of something. It was in accordance with that view that our curriculum in Arts was arranged. One principal feature of that curriculum was that alone among the Indian Universities at that time this University insisted upon a classical language as a compulsory subject for the Arts examinations after the Matriculation. Sir Alexander defended the reform on several grounds to which it is unnecessary to refer here. That was the first stage of reform in the history of our University. It had one excellent effect—it gave an impetus to the study of Oriental literature, especially Sanskrit. It opened the eyes of Indians to the mine of intellectual and moral wealth contained in our ancient works; and, what is more, under the scholarship of such men as Dr. Buhler, Dr. Kielhorn, and last but not least of all, Dr. Bhandarkar, it promoted the cause of antiquarian research, the results of which have been far-reaching and of immense value. The second stage of reform was reached when during the Chancellorship of Sir Richard Temple, Science was given a distinct place in our

now are those who profess to pin their faith to the doctrines of the *Vedanta* and the *Bhagavad Gita*. I do not believe that the spirit of irreverence and its attendant evils will die out if only we bring them up in their own creeds.

The late Sir Henry Maine foretold forty-five years ago that Sanskrit learning in India would either die out in 50 years or that it would be kept alive only by the researches of European scholars. Had he lived now he would have had to confess that his prophesy has not turned out true, because, whatever else may be said of the defects of our University education, it has not resulted in indifference to our ancient literature and our ancient religion. I think it may fairly be said that at the present day a keen and active interest is being taken in this country by the educated classes in our ancient works and religions. Further, I have no concern that we are or shall ever be a godless people. "Godlessness" is not a charge that can be justly brought against either our youth or our educated men. The spiritual faculty is innate in us and the sense of the Supreme Soul which we drink in as it were with our mother's milk, if I may say so, cannot disappear merely because the education we are given is secular. Some years ago when the late Mr. Justice Ranade and his friends were trying to propagate their ideas of religion and social reform, and the controversy became bitter, so much so that Mr. Ranade was subjected to something more than sharp criticism. In fact, maligned and misrepresented for disturbing our homes and our society instead of letting them alone, by religious and social discussions and movements, a distinguished Parsee gentleman put the following question to him :—"Mr. Ranade, why don't you let religion alone? What is the use of attempting to reform it, when people do not care for the reform? There is so much else to do in this world than troubling oneself about God and Heaven." Mr. Ranade's reply was significant. He said :—"This is a land of religions. For better or worse, we have been thinking and talking about God and we cannot help it. God and Religion are born in our blood; they will pursue us even if we run away from them."

Let us not forget that the ideals of education partake of the nature of the ideals of civilisation at a given time and these are not now the same as those of the Middle Ages, as has been lucidly pointed out by Herbert Spencer in his work on "Education." It is vain to suppose that the Indian youth of the present day can or

should become like his forefather of three generations back in manners. Who would wish the modern Englishman to become a mediæval Saxon? The main defect of modern education is that we live in an age when we are dominated by politics, political ideals, and political methods. Perhaps, this is to a large extent inevitable. Even in England, the complaint has been common that political standards have lowered the standards of thinking. Western civilisation has come to India in the guise of a political power and that aspect of it was naturally bound to exercise the greatest influence on young minds, to the exclusion of the more constructive elements of that civilisation which have not had the same scope in India that they have had in Europe, and that, more silently than politics, but nevertheless as effectively, control social forces and contribute to national greatness. The West in her political mask, looks in the mirror of the East, and is horrified at her own image. Anarchism, rash thinking, wild writing, are all developments of Western politics divorced from the deep intellectual and spiritual purpose which is at the heart of Western as of Eastern civilisation. It is the result of the age of the newspaper, which Lord Morley has properly described in one of his Essays as "that huge engine for keeping discussion on a low level and making the political test final." We are taught by the very surroundings of the age to read fast and to think fast—which is no thinking at all—to judge loosely, and criticise cruelly, and above all, to suppose that success in life is due to "advertisement" and "self-assertion."

What is the remedy? The remedy, in my humble opinion, lies in the adoption of commonsense methods in the education and training of our young men. One of the most valuable acquisitions to modern educational theory is due to Comte, who said that the development of the individual and the development of the race consciousness proceed on identical lines. The individual is in fact the race in miniature—or, as Plato put it, society is the individual writ large. It is a remarkable fact that the period of preparation of individuals as of nations must be period of what for want of a better word, I shall call isolation. It must be a period of silence, of concentration, of discipline, of obedience. It must be a period without any conflict of ideals. All great nations are born, it is said, in silence. So are all great individuals Buddha, Christ, Mahomed, Shankaracharya—all great religious teachers, betook

themselves to solitude and meditation in order to prepare themselves for their transcendental mission on earth. Are we to suppose that ordinary mortals, humbler though their vocations in life be, are exempt from the stern necessity which impelled these great souls to spend their period of probation away from the struggles, the temptations, the noise and bustle of the world around them? It is a paradox and yet the voice of history proclaims it true that "social cohesion is born of lonely dignity of soul." Of Christianity it has been very properly said by a great divine that when it began to spread through the cities of the Roman Empire it was pronounced "an unsocial superstition" and was supposed to threaten the dissolution of all human bonds. St. Paul and his "disciples withdrew from the resorts of gaiety and ambition and looked with passionless and neutral eye on every game in which others lost or won their life, their all." And it was these men, supposed to be indifferent to secular things, that created "the interest of social cohesion" and became the founders of the society which is known as Christendom. And the same may be said of other communities and nations. Buddha and Shankaracharya began in loneliness, and they were the fathers of communities. This is not a matter of mere analogy when we are called upon to apply it to student life. In the infancy of society the law-giver's first object is to impress one single ideal on the social mind in order to give it the first requisites of the society, which are stability and cohesion, because in that preliminary stage, when the human beings sought to be united in one fold are like children, a competition or conflict of ideals is inimical to the compacting of infant societies. To-day we laugh at and justly think as ridiculous the ban which in ancient times our ancestors placed by means of a rigid law on sea-voyages and foreign travel. We laugh also at the rigid distinctions of caste which they laid down. We think and, rightly too, that these institutions have stunted the growth of India. But "every fiction that has ever laid strong hold on human belief is the mistaken image of some great truth." And as Bagehot has pointed out in his "Physics and Politics" these two customs were introduced to avoid a conflict of ideals for the creation of a society in its infant stages. That accounts, I believe for the condemnation of "travel by land or sea" in the Christian Litany—because, in the words of Charles Kingsley, it gives rise to "a host of bad passions" in untutored minds. The principle is

no less true of infant man as of infant society. It is necessary to ensure the steady operation on his mind of a single set of ideals up to the period when he is able to judge and choose for himself. All distractions, however wholesome they may be in themselves, have to be kept out during the period of studentship. Unless this can be done, unless this is done we must expect our young men to grow up flabby in mind and body, lacking in steadiness, and liable to be tossed about hither and thither by every passing gust of opinion, tools in the hands of thoughtless writers and speakers.

It is, therefore, for the good of the State and for the good of society to see that educational agencies are rigorously kept sacred from outside influences by whatever name they are called and that a certain strict detachment and isolation marks them, if our youth are to be good citizens, great scholars, men of culture and character. The supreme value of concentration for the formation of character and for the salvation of the soul, for, in fact, the growth of true manhood in men, has been taught by all the great philosophies of India. The illustrious Patanjali has worked out this principle in his famous *Yoga Sutras*. His teachings are popularly believed to embody a philosophy but the *Yoga* is as much a science as a philosophy, it is the science of concentration. The same truth was put in another and a more popular form by another great teacher. He said. "Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, that do with all thy might." How can a boy, or a child, or a girl learn the habit of concentration, if every now and then he or she is liable to be called away to act as picket to prevent people from buying foreign goods or country liquor or to sing songs in glorification of this or that politician? Let me not be misunderstood. Political movements have my sincere sympathy; whether we like it or not, politics like the poor, will always be with us. I should be the last man to decry the political reformers as a class in the present circumstances of the country. But what I wish to insist upon is that, so far as the student class is concerned, it is a suicidal policy in the interests of the country to draw them away from what ought to be their proper sphere—their life of isolation and probation—and teach them to measure life by the ideals of politics, where it has been rightly said "the choice constantly lies between two blunders."

And this was the ancient ideal of education in India. We had Universities then, whether during the Hindu or the Buddhist

period, and they were called Forest Universities, that is, the teachers lived with their pupils and taught not in the midst of the noise and din of cities but in secluded spots, the object being to segregate students from all distractions and enable them to concentrate their minds upon their studies and subject them to discipline helping towards the formation of character. The teacher who presided over such an institution was called a *Kulapati*, that is, one who feeds and teaches a thousand pupils. Valmiki is represented in the *Ramayana* to have had such a University; and Shakuntala's father Kanna living in the solitude of a jungle is described by Kalidasa as a *Kulapati*. In the *Kadambari* there is a description given of the way in which Prince Chandrapida received his education. It is said there: "To prevent distraction, Tarapida had built for the prince a palace of learning outside the city, stretching half a league along the Sipra river, surrounded by a wall of white bricks like the circle of peaks of a snow-mountain, girt with a great moat running along the walls, guarded by very strong gates having one door kept open for ingress." The boy was placed there, we are told, "like a young lion in a cage, forbidding all egress, surrounding him with a suite composed mainly of the sons of the teachers, keeping his mind free from distraction." According to this ancient system taking the duration of human life to be 100 years, it was divided into four stages, the first of which was *Brahmacharya* or studentship a student, generally speaking, lived that stage of life until his 25th year. He was called an *antevasin*, because he had to live with his teacher, apart from his home, until he finished his studies. No distraction from those studies was allowed, and there could be no distraction because the pupil lived with his teacher apart from the temptations and noise of the outer world. The rules laid down for a student by Manu and Yajnyavalkya may seem to us in these days somewhat grotesque but they were all laid down for disciplining the conduct and regulating his life in a methodical manner. Three principles ran through them all—the principle of self-restraint, the principle of truth, and the principle that all knowledge must be guided by a knowledge of the Supreme Soul, that is, by a deep consciousness that through the history of our lives must run the golden thread of spiritual beauty as the very basis and essence of Worldly Utility, enabling us to look at life as a whole. The same was the case with Buddhism with

this difference that its Universities inculcated the rules of right conduct—self-control, truthfulness, regularity of life—without reference to any Deity and all future rewards and punishments. Even the *Mahabharata* contains references to such inculcation.

After all, these ancients saw that the man is greater than the machine. If their first principle of education was detachment of the student from the noisy strife of the world and steadied concentration for the purposes of study and conduct, their second principle was the teacher's personality. The greatest teachers of the ancient world worked without any of the advantages and appliances which are at the disposal of even the most mediocre schoolmaster of these days. They had no department to look after their interests, but they attracted hundreds of pupils from far and near, and not only attracted them but kept them together for long years, bound by the spell of their magnetic personality. When these scholars went out they made the names and teachings of their masters honoured throughout the land. Ancient Indian sages were particular about the choice of a Guru or preceptor. They laid down not only his intellectual and moral qualifications but also the outward marks by which he could be known. The great *Madhavacharya* tells us what some of those marks were. "He who is ninety-six inches high, and measures the same with his arms stretched out"—that is, not only a sound mind in a sound body, but a great soul set in a great statuesque frame.

These are indeed ideals which, having regard to modern conditions, it is impossible to reproduce or realise in our days and apply to the spirit of the present age. We cannot lodge our Universities and colleges in forests and we cannot have all teachers and professors of the pattern prescribed by *Madhavacharya*. But we can certainly put in new things old light by infusing as far as practicable into our educational system the spirit of the ancients. I am more than ever convinced that the Resolution which the Government of Bombay recently issued on the subject of discipline in our schools and colleges is in entire accord with that spirit in that it insists upon the detachment of students from all noisy strife and exciting controversies.

The next thing is, whether it be a school master or a professor, the teacher of Indian youth must have a big enough heart. He must be one who can put himself in the place of his pupils and un-

derstand their mental structure and development. For this latter purpose, the principle which I have mentioned above, namely that the individual consciousness develops along the line of race consciousness must be utilised to a much larger extent than at present. The mind of the Indian student is not a *tabula rasa*. Centuries of culture have left their impress on it and no one who takes no pains to understand what the ground-plan of that culture is, is likely to understand his pupils and to exercise any moral influence on them. For instance, who can doubt that the teaching of philosophy in India can be far more effective and be far more of an influence, if the Professor lecturing on it is able to compare intelligently the great philosophies of India with those of Europe? The Universities Commission has made a strong recommendation to this effect. This work which ought to be done in India and by our Professors and students is done at present by German *saivants* like Professor Dousson, whose book on the philosophy of the Upanishads is a masterpiece of its kind. Such co-ordination between Indian and Western culture would invest it with a personal interest to the Indian student. Some one has said that every man is born either a Platonist or an Aristotelian. It would be far more correct to say of every Hindu that he is born either an *Advaita* or *Dvaita*. We get in our Colleges all of Kant and Hegel, Sedgwick and Martineau but little of our own philosophers, such as Shankaracharya, Ramanuja and Madhavacharya. The result is that what philosophy we learn does not touch the heart, and we drop it off the moment we have taken our degrees. Education, to evoke the formative elements in the pupil's character, must be correlated with his past national culture and appeal not only to his intellect but also to his moral being. This is recognised by nearly all educationists in Europe. The late Dr. Edward Caird, for instance, held fast to the faith that "it is only by acting on the heart and the imagination that a character can be produced which is truly at one with reason while a morality which addresses the understanding is incapable of any practical effect on the mass of men and indeed tends to produce an irresolute scrupulous tone of mind which is the reverse of moral strength." At the Moral Education Congress held last year in England some speakers maintained that character is best formed and moral lessons conveyed to effect when the ethical note is sounded in all that young men are taught.

It was only the other day that I noticed in one of the leading

American periodicals an article on the teaching of language. The writer there said that the curse of modern education was that language was taught as if it were a mechanical thing, whereas it is and ought to be a spiritual study—it is life. Now, this is an old and familiar idea in India. We have it on the authority of Patanjali that the use of correct words to express our thoughts leads to spiritual good and that the use of ungrammatical words is a sin. A young student is apt to regard this as a mere hyperbole; and yet I apprehend it is substantially true. I cannot convey the idea better than by putting it in the way it was put to a class in my time by the late Rev. Dr. Willy, then Rector of St. Mary's Institution, in looking over our Latin Compositions. "Look here," he warned us, "a man who does not write and speak correctly and accurately is not a gentleman. Incorrect writing and speaking means, first, carelessness. Carelessness becoming a habit leads to falsehood." Here was an ethical lesson conveyed to us; and he used to impress it in a variety of ways whenever he found us tripping in the use of any word or expression. Language is often taught as if the *word* is more important than the *thing* and the result is *Cunctis scribendi* among our young men, which reminds one of Punch's cartoon representing a cabman refusing a fare, because he had no time as he was busy finishing "a harticle," using the roof of his hansom for a desk.

So also with Science and Poetry. Science, it is true, cannot be learnt to effect from mere books—it can be studied well and to purpose only in a well-equipped laboratory. The study of science as science conveys but dry lessons and dry lessons cannot reach the heart and form character, however much they may enlighten the mind. It is said the poet idealises science because he "awakes our dull eye." He impresses upon the mind the lesson so needed for the formation of character that nature has a contempt for everything that is ugly and lives for beauty.

"Sir", asked a student, "what do we learn from Chemistry?" The question, it is said, was put to a chemist, and fortunately for the young questioner, the chemist was not as dry as dust, but had a vision for fine discriminations. And his answer was:—"Young man, Chemistry teaches us that we can utilise any kind of waste

except waste of time." Science, allied to poetry, can be made into a sermon for ethical conduct, if only the teacher has the poetic temper and enthusiasm.

These are but a few illustrations to show that nearly every subject can be and ought to be taught so as to convey ethical lessons calculated to form a young man's character and influence his conduct. The difficulties in India of religious instruction in schools and colleges are indeed great on account of the variety of sects and creeds. But that is no reason for excluding moral instruction altogether. Some years ago indeed the opinion prevailed that such instruction was out of place in our schools and Colleges. It was an opinion borrowed from such thinkers of the time as John Stuart Mill, but many things have happened since then; our ideals of education have changed; and the fact that a Moral Education Congress, composed of representatives from different parts of the civilised world, met last year in London and emphasised the necessity of such teaching in Educational Institutions shows that Mill's opinion no longer holds the ground. Whatever the case of other countries, here in India we are peculiarly situated. According to the national genius of the people and their traditions, moral teaching is the very essence of education, the two must go together.

Sister and Brother Graduates, you who have to-day received your degrees and diplomas, I have laid stress in this address upon concentration and discipline and ethical teaching, because without them true manhood cannot be acquired. We may all not be able to be scholars, men of ripe culture, but on all of us is laid the obligation of developing true character, and true character is formed only where we have learnt to control ourselves—when we have mastered impulse and acquired the virtues of truth, patience, and, above all, the enthusiasm of humanity. I take it that everyone of you wishes to succeed in life. Now, true success must come if only you will go to work inspired by the lesson from the legend of an artist I have read of. It is said that there was an artist whose paintings were the admiration of all who saw them and were superior to the paintings of all other artists of his time, because they had a peculiar red tint, the source of which none could discover. On his death the secret stood revealed. It was found that there was a wound on his

heart and that he used to utilise the blood there for the red colour of his paintings. This is only a legend, but the lesson it conveys is great. That lesson is that there can be no success in life worth having, that nothing worth achieving can be achieved by us unless it be at the cost of the heart's blood—unless, that is, we work and love our work with all our minds, all our hearts, and all our souls. And, above all, remember Emerson's saying "Love measure," that is, be self-controlled · study, dignity and self-respect which comes of thinking soberly, acting with righteousness, and, what is more, living piously "as ever in the Great Taskmaster's eye."

CONVOCATION ADDRESS.

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Address, 1910.

Your Excellency, Members of the Senate, and Sister and Brother Graduates.

Till last December I was hoping that on this occasion we would be so fortunate as to congratulate ourselves that our ranks would not be thinned by the loss of any Ordinary Fellow. Though it is only one member of the Senate whom we have lost by death the loss is, from all points of view, very heavy indeed. The late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson was just the kind of man, of whom any University might be proud, which had him as its member. Since his widely regretted death, sad tributes have been paid in fitting terms in different quarters to the memory of his saintly character and scholarly attainments. He was one of those blessed with the habit of intensity in the pursuit of life which enables a man to try to become all that he might be rather than haste to do great things and fail. No more appropriate epitaph could be written on his grave than that he was, what the great *Rishi Apastamba*, whom he admired, says every student and house-holder should be—*mriduha shantaha, dantaha, and dhritadhrithi*—meek, calm, self-controlled, and firm. Among the Honorary Fellows the list of the dead is rather long. In the saintly Khursedjee Rustomjee Kama, we have lost a man of exemplary pursuits and high ideals of life. Unassuming, seeking knowledge for its own sake, unselfish, he was a man not of mere opinions, but of convictions and his convictions were generally sound; he has impressed his individuality to some extent on his race; and not only Parsis, but all other communities would be all the better for copying the example of his blameless life, the music of which was such as to pierce to the soul of nearly every one who had frequent converse with him. In Dr. L. P. De Rosario we have lost a most valued member of the Portuguese community in Bombay. He was a well-known medical practitioner of this city, and the first I saw of him was when he attended years ago the sick students in St. Mary's College. He gave his medical services to that Institution out of pure love for his faith. Mr. Ibrahim Ahmadi was a distinguished Mahomedan *alumnus* in

engineering of our University ; he was a man of cultured tastes and fine manners. He has died comparatively young, leaving a record of satisfactory work as an engineer, and also as a member of the great community to which he belonged, and whose social status he sought quietly to elevate. Another Graduate and Honorary Fellow of high promise has been cut off in the prime of life, and that at a time when he had acquired a position of honour and trust at the Bar of the High Court of Bombay. Mr. Pestonjee Jamsedjee Padshah had a brilliant college career ; he was an able lawyer, who endeared himself to all who knew him by his straightforwardness and rectitude of conduct, both private and professional. Mr Rustomjee Merwanjee Patol was another well-known Graduate of our University, who had, in the earlier years of his life, an eminent career at the Bar of the Bombay Small Causes Court. He afterwards presided as one of its Judges. The Rev. J. Mayr was a well-known figure among us some years ago by reason especially of his connection with St. Xavier's College. He was for several years its Principal and Rector ; he impressed his personality on that Institution and its pupils, both by his orderly management and his learned lectures on Political Economy. Mr. Jaysatya Bodhrao Tirmalrao Inamdar was one of the few Canarese Fellows of the University in the old days. His death reminds me how poorly the Canarese districts of the Presidency are represented at the present moment in our Senate. There are only two Canarese gentlemen among the Ordinary Fellows—my friend Dr. Row and myself ; but neither of us can lay claim to Canarese scholarship. The last Canarese scholar we had on the Senate was my uncle, the late Mr. Shamarav Vithal. He was also for some years a member of the Syndicate. His place in the Senate, so far as Canarese scholarship goes, remains unfilled. Distance from Bombay has, I believe, obscured the claims of Canarese districts to a fair representation on the Senate ; the blame is mine because, had I brought the matter to Your Excellency's notice, with your well-known desire to grant all reasonable prayer you would have remedied the defect.

Turning to the principal events of the academic year now ended, I might, at the outset, summarize them by saying that the year has been marked by discussions of a highly controversial nature, which have served to bring University questions prominently before the public eye. We have agreed to abolish the examination for the

degree of Licentiate of Medicine and confine ourselves to the degree of M. B. B. S. Our Arts and Science courses and examinations are now undergoing their trial in the Senate. Whatever the final result, I am glad to find that all the members of the Senate have been taking keen interest in the questions raised, and have been following the debates with an eager desire to put higher education in Arts and Science on an improved basis to the best of their powers. We have effected changes in our law examinations; and, speaking as a lawyer, I ought to say they effect a reform in the right direction. While on this subject, I may add that I have been informed by the Examiners in Hindu law at the LL. B. Examinations of the last two or three years that the candidates have been exhibiting a better knowledge of the principles of the subject than used to be the case previously. I am glad to note this, not only because of my special interest in the subject, but also because the study, and I will say the practice, of Hindu law have not been what they ought to be. That law has been treated more as a congeries of texts with many discordant voices, dignified with the name of law, and it is supposed that all the lawyer has to do is to pick and choose from among them and apply whatever text suits his purpose. Even students of Hindu law, knowing Sanskrit, have been accustomed, generally speaking, to depend upon translations and English text-books. So far as the University is concerned and I will also say, so far as the High Court is concerned, we are determined to discourage this neglect of Hindu law as a Science. Its proper study is important, not only from the lawyer's but also the social and religious point of view, because it helps us to understand aright the traditions, customs and tendencies of Hindu society. And that brings me to the important change which the Senate has effected by resolving to adopt Pali as a second language in the higher examinations in Arts. The change is due to Dr. Bhandarkar. As he observed at the meeting of the Senate, when the change was adopted, a knowledge of Pali is necessary not only for antiquarian research but also for a close understanding of our religious and social problems, past and present. We have modified the curriculum in the Agricultural examinations. The Faculty of Engineering failed to exercise the franchise given to it by Your Excellency for the election of a Fellow last year. A question which has been for some years puzzling the Syndicate is the waste, from a practical point of view, of the large number of prizes that figure

in our Calendar. In his Convocation address, delivered in 1865 at the Calcutta University in his capacity of Vice-Chancellor, the late Sir Henry Sumner Maine pointed, with a feeling of envy, to the large number of endowments at our University. What was then a blessing has now become a burden. Several of these endowments are prizes or scholarships for essays on subjects chosen by the Syndicate. Very few compete for them; and those, who do, think carelessly and write ungrammatical English and the prizes and scholarships have been very often unawarded. We cannot change the direction of these endowments; they are trusts, and the law of charitable trusts is inexorable—it is the dead man's wish which dictates the law. It is only the Legislature which can change the law, but we have not yet come to that stage, where the Legislature is likely to help us. As usual, we have had complaints about some of our examination papers and some of the examiners, and their so-called anomalous results. I have taken some trouble to look into the question myself, and have come to the conclusion that such complaints generally come from those who wish to make examinations easy and popularize them. That is a very attractive idea, as attractive as that of the witty Frenchman, who wished to make science popular, metaphysics intelligible, and vice respectable. Suggestions are now and then made that only Professors of Colleges ought to be appointed Examiners. This is an old question, and nearly every University in Europe I notice, is troubled with it. We cannot have a hard and fast rule in the selection of Examiners. I ought to point out that most of the Examiners are selected by the Syndicate from among the Professors of Colleges. Speaking of the results of our examinations, I ought to congratulate the University on the number of ladies who figure among the successful candidates. Seventy-nine have passed the Matriculation, 7 the Previous, 10 the Intermediate, 3 the B. A., 3 the M. A., one the First LL. B., 2 the L. M. & S. and 1 the M. B. I have been comparing the figures as regards lady candidates for the years since 1900. They appear more or less stationary, so far as the successful lady candidates go; but the point to notice with satisfaction is that so many as 17 Hindu girls passed at the last Matriculation—a larger number than in any previous year. As usual, my Parsi sisters take the lead in point of number and prominence at these examinations. I would take this opportunity of publicly congratulating my friend Miss Seereen Paruck on her success in

the 2nd class in Logic and Moral Philosophy at the M. A. examination. It is a difficult subject, and Miss Paruck deserves praise for her pluck—all the more so, because I know what a beneficent influence she has been exercising quietly in that useful body—the Students' Brotherhood. The Indian Christian community, as usual, figured well in the list of successful candidates at the last Matriculation. The only disappointing feature of this list of successful candidates at our examinations for the year now closed is that we find the name of no Mahomedan lady in it. But I have every hope that my Mahomedan sisters will take ere long the place that is theirs, side by side with Hindu, Parsi and Christian girls at our examinations.

The new year has begun with our debates concerning our Arts and Science courses. I do not wonder that our University is passing through a time of unrest, seeing that just at this moment academic life, whether in England or America, is full of the controversial air regarding the aims and objects of education. The question as to the comparative merits of a literary and a scientific education, which is being debated among us, is being discussed elsewhere with greater keenness than ever. It is an ancient question—as ancient as the times of Socrates, when Callicles remonstrated with that sage for wasting time on such a useless study as philosophy. Mr. Benson tells us in his monograph on Walter Pater that the present tendency in English Universities is not favourable to the study of *belles lettres* or artistic philosophies, and that “the only work which is emphatically recognised and approved is the only work which makes definite and unquestionable additions to the progress of exact sciences.” Literary men charge scientific minds with narrowness, because they are absorbed in details and are apt to forget the unity of life. Scientific men turn round and complain that a literary education breeds visionaries, dealing with airy nothings and dreaming. Literary men rejoine that what the scientist calls dreams are spiritual visions, inspirations, mental pictures, which are born of the insight, due to literary talent; and as one of numerous instances in support of that cite the case of the Duke of Wellington who was no scientist but whose despatches have a literary art. He said to a lady that in a military difficulty he would see suddenly in his mind's eye the whole situation, perplexing as it was, as in a panorama clearly spread out before him. That, we are told, is the literary vision. It is said that before the scientist

discovers the poet *sees*, as, for instance, when Browning as by a flash of literary instinct, without any scientific education, penned his line "as flesh refines to nerve beneath the spirit's play," thereby giving the world, for the first time in the history of scientific thought the theory of nerv-formation along the line of least resistance, before Spencer discovered it. Another question which is exciting interest and has given rise to considerable discussion in the academic world, both in England and the United States of America, relates to the subjects which a boy ought to be taught at College. The present tendency, so far as I can judge, appears to be not to force him to study subjects for which he has no liking, but to let him choose only those for which he feels enthusiasm. This tendency was strongly reflected in the address of Sir John Tweedy delivered at the University College Hospital in London in October last. But that opinion has not passed unchallenged, and there are eminent educationists who have pointed out the drawback and mischievous results, as they call them, of a system which makes each boy his own master in the matter of selecting subjects for broadening his mind. Life, they say, is a drudgery; and efficiency in doing life's work depends upon the capacity to do the drudgery's work even when the mind will not move. Leave it to a boy to choose what he shall study, and he will select what is most easy and not learn to conquer and control himself and to acquire the power of solving perplexing problems or doing what he finds tedious work. To this the answer given is that forcing a boy to get up for an examination subjects for which he has no aptitude, means only waste of intellect and power, and that it only serves to cram his head with ill-digested knowledge; but does not enable him to be a clear thinker. Give him, it is said, his choice, wisely directed under the guidance of his teacher; and when he has chosen his subjects suited to his tastes, teach those subjects so as to produce in him the spirit of research. It is this spirit which is now pervading the academic atmosphere in England. As an eminent Professor of an English University recently remarked, most British Universities have now established degrees for research, the old idea that research was the work of "dry-as-dust professors only" has disappeared, and it has begun more and more to be recognised as a sound principle of University education in all branches of learning, whether history, science or philosophy, that "to be successful, teaching and research must go side by side, each drawing vitality

from the other." Coming nearer home, we hear of proposals for sectarian Universities. Mrs Annie Besant, who is rendering yeoman's service to the cause of moral sturdiness among our young men, has a scheme for a Hindu University ; and I notice that she has secured for it the support and sympathy of several Hindus of light and leading. Our Mahomedan brethren, under the guidance of His Highness the Aga Khan, have a similar idea of a Mahomedan University ; and our Parsi friends have, I believe, some thoughts in the same direction for a Zoroastrian University. Some doubt whether sectarian Universities will do any good and promote the cause of sound education. But there is room for all kinds of good work, and more variety we have of it the better, provided the main object is kept in view, *viz*, that a University is intended to fit a young man for the conduct of life by broadening his mind and widening his sympathies.

It is not surprising that the present state of things in India, the fiendish acts of some young men, and the teachings and conduct of some grown up men have more than ever prominently brought the problem of education in general and University education in particular to the front and disposed some to ask the question in all seriousness whether our educational system, both lower and higher, has been on the right lines. It is held in some quarters that the authority of Macaulay, on whose deliberately formed opinion and advice the present system of higher education was adopted and established, stands discredited. I may at once say that I cannot accept the view that that system has been a failure. The educated men who have been brought up under it may not be, taken as a whole, all that men of culture, who have the hall-mark of University degrees ought to be, but in many important respects they are an improvement on their ancestors of the periods which preceded the introduction of higher education among us. Competent authorities have pronounced that the public service has improved in tone and efficiency since graduates came to be employed in our judicial and revenue services. There has been an intellectual and moral awakening which, but for British rule and its Colleges and Universities would have been almost an impossibility, having regard to the *effete* condition of Indian society just before the British power was established among us. On these points it is not my intention here to dilate. But while so much must be admitted to the credit side of the system, we must not be

blind to the fact that there are forces working among us which have already cast a shadow on the good name of our young men, and which threaten, if not extinguished with all the moral strength we can command, to peril the future of the country. Some say the present state of things is due to the fact that our education, both lower and higher, has been purely secular; that it has rooted out the old faiths, which served as checks to extravagant conduct and wild ideas. Accordingly recommendations are made to introduce religious education into our schools and appeals are made to priests and pundits to assert themselves and their authority by interpreting the voice of the *Shastras* correctly to our young men and save them from the path of utter demoralisation and destruction which must overtake them, if they are allowed to be guided by sinister teachings under the guise of love of country and "mother land." I should be the last to underrate the necessity and importance of religious education, holding as I do that the life of man and the life of society and state should be regulated by the principles of a high-toned religion, which makes Love and the Enthusiasm of Humanity the keynote of precept and practice. The question of religious education is not simple; even in England it has given rise to difficulties. At the same time it is essential for a youth to be brought up in some faith. But if any one believes that religious education in schools and colleges will mend the present state of things, all I can say is I doubt that. It all depends on how religion is taught and by whom it is taught. In some schools they teach *Bhagwat Gita*. Now, the *Gita* is a gospel of high sacred teaching, but it is also philosophical and metaphysical. It is absurd to put it in the hands of the young, when even grown-up people stumble as they read the verses dealing with the question of knowledge, of faith and work, of meditation, of devotion, of life eternal and of human destiny. And the *Gita* has been perverted by designing persons to their political ends. Complex as is the problem before us, there is one aspect of it which has been, I am afraid, more or less ignored, and it is to that that I propose to invite consideration, even at the risk of being charged with taking advantage of this occasion to propound certain old convictions of mine.

We hear now-a-days a great deal said about the ancient ideals and traditions of the country with reference to its educational problems; and in the midst of these discussions the general tendency

of criticism is to hold Schoolmasters and Professors and the system of education responsible for the slackness of discipline, want of self-control, and decay of the reverential spirit among the men of the present time. But it is forgotten that the school and the college are not the only world in which the young men move, learn, imbibe ideas and influences ; that the home and the community are schools in their own way--educational factors in the growth of young men ; and that if these young men have fallen on evil times and become objects of distrust, it is because of the influences more of the home and of the community than of the school or college.

In one of those melodious passages which sink into the heart when they are read, because of their beauty of thought and simplicity of language, *Baudhayana*, one of the ancient sages of Hinduism, tells us in his *Sutras* that it is the duty of individuals composing a society to regulate their lives, taking for their model the conduct of a learned or cultured man. Such a man was known to our *Rishis* by the expressive term *Shishia*. The marks by which he is to be distinguished to enable each man to copy his example and live his life are given in these words by *Baudhayana* —“Indeed the learned or cultured man is he who is free from envy or jealousy and self-conceit ; who cares not for luxuries, but lives a simple life ; who is self-controlled, and not tainted by insincerity, pride or anger.” This seems a common place, but mark the influence it had in moulding the Hindu thought and life in ancient times. Conduct such as is recommended by *Baudhayana*, as distinguishing a cultured man, was termed *Acharya*, and rules were laid down for enabling every man from his youth upwards to realise the ideal of that conduct. To our modern sense these rules appear tiresome, mechanical, and even, in some respects, absurd. They were all based on or connected with rituals ; and demanded of every Hindu, when he ought to rise from sleep, what he ought to do, what he ought to eat, what he ought to worship, and how he ought to worship. Every moment of his life and daily duty was regulated and had its rule for due observance, so that we might justly say in the words of Keshub Chunder Sen that the Hindu was taught from his childhood to sit, walk, sleep, move and do everything religiously. Undoubtedly, it was a mechanical life, the form of religion predominated over its substance and spirit ; but was not the life of the forefathers of the present day Briton, a life of cere-

monial at one time ? In his "Gentlemen," Louis Stevenson tells us — "The life of our fathers was highly ceremonial—life was a rehearsed piece. It was symbolic etiquette, that was the *gentleman*" It had its defects ; the principle underlying the ceremonial life came in process of time among the Hindus to be obscured by the form ; and the rite of the life became more important than its soul. But it had one excellent effect for which we must always stand indebted to our *Rishis*. This ceremonial life, by steadying every individual's daily movements, whether in the home or in the world outside, taught him, whatever he was, to control himself. It taught him to rule himself, by means of *dharma*, and *dharma*, which has come in its secondary sense and is now understood by people to mean either religion or duty, or charity, originally carried the idea, as Vijnaneshwara in his *Muktikshara* tells us on the authority of a sacred text of the *Rishi* Gautama, of *danda*, that is, punishment having for its aim and object the taming of the brute in man, restraining his evil passions and senses. This restraint was to proceed from what the *Rishis* termed *achara*, literally, conduct ; but, according to them, restrained, therefore righteous conduct, regulated by a well-ordered and discreet life. Every Hindu was bound down to *achara* ; to learn to control himself by observing daily the rules prescribed for him as to when he must rise in the morning from his sleep, what he must do, how he must pray and worship, what and how he must eat. Every rule was prescribed with a view to make every moment of his life one of worship—living, as it were, in communion with the Supreme Spirit, the *parabrahma*. Having regulated his daily conduct in this way, the *Rishis* gave him another rule, which has largely influenced the law and the life of the Hindu both in his individual and social relations. There is an idea abroad that it is the pious duty of a Hindu, ordained by his religion, that he must either beget or adopt a son and that, if he does neither of these, he has no chance of a home in heaven.

The idea does not correctly and fully represent the Hindu theory. It is true that, according to it, a Hindu is ordained either to beget or adopt a son ; but the mere begetting or adopting does not open the door of heaven for him when he dies. Begetting or adopting is but part of the duty—and a poor part indeed. Our *Rishis* ordained that, if a Hindu is to secure a place in heaven, he must not only beget or adopt a son, but he ought to become that

son's teacher. Hence they said the principal teacher or *acharya* of a boy is his own father. As Medatithi, one of the greatest commentators of Manu, puts it —“A Hindu can attain to heaven only by making his son *anushtha*,” well brought up. That is the Hindu's *adhikara*, a word which again is not often understood. We take it to mean authority, but the *Rishis* employed it in the sense of an imperative obligation, a sacred duty. Every Hindu then had to live subject to *achara*, controlled conduct; and he had to influence his son by that conduct by becoming his son's *acharya*. Self-controlled himself, regulating his daily actions in the home and society by set rules, he was bound to exercise supreme control over his son till the latter arrived at the age of 16; after that, says Medatithi; the father should become his son's friend, having the power “to catch the son by the hair” if he went wrong.

I do not say that this rule of life imposed by his religion upon a Hindu father had the effect of making a model man of him, but, whatever its defects, and I admit they were many, it taught self-control; and that was a great lesson to learn for his children. For a child or young man, who has tasted of parental love and care, to see his father, he whom he is taught to worship as his god on earth, standing with his head bowed down with deep submission before his gods, before the sun the moon, and the skies, and invoking the aid of a Being superior to himself—such a sight was an education in itself.

It inspired reverence in the young, and life became not a toy to be trifled with, but a sacred trust, because it filled the young with reverence. It recalls to our minds what Carlyle describes as the invaluable service his mother did for him, not by her words; nor indeed by her acts, but by “her daily reverent look and habitude.” In a passage of deep pathos and sanctity he says:—“How indestructively the good grows and propagates itself, even among the weedy entanglements of evil! The highest whom I knew on earth I here saw bound down with awe unspeakable before a higher in heaven. Such things, especially in infancy, reach inwards to the very core of your being.” How true that is those verily can testify who had wise parents and grand parents that bowed before God and walked reverently before man!

I am not one of those who thinks the old times and traditions must or can be revived, nor am I an unqualified admirer or worshipper of all old ideals. Human experience, as embodied in

the history of all civilised races, is against artificial revivals, of which it has been truly said that they are as little like the originals as the corpse is like the living man. But the spirit of the ancient system, its underlying principle of self-control, obedience, and reverence must be kept up, or else as a community we are bound in process of time to cease to be. And it can be kept up only by a spirit of sincerity and consistency of life in our domestic and social relations. We have been finding fault with our system of education in schools and colleges ; but we forget that our boys spend but a few hours of the day there under their teachers ; what do their parents or guardians do for them to exercise and discipline them in habits of self-control, methodical work, and reverence ? What has been our own example in that respect ? The parent thinks that when he has sent his boy to school or college and paid him his fee and got him married and seen him pass examinations somehow, he, the parent, has done his duty. Do we trouble ourselves with the questions, as a wise parent ought to do, what the boy does, what company he keeps, what his tastes are, how he spends his time outside his school or college, what opinions he is forming, what prejudices he is contracting ? We go our own way: the boy goes his own, and no wonder he becomes a victim of every passing gust of prejudice, opinion, and criticism. Nor is that all. The pupils of Pythagoras, it is said, were compelled to be silent during the first four years under instruction, that is, " they were neither to have nor to express any original ideas and thoughts. " Improving upon this principle, the great German philosopher, Hegel, himself a great teacher of young men and educationist of his time, held that in the training of young men, whether at school or college, thought, like the will, must begin with obedience : and that it was good for a boy's growth to demand absolute obedience from him for obedience's sake. This was also the old Hindu ideal of education. But what do we do now with our boys in our homes ? We live in an age of criticism, and we have all of us become critics. We find fault with one another and are anxious to reform others than ourselves. And in the presence of our children, we do not hesitate to air our disparaging opinions about men, great and small. Our boys take their cue from us and become critics themselves, who think they are as competent as their fathers or even more to sit in judgment upon everybody. They are among the foremost at public meetings and are allowed to take part in

discussions. Some years ago there used to be every year in Bombay and Poona a series of lectures : and boy critics predominated at them and said all sorts of things. Disgusted at this, the late Mr. Justice Telang arranged that there should be no discussion at all at any lecture. But what a storm was raised because of that ! And we have allowed young men to take part in so-called religious movements, where political songs written in bad taste and objectionable language, to say nothing worse of them, have been sung. We allow our boys to read newspapers when they are at school. What English parent will allow his boy to do that ? And the newspapers have become our gods ! For most of us they provide the literature we want for thought, and our boys imitate us. Go to any library, where grown-up men and boys read. Some years ago I went into this matter and wished to try an experiment. There are two English Magazines which I have made my constant companions and have frequently recommended young men with whom I have come in contact to read. They are *Great Thoughts* and the *Young Man*. These make even an old man feel great and young. I tried to introduce them in some places but very few seem to care for such reading. Forty years ago, one found young men reading with pleasure such books as Berquin's *Children's Friend*, Miss Edgeworth's *Tales*, Thomas Day's *Sandford and Merton*, Mrs Barbauld and Dr. Aikin's *Evenings at Home*, Todd's *Students' Manual*, and Smile's *Self-Help and Duty*. But these have gone out of fashion during these 25 years, and few parents care to put the right sort of books in their young man's way. And our own reading is of the kind sufficient to mislead our young men. A year and a half ago Dr Selby, then Director of Public Instruction, asked me whether there was any Vernacular periodical, of pure literary tastes, dealing with questions of educational and moral interest, which could be put on the library table of every school in the Presidency. From enquiries I made I found there was none worth the name. And even if we had one, what boy would read it unless he found the impulse to go and do likewise from his home ? One special principle to be borne in mind in the training of the young is that they do not require to be led so much as not to be misled. This is one of the aphorisms of James Martineau, whose work on *Ethics* is a text book in philosophy in our University. And much of what we say and do has misled our youth ; and if

things are not worse than they are, it is because youth takes longer time to corrupt than adult age.

I could give scores of instances which have come within my observation during these twenty years to illustrate this mental and moral chaos in our social circles. Some years ago. Dr. Selby, when he was Principal of the Deccan College, remarked to me that he was pained to see how the spirit of irreverent and irresponsible criticism of elders was being fostered among our young men. I told him that the young men were not to blame. They caught their air from grown-up people ; and unless these latter improved their ways, there was no chance of improvement among our youth. Call this not exaggeration ; say not these are all small things. Big issues arise out of added small causes The Hindu elder, with all his advance has no well-directed, clearly, defined convictions as to his duties, religious and social He excuses himself on the ground that he is passing through a transition stage ; we drift and are aimless in the home and society The result is our young men have become our masters and dictators. The Head Master of a public school in England, some years ago, wisely remarked that "the boy is always more or less a statesman balancing school and parental interference to a nicety and invariably creating a policy to meet the situation". The boy has created a situation for us.

Writing of the first generation of educated Indians, the late Sir Erskine Perry, who was in 1850 President of the Board of Education, then said that the fruits of higher education in this Presidency had surpassed the most sanguine expectations of those who had introduced that system, because the educated Indians of his time had both in their public and and private lives proved men of sterling merit. That was a time when educated Indians devoted themselves to the work of reforming the social environments of the communities to which they belonged. But it was soon found that social reform was not an easy task and and was attended with considerable risks, because it entailed excommunication from society and unpopularity. The majority of educated Indians naturally became apathetic, and felt that the best thing to do was to let social and religious questions alone Politics remained ; and there was no question of inconveniences or risk. This state of things, in process of time, resulted in a general feeling among educated Indians that any criticism or discussion of our social shortcomings was unwise and impolitic, because it only gave a handle to those

who maintained that no political rights could be extended to us unless we proved our fitness in other directions. Even those great and good men, the late Mr. Justice Tolang and the late Mr. Justice Rauade, at one time seemed to share the feeling, but ultimately they perceived this defect of our mental vision. Under the influence of this general feeling, our whole atmosphere has been dominated by considerations of expediency, so that questions of intellectual, moral, and religious reform, from which politics, to be healthy and sound must draw its inspiration, have gone into the back ground.

The situation will not improve unless we improve ourselves—unless we take the moral education of our own youth under our own control, so long as we do not supervise their conduct ourselves, and set them by our own well-ordered and discreet lives, an example of sobriety and sincerity, and discipline in all departments of life—intellectual, moral, social, and political. My anxiety is not for the Government—it is strong enough to meet the situation which has become sad and serious enough. I am anxious about ourselves—have we the strength and the moral courage to stem the tide of wild and wicked teaching by organising our religious, social, and moral forces on lines of sanity instead of letting things drift and leaving the field to men who care for nothing but the destruction of order, peace and harmony?

There are those who think that what is happening in our country at the present moment has happened in other countries, and that we are merely passing through a necessary or natural stage of our evolution as a nation. Now, I do not deny the value of historical parallels, provided we do not misunderstand them or do not understand them imperfectly, or do not distort them to make them square with our own prejudices and preconceived views. It is true, for instance, that the political air of England was towards the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century charged with a revolutionary spirit. At the end of the 18th century they were reflected in poems like Campbell's "Pleasures of Hope," showing how the depths of life were stirred. In the earlier years of the 19th century they found vehement utterance in the poems of Byron and Shelly—the former expressing with a passionate genius much of the tumult of thought of the time, defying all old forms and existing institutions. But it was not the teachings and spirit of Byron and Shelly which saved England or led to her greatness.

It was the teaching of religious reformers like Wesley and Whitfield and of poets like Wordsworth, the influence of qualities of love and gentleness, of patience and faith which they and such as they kept alive and nourished that saved England from the moral chaos which threatened her in the 18th century, thereby illustrating the lesson of history that all social and political reform proceeds from a genuine religious awakening. And the influence of these great teachers permeates English life still in all its best aspects. They did not degrade religion to the level of politics or social reform and make it subservient to the latter. Theirs was not the religion of hatred—it was the teaching of Love, of the Brotherhood of Man, of the Enthusiasm of Humanity. Not until we go and do likewise is there any chance of real political and social progress. At present our religious awakening means the war of sects, the doctrines of hatred, and the distorting for political purposes of the teachings of the Upanishads and the Bhagawad Gita.

I shall perhaps be told that all this looks fine on paper and in speech, but that for all practical purposes it is useless, because how is religious, moral and social awakening of the right kind which is to be the harbinger of real progress to come except by such efforts as are being made? Now, what are these efforts? Those of us who know what is all behind ought not to be misled by the want of vitality within and the spirit of either light-heartedness or apathy that is abroad. Genuine workers in movements calculated to elevate the minds and morals of the people, the masses; how few they are! I remember the day very sadly when in almost a fit of despair the late Mr. Justice Telang said with a sigh. "It is but a handful of men and on them falls the burden of all good movements!"

I implore you, Brother Graduates, now that you are about to enter the world of active life, to ponder over all this and think of the serious responsibility which rests on us by reason of the education imparted to us, the degrees we have received, and our connection with this *Alma Mater* of ours. There is an impression abroad that we have been weighed in the balance and found wanting, because we have shown no signs of scholarship. That opinion has been expressed recently by our esteemed Chancellor Sir George Clarke, who, himself a scholar, has earned, by his sense of justice and desire for our good, our respect and gratitude. The remark is true. But, as some one has said, at least three generations of stu-

debts who have read, mused and searched with many a sigh in the midst of "abundant libraries" must pass before a new University can produce scholars. Our three generations have yet to pass. Scholars, poets, statesmen, scientists will come and in abundance' in their own time, if we men of average talents in the meantime, prepare the way for them by living on a high plane of thought, instead of creeping low. As Graduates the duty is imposed on us of contributing by our own lives to the intellectual and moral life of our country. We must ever bear in mind that a University is not worth the high name it bears, if those bred within its walls do not bring credit to it by means of cultured thought and a high-toned life. The great school of Athens was a school of thinkers, whose ideas spread abroad even as far as Palestine. It was the University life which raised the life of the people which civilization dawned upon barbarian Europe. Both Mahomedans and Christians were uplifted by the high moral teachings of the academies of Cordova. We are yet young—very young indeed as a University, but youth has this privilege, that it has its spurs to win. Now is the time for us to prove that though we may not be scholars, we are children of light and not darkness. The name of Young India in general, and of the young Hindu in particular, is being dragged into the mire. We are all as it were on our trial before the bar of the civilised world and before God. Let us by sobriety of conduct and by avoiding all extravagance of thought, prove ourselves worthy of the education we have received. Think you what it is to be a Graduate of a University. That word University signifies something higher and deeper than a body which examines or teaches many things, and places on us the hallmark of versatility by means of its degrees. The Arts and Sciences it teaches have been rightly described as a pledge of the idea of Unity of Learning, which the Greeks expressed by the term *Philosophy*, and the Hindus by the term *brahmajñana*. We must learn to look at life steadily and whole, and we shall not learn that unless we cultivate the habit of deep thinking, which is one of the supreme necessities of the day among us. And we shall learn to think deeply if we closely adhere to the lesson taught to his pupils by Socrates. That lesson is to endeavour to get your ideas clear, never to shuffle your meanings, and always follow through. All inductive reasoning and universal definition are summed up in this lesson. That was also the lesson taught to his pupils by the great

German Philosopher Hegel when he advised them to cultivate the habit of deep thought by first having clear and definite ideas, by then giving them plenty of rope, and then seeing whether or not those ideas hang themselves. It is one of the beauties of Plato's Dialogues that very often a discussion between Socrates and his opponent goes through a long and sometimes tedious and dry course of argument, and at last, to the dissatisfaction of the spectators, ends either in a barren conclusion or perhaps in no conclusion at all. But that does not mean that the discussion has all been futile, and the powers of the intellect wasted. It means that deep thinking comes after patient labour. It is this passion for truth, light and clearness of ideas which we must cultivate—and which this University imposes on us as our duty to develop. In these days of hurry, excitement and unrest, when we are apt to borrow our opinions from others, especially from those who shout the most and write the strongest, this Socratic lesson is needed for us all. But deep thought comes only where the mind is tuned to a spirit of reverence,—of modesty and humility, which is willing to learn from all—which hates nothing but loves everything, except vice. This occasion when you have received from His Excellency the Chancellor your diplomas and been solemnly adjured by him to ever show yourselves in your lives and in your conversations worthy of the degrees conferred upon you, ought ever to live in your memories as sacred, and inspire you to acquit yourselves as men knowing not for knowing's sake or idle disputation or querulous criticism, but to become stars to men for ever, useful members of society, loving and loyal citizens of the state. The hand from which you have got your degrees is the hand of one who has himself led a life of strenuous work, with courage, obedience, and faith. And the place where you have been declared Graduates ought to be a symbol to you of everything that you ought to aspire to be as *alumni* of this University. I am not an idolator, but I believe in the sight and inspiration of a symbol when it typifies a lesson either of beauty or of beneficence. No sight in Bombay—and we have many beautiful sights in this dear o'd city of ours, whether produced by Nature or made by man—fills the mind with reverence and encourages it to aspire high better than this University with its modest buildings and lofty tower. As I gaze upon them I feel I am in the presence of a Mother, whose eyes are turned towards heaven above, but whose feet are planted deep in

earth below—a picture of purity, steadiness and sobriety—conveying to us all, like the face of the lady that Rossetti loved, “the meaning of things that are.” Here is a call to us from our *Alma Mater* to live our lives nobly—not indeed to remake the world, for we have not made it, but to make absolute best of what we are by diligence and devotion to all that is pure and lovely.

Political Speeches.

THE INDIAN QUESTION,

(*Kent and Sussex Times.*)

Under the auspices of the Maidstone Radical Association, a crowded meeting of Liberals was held in the Corn Exchange, on Wednesday 20th, Oct. 1885 to hear a lecture from Mr. Chandavarkar, one of the native delegates from the Liberals of India.

Mr. H. Head, the chairman of the Radical Association, occupied the chair.

The Chairman, in a brief but appropriate speech, opened the proceedings, and then introduced the lecturer, who was accorded a most hearty reception.

Commencing his address, the excellent delivery of which elicited the admiration of the large audience, Mr. Chandavarkar, who wore the Indian headdress, tendered his hearty thanks to those assembled for the warm reception they had given him, which, he said, assured him of the interest which they felt in the mission which had brought him to England, at a time when the people of that country were on the eve of a General Election. He had to speak to them in a language which was not his own, and therefore he asked them to extend towards him their sympathy, and to overlook any shortcomings which he might exhibit. This appeal was answered by enthusiastic cheering, and the lecturer then began to explain that his object in visiting England was to excite a greater interest in the affairs of India among Englishmen; and to remind them that when they went to the poll at the coming elections they would do so not simply on their own behalf, but also on behalf of the 200,000,000 people in India, who were proud to acknowledge that they were under British rule (cheers). He was not deputed by his fellow countrymen to tell them that their administration of Indian affairs had been a failure, because there was a great deal in that administration that entitled England to the gratitude of the

Until something of this kind was done the grievances of which his fellow countrymen complained would never be remedied. (Hear, hear). Since he and his friends had been in England some people and that portion of the press which was antagonistic to them, asserted that they were not representing the people of India, but if they were to argue this matter out, he might with equal justice assert that the members of the British House of Commons did not represent the British public, as those who in the past had had a voice in the selection of representatives were in a minority (Hear, hear.) Referring to the promises which had been made that the natives of India should be allowed to take a larger share in the work of the Empire, he quoted statistics, at some length, to show that in very few instances were natives permitted to hold office in the various administrative departments. Alluding to the administration of justice in India, the lecturer observed that as between native and native the system was as good as perfect, but when it was a matter as between a European and a native, then he regretted to state, that serious miscarriages of justice very often resulted, in proof of which he instanced one very flagrant case of injustice. In conclusion, the lecturer said he was quite sure that now that the British public were being made acquainted with the grievances of which the people of India complained, that they would not only extend towards them their hearty sympathy, but that they would do all they could at the forthcoming elections to secure to them in the future those reforms which were so much needed. (Cheers)

JUSTICE FOR INDIA.

(*Newcastle Daily Leader*, Nov. 1885.)

At a public meeting held at the Central Hall, Newcastle, for the purpose of listening to addresses from the three Indian delegates on Indian affairs and for supporting their mission, Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar of Bombay spoke to the following effect, Dr. Spence Watson was in the chair :—

Mr. Chandavarkar said that, in common with his fellow-delegates, he heartily appreciated the kind reception that had been given them. Their kindness brought to his mind a remark by a lady the other day that, although England is cold, English hearts are warm. (Cheers.) The words that had fallen from the chairman deserved cordial recognition, and it seemed to him that the people of India could not have a better friend in Parliament than the chairman—(Cheers)—and he hoped he would come forward as a candidate and be returned (Cheers.) Unless the people of England gave immediate attention to the affairs of India, things would go from bad to worse. Of the 200 millions in that country, three-fourths of them follow agriculture. The state of these three-fourths was illustrated by the statement of the Famine Commission in 1879 that only one-eighth are as well off as the negro in the late Slave States of America. Dr. Hunter, the statistician for the Government of India, had stated that forty millions of the people pass their lives from one end of the year to another on insufficient food. Similar testimony on the subject was given by Lord Lawrence, Lord Mayo, Lord Northbrook, and Lord Ripon. He would make no allusion to the Government of Lord Lytton, because that was an administration to which they did not wish to appeal. (Hear, hear.) Lord Ripon's administration had, however, earned their gratitude and secured their goodwill in a manner most unprecedented. It had been pointed out by Lord Ripon that the average income of the population per head is two pounds—or three half-pence per head per day. The average income of this country per head is £35—and they might fancy the difference between £35 and £2. (Hear.) Under such circumstances, the financial adminis-

tration of the country should be very carefully looked after. Had that been the case? During the last 45 years, there had been 28 years of deficit and 17 years of surplus. During 40 years the remission of taxation had been 75 millions sterling, and the national debt had increased from 36 millions to 259 millions sterling. The world had not produced a greater financier than the world-renowned Mr Gladstone—(Cheers)—but in 1858, when the Indian debt was only 69 millions, Mr. Gladstone said it was of a more crushing character than the gigantic debt of England, and since then the debt had not only doubled but almost trebled itself. (Cheers.) During the last three years, India had had to borrow 13 millions sterling. This was a most unsatisfactory condition of things. They knew what to think of an individual who lives by borrowing. (Cheers.) The same conclusion must apply to Governments and to countries. (Cheers.) The military expenditure of India was enormously increasing. As someone had said of the Indian army, India exists for the army and not the army for India (Laughter.) In the time of John Company a soldier cost £30 a year; at present each British soldier costs £200, and each native soldier £20 a year. Lord Lytton imposed a licence tax upon the people for the purpose of providing a famine fund, but the very year it was collected it was expended for the purposes of the Afghan war. The cost of the India Office, presided over by the Secretary of State for India, was £230,000. The Colonial Office only cost £30,000. The one sum was paid by the British taxpayer and the other was paid by the people of India, who had no voice in regard to expenditure. At the present moment in India the high officials were complaining of a block of promotion, and so bonuses were being spent upon them, but when statesmen like Mr Bright called for a return of the number of natives employed in the Government Departments, the moment the return arrived in the country it was thrust aside and considered of no importance in the House of Commons (Cheers.) There was a practicable way by which the finances of India could be made more hopeful. In 1833 Parliament laid down the rule that the natives ought to have a large share given to them in the administration of the country. This pledge was repeated in 1853 and in 1858, 1861 and 1870. These pledges had not been carried out. He was not speaking of the Civil Service, because that was a question which might be left aside for the present, but let them look at the Un-

covenanted Service, which was to be exclusively reserved for the natives of India. But of 351 appointments in his own presidency 301 are held by Europeans. In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh 54 officers are attached to one department, and not a single native. The salaries vary from £300 to £20 a month. In the Forest Department there are 30 officers and only two natives. Of the £1,850 paid every month to these officers the natives only get £40. In the Survey Department there are 31 officers drawing £1,100 a month, and not a single native. The Police Department has 63 officers with £3,900 of monthly salaries, and only one native, drawing £25. The Telegraph Department has nine officers, and not one native ; the Financial Department only one native. In the Punjab, the Salt Department has 26 officers ; only three are natives. The salaries are £6,950 monthly, and the natives only get £57 a month. The Survey Department has six officers, and not a single native ; the salaries are £305 a month. The Post Office has 44 officers ; only 10 are natives ; and the salaries are £1,140 monthly, of which the natives receive £182. The Finance Department has seven officers, and no natives. The Police Department has 66 officers, of whom only three are native, receiving £130 a month out of £4,660. The Forest Department has 15 officers, and only one native, drawing £20 out of a total monthly salary of £638. In the Uncovenanted Service the natives had been hitherto disappointed, and there was an encroachment on the part of the Europeans to monopolise the most lucrative positions in the country. How could there be economy under this state of things ? (Hear, hear.) How could there be retrenchment with so many vested interests to rise in conspiracy against it ? The practical way to reform was to employ the natives more in the administration of the country. (Cheers.) He was not making any formal indictment against British rule, but was seeking to advance India ; and, when this country gave the evils that exist proper consideration, a remedy would be found. Parliament ought to take up Indian questions much more seriously than it had done, and follow the example of Mr. Bright and the late Mr. Fawcett. (Cheers.)

ENGLAND'S RULE IN INDIA.

(*Birmingham Daily Post*, December 1885.)

A meeting under the auspices of the Birmingham Liberal Association was held in the Town Hall, for the purpose of hearing addresses from the three Indian delegates. The Right Hon. John Bright, M. P. presided.

Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar, who met with an enthusiastic reception, expressed his hearty thanks for the kind welcome accorded to him and his colleagues. When the tide of the election began it was in favour of the Conservatives—(hisses)—and as a result all the friends of India, with one or two exceptions, failed to get into Parliament. Then one of the journals suggested that the Indian delegates could return home wiser and sadder men. (Laughter and hisses) No doubt they would return home wiser men—(Cheers)—but they might take it for granted that they would not return sadder men. (Laughter and cheers) It seemed curious if not remarkable that those candidates who claimed support on the ground of sympathy for India have failed, and those who said that India must be ruled by the strong hand have succeeded. ("Never mind." and cheers.) No, he did not mind it one bit; nor would the people of India mind it. (Cheers.) The journal he spoke of had been shouting too soon. The object of the delegates in coming to England was to interest the people in Indian questions. Notwithstanding the results of the elections, the Indian people need not be disappointed. In the end, the sense of justice and fairplay which was inherent in Englishmen would assert itself in regard to Indian questions (Hear, hear.) It was true they deeply regretted the failure of Mr. Lal Mohon Ghose. But the very fact that an Indian had come over to contest a seat and had been received fairly well is a source of infinite encouragement to my countrymen. It did not matter very much whether Mr. Ghose won or failed to win. He had fought honestly and manfully and the English people had given him a very fair treatment worthy of the sense of British justice and of which India felt

completely assured. True, it was not a substantial victory, but, nevertheless, it was a moral victory and that was sure to find a place in the House of Commons. ("Send him to Birmingham" and Cheers.) Another election resulted in the failure of Mr. Slagg and in this result was felt great disappointment. Mr. Slagg had been taking a great interest in Indian affairs, and it was to be hoped he, too, would soon find a seat. But, with these disappointments in view, they would not return sadder men as long as justice lived, as long as truth lived, so long as John Bright lived. (Loud cheers.) No, not so long as their cause was fair and just; and they would carry on their work relying on the sense of fair play so dear to Englishmen. (Renewed cheers.) They had previously been in Birmingham, not, however, as was suggested, by any invitation. They came of their own accord, to show their respect to a great statesman; and if they had not done so the Indian people would have been ashamed of them. (Cheers.) He was a statesman who for the last thirty years had spoken, perhaps in the wilderness, the words of justice, fairness, and truth in the cause of India. (Hear, hear.) There was one fact the country should have before it prominently. The people of India were loyal to the British Crown, —(Cheers)—that they were loyal and were attached to the British Crown there could be no doubt. But had that loyalty been recognised in a substantial manner? (No.) Take, for instance, an incident during the Soudan war, where a sick soldier behaved with so much heroism and self-sacrifice that his conduct was noticed by the special correspondents as deserving of the Victoria Cross, if ever any conduct deserved it. No notice had been officially taken of it. And why? Because, to use the phrase of Lord Salisbury, the coloured millions of India were not fit for the Victoria Cross. (Shame.) During the last Parliament, when the Russian difficulty created so much stir and excitement, the people and princes of India rushed as it were to assure the Viceroy that they were loyal to the British Crown. Some of the educated classes then said that the best way to recognise that display of loyalty was to allow them to enlist as volunteers. Petition after petition was signed to that effect, but no reply was received. (Shame.) It was proposed that the natives should enlist on a limited scale, but no : no notice was taken of it. People were often under a wrong impression as to the condition of the people of India. The late Lord Mayo spoke of it in 1867 as one of a purely miserable existence. Lord

Ripon in 1881 said the "poverty of the people of India is a notorious fact," and that the average yearly income was £2. With regard to the military expenditure, Lord Canning laid it down that it ought not to exceed 12½ millions a year. In 1879 an army Commission was appointed, and its report stated that "there was some truth in the statement of those who say that India exists for the army, and not the army for India" (Shame.) It recommended retrenchment. Yet the expenditure was now twenty millions sterling. If the natives got up some cry of wrong it was long, if at all, before any notice was taken of it; but the case was very different with the Anglo-Indian officials. They no sooner said there was a block in the promotion list than £7,500 compensation was paid them (Oh, oh.) He contended that the promises made to India, in 1833 and again in 1853, in 1858, in 1861, and in 1876, had not been carried out to the extent that was necessary. (Shame.) He would remind Englishmen that nations in the past had conquered empires, that they had ruled with a view to their own interest, and when weighed in the balance were found wanting, and Providence had cast them aside. (Hear, hear.) It was easy to conquer and easy to rule with a strong hand. There might be glory in it, but there was the imperishable glory of which history should speak—the glory of having educated and enlightened a fallen nation. (Cheers.) All that the Indians asked was that the rule of despotism having been tried in the past and failed, that the rule should be such that the ruled should be led to think they are at one with the rulers—such would strengthen the connection Providence had formed between England and India. (Loud cheering.)

SPEECH

AT THE

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, CALCUTTA, 1886.

Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar in seconding the resolution on council reform said :—

“ Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—In rising to second this resolution I confess I feel a certain amount of difficulty. Considering the vast importance of the subject—and, if I may be permitted to say, next to the question of religious and social reform there is no other subject to which I attach greater importance ; considering, I say, the vast importance of the subject—and that the time allowed to every speaker in this assembly is very limited, I am afraid I shall not be able to do that justice to it which its nature demands. I hope, however, I shall receive indulgent treatment at your hands. I propose to lay before you certain facts which seem to me to deserve your careful attention in connection with this demand for representative government. I propose to show by means of those facts that this demand of ours is based not on mere sentiment, and that it is due to ourselves and the Government we live under that, having affirmed at the last Congress the principle of representation, we should go one stage further and point out that the principle is capable of being worked out in practice. I am aware that our hostile critics are finding fault with the scheme now placed before you for your approval. But recent events encourage me in thinking that these critics will gradually come round. They are in fact already coming round. One of them has admitted that India is poor ; and only the other day you passed a resolution declaring the poverty of India to be an evil which required to be remedied. Another, who would not admit last year that the Congress represented any one but those who took part in its debates, has come round this year so far as to say that the present Congress, is a Hindu Congress which, I take it, means, according to the critic, that it represents at all events the Hindus. Next year I doubt not our critic will, if he goes on improving at

this rate, feel the force of facts so strong that he will admit the Congress to be national. (Cheers.)

"Now, coming to the subject before us, the line I propose following is shortly this :—

"*Firstly*—I shall answer the objection that the political soil of India is not congenial to the growth of representative institutions

"*Secondly*—I shall go on to show that the British Government in India is founded on the principle of representation.

"*Thirdly*—I shall point out why I venture to think that the time has come for an expansion of that principle.

"*Fourthly*—I shall lay before you schemes of representative government suggested (before the present Congress was even thought of) by experienced Anglo-Indian administrators and writers.

"*Lastly*—I shall wind up with a few observations on the scheme which has just been submitted for your consideration.

"Let us take the first of the five points I have indicated above. We now and then hear it said that the people of India are not fit for representative institutions—that India is not England, and that it would not do to introduce here systems of Government which have worked well in a self-governing country like Great Britain. Let us examine this statement by the light of history. History tells us that India was, down to a recent period, known for her village municipalities and *Panchayats*, both based and worked on the elective principle. We have it on the authority of an eminent Anglo-Indian writer, that these institutions 'exercised a great and beneficial influence over the people.' I am quoting these words from Mr. Grieg's *Life of Sir Thomas Munro*. Now, his testimony is important, because he was both a soldier and statesman—one, of whom, borrowing the language of Lord Rosebery, I might say, that he knew both how to conquer and maintain an Empire. His testimony is also valuable for another reason *namely*, that he has distinctly declared that as India was conquered by the English with the assistance of the natives, it can be maintained with their assistance alone. To quote his own words: 'We could never have conquered India without the assistance of the natives of the country, and by them can we preserve it. Our actual con-

dition makes this necessity more imperative.' Now Sir John, speaking of the *Panchayat* system as it prevailed in India says : ' A recent instance occurred of a respected president of a *Panchayat*: determining, from his sense of an unjust measure, to leave a town; and between two or three hundred of its wealthiest citizens so decidedly followed his example that oppression was stopped in its career and compelled to conciliate, by concession, an offended judge.' And this occurred in Sir John Malcom's time—not very long ago. Then, again, some one has said that 'The East is parent of municipalities,' and I have seen cited in illustration of that saying the following fact. When on the conquest of the twenty-four pergunnahs, the old municipal system was abolished great calamities befell that country, so much so that Mr. Butterworth Bayley, then in charge of the district, had to restore the old system, and trust to the people themselves. The consequences of this revival of the municipal system has been stated in an official paper to have been that in nine months the crime sheet presented a blank. I shall adduce one more authority in support of the view I am now presenting for your consideration. Sir Bartle Frere, you all know, was an experienced Anglo-Indian administrator. He was by no means inclined to be partial to the natives of this country. His testimony, must therefore, carry some weight with those who cry from the house-tops that India is not, and can never be, fit for representative institutions. Sir Bartle read a paper in 1871 at a meeting of the East India Association in London on 'Public Opinion in India,' and here is what he said on the occasion. 'Any one who has watched the working of Indian society will see that its genius is one to represent, not merely by election under Reform Acts, but represent generally by provisions, every class of the community, and when there is any difficulty respecting any matter to be laid before Government. it should be discussed among themselves. When there is any fellow-citizen to be rewarded or punished, there is always a caste meeting, and this is an expression, it seems to me, of the genius of the people, as it was of the old Saxons, to gather together in assemblies of different tribes to vote by tribes or hundreds.' I think all these are clear authorities and expressions of opinion in support of the view that the Indian soil is congenial to the growth of representative institutions—that, in other words, the genius of the Indian people is of a representative character, and under proper

guidance and with proper encouragement that genius is capable of gradual development. (Loud cheers) But then, it is said, if representative institutions were to be conceded to India, the concession will be inconsistent with the principles on which the British rule in this country is founded. That is, those who are opposed to the grant of a representative form of government to India are known to argue that the British Government is a despotism—a despotism, which is tempered by justice but it is nevertheless a despotism, that, in the interests of good government in this country, it does, as it ought to do, everything for the people instead of having it done by the people. I seriously join issue with those who maintain this view, which I now propose to show is based on a total disregard of the history of the growth of the British Government in India. Mr. Bosworth Smith, in his excellent biography of the late Lord Lawrence, has told us that the ideal set before themselves by the two Lawrences when they were placed in charge of the Punjab was this—to have everything done by the people. ‘The English Magistrate was naturally the moving spirit in each city, but associated with him there was to be a Town Council elected by the natives from their own body.’ And that, I say, may be regarded as the ideal set before it by the British Government. If that Government were a despotism, having nothing to do with the principle of representation, how happens it that you cannot be taxed unless the Legislature has passed a law sanctioning the tax imposed on you? And as to the Legislature itself, mark this fact. Men who are nominated its members are selected not as nominees of the Government but true representatives of the people. It is true that the people do not select them, the members are nominated, not elected. But that makes no difference, so far as the principle is concerned. The difference only lies in the practical application of the principle, which is that no act shall be done by any public officer unless the Legislature has sanctioned it. Here you see the *germs* of representation. Note again this. Before a law is passed, it is published as a bill for public information and translated into the vernaculars. This further shows that our Legislative Councils, without which no act of any officer would be legal, are founded upon the principle of representation. It does not matter for the purpose of my present point that the laws are often passed in utter disregard of public opinion. We are not concerned with the

practice now, for practice grows slowly out of principle, and it is, therefore, that I ask you to look at the principle only and to say whether the basis of the Government is not one of representation. Indeed, even looking to the practice, I may say that on several occasions the Secretary of state has refused to sanction Acts passed by the Indian Legislature on the ground that the people had not been consulted in the matter. For instance, when the Viceroy's Legislative Council had before it in 1873 the Punjab Canals Bill, the Punjab Government objected to its provisions on the ground that they were 'unfair to the agricultural interest' which is not consulted in the making of the Canal, and ought not, therefore, to be saddled with its cost. And the Secretary of State vetoed the measure on that very ground. Mark again what occurred immediately on the introduction of the Legislative Councils system into India in 1861. Sir George Clerk was then the Governor of Bombay, and he inaugurated the opening ceremony of the Bombay Legislative Council on the 22nd January, 1862, by addressing the nominated members, among whom were several native gentlemen, in these memorable words: "You will remember that you owe to those whom you represent a strict account of the fulfilment of your duties—to a people who reasonably desire your protection of their acknowledged rights to live in peace."

"An assembly on this scale has naturally a tendency to expand, and seeing it has pleased Her Majesty's Government to consider that the time has arrived for conferring this privilege on you, it will doubtless in due time be enlarged." Now, these are very important words—important, because they were addressed on a memorable occasion by a responsible representative of Her Majesty. They conveyed a sacred promise. They make two things clear—one, that members were appointed to the Council as popular representatives; the other, that in due time the principle on which the Council was founded would be gradually expanded. And it is this expansion we now ask for in putting forward the scheme embodied in the resolution before you (Cheers). This brings me to my third point, which is this—has the time come for such an expansion? Or rather, where is the necessity of asking Government to reconstitute the Legislative Councils on a popular basis? The necessity, I answer, is clearly indicated by the difficulty of making the rulers understand the ruled. What the late Lord Halifax, then Sir Charles Wood, said in 1853 from his place

in the House of Commons stands true of the present time. He then said : 'There is no mixture of the English population with the native population. We go, we govern, and we return.' The result is that misunderstandings frequently arise. Government contemplates a certain measure, and the people interpret its act and motive, sometimes rightly, sometimes wrongly. The native press no doubt speaks for the people, but its position is anomalous. It has often no means of obtaining correct information; and it is apt to misunderstand and be misunderstood. Well, if the people gather in public meeting or in a Congress like this and tell Government what the wants and grievances of the people are, they are likely to be told in return by captious critics that they do not represent the masses. In other words, these critics would allow none to be representatives of the people but the Government, and the Government is foreign and practically bureaucratic. Is it then to be wondered at that measures passed without the consent or advice of the people should often give rise to misunderstandings? Is it not necessary that such a Government as ours should seek every means of consulting the people on important questions and of taking them into its confidence? 'It is the despotic ruler who most requires to know public opinion,' wrote Sir Bartle Frere. What is the means adopted by the Government for duly ascertaining such opinion in India? The necessity of ascertaining it was pointed out by Sir Donald McLeod, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab, in his evidence before the East India Finance Committee of 1871. Asked whether he would recommend an increase of the duty on salt, he answered,—'Before expressing a decided opinion, I would consult the natives more than we do generally.' Questioned again he said: 'I think myself it is most desirable before anything is done, for we really we do not know what would be the result unless we consulted them.' And yet are the people consulted in matters of taxation? Now in quoting these answers of Sir Donald in support of the view that a system of representative government is necessary for India, Sir Bartle Frere in the paper already referred to said: 'They are the mature opinions of his (Sir Donald's) life time, and I think they are shared by many of those who worked with him, before him, about him, and below him? These 'mature opinions' were expressed fifteen years ago, when public opinion was not so strong and enlightened as it now is. Now you have an intelligent class of educated natives who

occupy the position of interpreters between the rulers and the ruled. That the masses on the whole accept their educated countrymen as their leaders was proved to demonstration on the eve of Lord Ripon's departure from this country, when they joined the latter in bearing their testimony to the popularity of his Lordship's Indian policy. And in every country, even in England, it is the educated classes who represent the feelings of and lead the people. It follows, I think from what I have said and quoted that the Government should devise some means whereby the people may be enabled to express their opinions on administrative questions affecting their weal or woe. Dealing with my fourth point, I wish it to be clearly understood that the demand for an expansion of our Legislative Councils and for a system of representative government had been made for us by such men as Sir Bartle Frere long before the present Congress was so much as 'thought of. In his paper, to which I have repeatedly referred, Sir Bartle sketched out a scheme somewhat, if not exactly, similar to the one now before you. Another scheme, having the same object in view, was suggested by an able Anglo-Indian writer in the pages of the *Calcutta Review* of 1873. That article, which is headed 'Provincial Councils,' will amply repay perusal. A third scheme was that proposed some years ago by Mr. M. J. Shaw Stewart, lately of the Bombay Civil Service, who was for many years a District Collector and for some time Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay. I bring these schemes to your notice to show that our demand was anticipated by experienced administrators and officials, who had no reason to take an exaggerated view of either our capacities or requirements. This alone ought to serve as a refutation of the charge that we are asking for revolutionary measures in praying for an expansion of the representative principle in the case of our Legislative Councils. As to the scheme now submitted for your approval, I shall not say more than this, that it is merely of a suggestive character. I do not claim freedom from error for it. My own opinion is that all we are called upon to do is to prove that the time has come for expanding the principle of representation, and to show, generally, how it is capable of being expanded. In the scheme before you I have attempted to show that and that only. A perfect scheme can be formulated only after you have fully consulted both officials and non-officials. At present we do not go beyond generally indicating the lines on which the

Legislative Councils may be reconstituted. Bear this in mind in determining whether you should vote for or against the scheme. And now, before concluding, let me impress upon you one circumstance. Whatever some of our captious critics may say, I am firm in the faith that as long as we are under British rule, so long the development of the representative principle is secured. That development may be and ought to be gradual. You may not have the Councils expanded as you wish to-day or tomorrow. But sooner or later the expansion must come, for the very foundation of the rule is, as I hope to have already shown, *representation*. There is a saying which I have seen often quoted that the Englishman carries representative institutions with him wherever he goes. He took them to America, to Canada, and the Colonies. And he has brought them to India too. This was evidently in Mr Gladstone's mind, when, in 1833, addressing the British public through the House of Commons, he said: 'You will go on; you will be compelled to go on, and what is more, I hope, you will be inclined to go on in this noble and upright and blessed work of gradually enlarging the Indian franchise.' It is only a question of time when and how the institution is to grow. The solution of that question will depend not so much on Government as on yourselves—that is, on the people of this country. You must advance in all directions; you must be true to yourselves and show that you deserve the privileges and rights which you seek. The large numbers in which you have met at this Congress—the long distances many of you have travelled—and the sobriety and sound judgment your deliberations have shown, are in themselves promising, for they prove that you are prepared to serve your country, that its welfare occupies a prominent place in your heart, and that you have begun to see that, though speaking different languages and separated by social distinction, your interests are identical and you must learn to be united. You have begun well; and if you go on as you have begun, depend upon it you will succeed in obtaining the boon of representative government for your country. You have only to persevere. 'If the English,' says Sydney Smith, 'were in a paradise of spontaneous productions, they would continue to dig and plough, though there were never a peach nor a pine-apple the better for it.' You must work at these questions in this spirit of the Englishman and then success will, I assure you, be yours." (*Loud and prolonged cheering.*)

THE PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE.

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(*Karachi, 2nd May 1896.*)

Presidential Address by Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar.

THE PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE—A NECESSITY.

It seems to me that, after the enthusiasm with which the previous Conferences were held and the success which attended their deliberations, it is hardly necessary to justify the holding of a Provincial Conference every year by pointing out its utility. In the presidential address which the Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal delivered at the Seventh Provincial Conference held at Bombay nearly two years ago, he remarked —“The value of such a Conference as this is not to be measured so much by its Resolutions as by the opportunities it gives to delegates from different parts of this Presidency of comparing notes and exchanging ideas on matters affecting our common welfare.” It is indeed impossible to exaggerate the importance and utility of an annual political pilgrimage of this kind, which brings together a large concourse of representative men from the different parts of the Presidency and enables them to meet on a common platform for the public weal. The moral and social effects alone of these annual gatherings, which bring home to us the fact that we are the natives of one country, bound together by a community of political interests, objects, and aspirations, are enough to illustrate and emphasise the value of a Provincial Conference. In that respect this annual gathering may well be said to add to the remarkably useful service which the National Congress has rendered and is rendering by assisting the silent process going on among us of the unification of the different castes and creeds in India. But the value of a Provincial Conference does not rest upon that consideration alone, which can only be included among its indirect advantages. The Provincial Conference is not only *a utility*, as my friend Mr Javerilal would call it, but *an indispensable necessity* in these days, when the mofussil has been able, by reason of important changes effected during the last fifteen years in the constitution of district municipalities, lo-

cal boards, and the Provincial Legislative Councils, to come to the front, so to say, and called upon, as it were, to stand shoulder to shoulder with the Presidency towns in assisting the Government with such help, counsel, and criticism as is always necessary for progressive administration. There was a time in the history of our political organizations, when the mofussil, owing to its backwardness in point of education, intelligence, and public spirit, had to depend entirely on political associations in the Presidency town for the purpose of representing to Government the wants and grievances of the people. It was then that the Bombay Association of old under the leadership and guidance of such sturdy representatives of native opinion as the late Jagannath Shankarshet, the late Dr. Bhau Daji, the late Sir Mungaldas Nathoobhoy, the late Mr. Nowrojee Furdoonjee, the late Rao Sahab V N. Mandlik, and last, but not least of all, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji were able to interpret to Government from time to time the wants and wishes of the people of this Presidency. That was the only organised body of Natives in the Presidency town to which the mofussil had to look for help as its spokesman till the year 1870. The Bombay Association rendered in its time valuable service in that respect, and there was many a battle which it fought on behalf of the people in securing redress for their grievances. The year 1870 must be regarded as an important epoch in the history of the political organisations of the Presidency. It was in that year that the Poona Sarvajamik Sabha was founded for the purpose of representing the wants and wishes of the inhabitants of the Deccan. The history of the Poona Sarvajamik Sabha is too well-known to need repetition here. The yeoman's service it has rendered to the Indian Empire in general, and this Presidency in particular, has been acknowledged from time to time not only by the public and the press, but also by the authorities.

"THE UNHAPPY VALLEY"—NOW "A PROSPEROUS PROVINCE."

It is, I need hardly say, a most encouraging sign of the times, one, I hope, auguring a good future for the Presidency in general and the Province of Sindh in particular, that the Provincial Conference is enabled by the kindness and public spirit of our Sindhi friends to meet this year in this city. It has been sometimes the fashion to speak of Sindh as a neglected and isolated province, and I notice that one of the well-known citizens of this place has

recently complained in very bitter terms in the columns of the *Calcutta Review* of "the isolation of Karachi" as "an imperial mistake." But though Sindh has in one sense reason to complain of its isolation, being situated in a remote corner of the Presidency of which it forms a part, it goes without saying that it has during the last thirty years made such progress that it is now able to hold its own as an important part of the Indian Empire. What fifty years ago used to be described as "the Unhappy Valley" is now deservedly spoken of as a prosperous and progressing province on account of the rapid growth of trade, the increased intelligence and public spirit, and the acknowledged geographical advantages as the *entrepot* for North West India, of this rising town and port of Karachi. Sindh can no longer complain of being neglected. It is said of one of the former Governors of Bombay—Sir George Clerk—that he once "came to Karachi, stepped on board a steamer, and was conveyed to Hyderabad, whence two or three days afterwards, he returned by the same conveyance to Bombay." That was all the court he could pay to this province—a hurried visit to Sindh and a speedy return to Bombay. But things have altered very considerably since then. A Governor who in these days did not woo the province with great attention would run the risk of wrecking his reputation as a successful and impartial administrator. Nearly every Governor since then—from the time of Sir Bartle Frere downwards—has shown his solicitude for the prosperity of this province by not only visiting it but tarrying here for some weeks and trying to acquaint himself on the spot with the wants and wishes of the people. There was also a time when, for want of indigenous talent, Sindh had to import educated Natives from the Deccan for employment in the various departments of its public service. It thus happened that some of the distinguished leaders of Native thought in Bombay and the Deccan, such as the late Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik, the late Rao Bahadur K. L. Nulkar, the late Mr. N. M. Parmanand, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, Dewan Bahadur Laxman Jagannath Waidya, Mr. V. A. Modak, the late Mr. M. M. Kunte, and other Hindoos of the Deccan that I could name, made their acquaintance with and gained their official experience in this province in the beginning of their career—experience which I presume to think, must have among other things, enabled them subsequently to become the trusted leaders of the Native public. But

now, thanks to the Sindh College, indigenous talent has developed so that Sindh can no longer complain of the want of educated Natives. The Sindh Sabha, established twelve years ago, bears proof of the fact that there are here public-spirited men eager to devote a portion of their time and energies to the service of their country in general and their Province in particular. It may be that Sindh has not been as active as it might have been in assisting the cause of the National Congress and the Provincial Conference; but it has now reached a stage of progress when it cannot any longer lag behind the other parts of the Empire but must bear its share of the responsibility that devolves on true citizenship. The spirit of political activity is abroad—it has touched the different parts of the country. Sindh too cannot fail to be touched and inspired by it and such is the march of that spirit that it has enabled us, men from different places, to meet on one common platform here for the pursuit of a common object—the good of the whole Presidency, including Sindh.

THE WANTS OF SINDH.

Sindh is not without its wants and grievances some of them in common with those of the other parts of the Presidency; and others of a special and local character. I notice that in the address which was presented to his Excellency Lord Sandhurst during his tour here last November by the Sindh Sabha, it was represented to his Excellency that in the matter of judicial administration expenditure had continued to be the same in this Province that it had been many years ago, although the receipts had increased considerably since then; that the conversion of the Sadar Court into a Chief Court of three Judges was needed in the interests of the Province, that Police reform was one of the important questions of the day; and stress was laid on the necessity of the separation of judicial and executive functions. It may be also noticed that the representative of Sindh in the Bombay Legislative Council—the Hon'ble Mir Allahbaks Khan—drew pointed attention to some of the wants of the Province at the time of the discussion of the Provincial Budget in August last. But it will not do—it is not doing enough—to put your wants on paper and present them in a welcome address to the Governor or to give expression to them through your representative in the Legislative Council at one of its Budget meetings. What is wanted is to bring not merely the

public opinion of Sindh but the public opinion of the whole Presidency to bear upon those questions and thus secure for their satisfactory solution the sustained sympathy, co-operation, and support of all the parts and people of the Presidency. It goes without saying that such sympathy, co-operation, and support are absolutely essential where the wants of Sindh are the same as those of the other parts of the Presidency but even as to your local and special wants and grievances, local action, local representations, and local agitations which are very good in their own way, would gain in weight if strengthened by the united and more potent voice of public opinion, both in and out of the Province. Hitherto very few outside the Province have had opportunities of knowing what Sindh wants and what its grievances are.

THE INDIAN BUDGET—ITS PROVINCIAL FEATURES.

It does not fall within the province of this Conference to discuss and resolve upon any Imperial questions, nor do I think that it is desirable that in this presidential address I should make any reference to them. I intend to deal as far as I can here with matters of provincial interest such as fall within the scope of this Conference. In the time of Lord Ripon the decentralization scheme received practical development. Local Governments were then invited to assume new obligations and provided simultaneously with the means of discharging them. They were assured that while under the developed scheme they would be "able effectually to promote economy as well as to develop the revenues," "their share of the increased resources thus obtained will be at their free disposal, subject always to standing rules to be made from time to time," and that "the Imperial Government will make no demand on them except in the case of disaster so abnormal as to exhaust Imperial reserves and resources and to necessitate a suspension of the entire machinery of public improvement throughout the Empire." All this and more are matters of history. But what has been of late the practical effect of the decentralization scheme? Its author and its promoters desired by means of it to increase the resources of the Local Government for local benefits and purposes, and to promote a feeling of mutual confidence between those and the Supreme Government. But it has fulfilled neither end. When there were large balances at the disposal of the Local Governments, the Government of India have swooped down on them and

carried them away. We had this result summed up by the Hon'ble Mr Nugent in his speech at a meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council held on the 17th July, 1893. Speaking of the Provincial Budget, he said that "so long as he had had anything to do with the framing of the Budget he had always thought that it was advisable to keep in hand something more than the minimum of 20 lakhs in order to be able to meet at a moment's notice any contingency that might arise. It had happened during the prosperous period alluded to by Mr. Mehta that the estimates of revenue, cautiously prepared, were exceeded, this was due to a great increase in the Abkari and other receipts, and the result was that at the end of the period they had a very considerable balance in hand. The outcome, however, was unfortunate, for the Government of India were in financial straits at that time, and the Assyrian from Calcutta came down on the fold and swept away a large portion of our balance. The Bombay Government had thus been taught by experience not to accumulate balances." This is not a quotation from the speeches of any fire-brand of the Congress or the Conference—it is the deliberate opinion deliberately expressed by the Financial Member of the Bombay Government, to the effect that the decentralisation policy in its actual working had of late taken away all inducement to economy on the part of the Bombay Government and led to a want of confidence in the Supreme Government. That this mode of dealing with the Local Governments is not fair must be taken to be practically admitted by the Supreme Government itself by its announcement in the last Financial Statement that it is now enabled by the improvement in its financial position to repay to the Local Governments the balances taken away from the latter in 1894-95.

THE INEQUALITY AND WANT OF EQUITY IN PROVINCIAL CONTRACTS.

Sir James Westland has himself admitted that the question of what he chooses to call the "so-called Provincial Contracts" is a question on which opinions differ, and there is, therefore, nothing presumptuous if on this point we give expression to a feeling that Sir James has failed to appreciate the true nature of the complaint made by the Provincial authorities against the principle on which these contract arrangements are made. Sir James Westland ob-

serves in para 61 of his statement that "nearly every Province in India assumes that it is the possessor of a large surplus of revenue, and that only the necessity of maintaining the expenditure of other and poorer Provinces or something which is vaguely termed as Imperial necessities, prevents its enjoying the full benefit of its own revenues" Now this is, in my humble opinion, not a correct statement of the true nature of the complaint made by the Provinces That complaint is, that the poorer provinces are made to contribute more largely to the so-called Imperial necessities than their richer neighbours. This will be at once evident, if we examine the figures which Sir James Westland has himself given in his statement, and the annexures appended to it For instance, out of the total of nearly 22 crores of unexpended revenue contributed by the Provincial Governments to supplement the 46 crores of imperial receipts, we find that Madras contributes nearly 5 crores, the N. W. Provinces contribute $5\frac{1}{2}$ crores, while the rich and populous Province of Bengal contributes less than $4\frac{1}{2}$ crores There is, in fact, no principle observed in the allotment of expenditure within the province, and in the contributions required from it to the Imperial Government The contributions to the Imperial Government from the N. W. Provinces and Oudh is nearly 60 per cent. of its total revenue, Madras contributes 55 per cent, while Bengal contributes only 45 per cent, and Burmah contributes less than 33 per cent.

It might be said that in this respect Bombay is a favoured Province as its local expenditure is twice as large as the sum it contributes to the Imperial Government. This is, however, only a superficial impression of the real state of things. The correct principle is that these Provincial contributions for the common necessities of the Empire should press equally upon the inhabitants of the several Provinces. This is, however, far from being the case. The Bombay Presidency with its 19 millions of inhabitants contributes $2\frac{3}{4}$ crores. In other words, each man, woman, and child pays one rupee and a half to the Imperial Government in the shape of this contribution. Madras contributes Re 1-5 annas per head, the Punjab contributes less than a rupee; the N. W. Provinces and Oudh about a rupee per head, while Bengal contributes only about 10 annas per head.

THE PROVINCIAL BUDGET.

Having said so much on the principle on which the Provincial

was conceded to the Municipality in 1896 after a good deal of discussion in the Legislative Council, and the late Sir Maxwell Melvill one of the most distinguished, fair-minded, and cautiously conservative members of the Civil Service that have ever adorned either the Bombay Bench or the Council, had a hand with Lord Reay in conceding that right to the Kurrachee Municipality. It has been on all hands acknowledged that the Municipality has exercised that right with sound judgment and discretion and that the members it has elected have been among the most useful members of the Kurrachee Port Trust. But it was proposed this year to deprive the Municipality of the franchise on the ground that it could have no *locus standi* in the Port Trust. The Kurrachee Municipality has reason to be grateful to Sir Charles Ollivant in particular for having in his capacity of Acting Commissioner of Sindh pointed out to Government the inexpediency of taking away from the Municipality its present right of returning two members to the Port Trust.

THE NATIVE PRESS

This sympathetic policy of the Bombay Government has not been without its effect on the Native Press in this Presidency. That Press is often charged, though unreasonably, with indulgence in carping and unreasonable criticism—with a proneness to abuse the authorities and revile the Government. But if the Native Press is so bad as it is represented or rather misrepresented to be by its critics, how happens it that during these twelve months it has adopted what on the whole may be described as a friendly attitude towards the Government of Bombay? It is no exaggeration, therefore, to say that Lord Sandhurst by his recent frank utterances and a policy of tact and sympathy has so far inspired a feeling of confidence in the minds and hearts of the public of this Presidency and that feeling finds its echo in the friendly tone which has of late on the whole been adopted by the Native Press in writing about the Bombay Government.

AGRARIAN POLICY.

It is not my desire to dwell at any length in this address on the different questions which will form the subjects of the resolutions to be proposed and submitted to this Conference. The speakers to those resolutions will, I have no doubt, handle them ably and do justice to them. I conceive it to be my duty, however,

to review generally such points and considerations regarding the more pressing of those subjects as have attracted public attention since the last Provincial Conference met. Now, there are four or five subjects on which we constantly hear some agitation or other going on in this Presidency—or of which we may say that they affect more than any other subject the material and moral interests of the people of this Presidency. They are *firstly* the condition of the ryot as affected by the agrarian policy of the Government; *secondly*, the condition of education in the Presidency; *thirdly*, the Abkari policy of the Government, and *fourthly*, the necessity of Police reform. On the first of these questions—*viz*, the condition of the ryot, I need hardly remind you that the question of the indebtedness of the agricultural classes has engaged the consideration of the Government of India ever since the Famine Commission of 1879 collected a great deal of useful evidence and recorded valuable notes on the subject. Lord Dufferin, it is well-known, instituted a confidential enquiry on the subject and collected important information thereon from the local officers in the different parts of India.

EDUCATION.

The next is the important question of education, both higher and primary. It is a subject which has been exhaustively treated by the President of the previous Conference. But I may observe that on this question of education we are perfectly justified in asking Government not to stint but to spend more. The late Mr. Justice Telang, who took special interest in this question, used to say that in pleading the cause of education, both higher and primary, we must be like Oliver Twist—always crying for more and not resting till we got it. It is gratifying to note that in addressing the Sirdars of the Deccan at the Durbar, held in Poona in September last, Lord Sandhurst laid particular emphasis on this question of education. In making a fervent appeal to the Sirdars on it, His Excellency asked for their co-operation.

ABKARI.

Then there is the question of Abkari. Those of us who have been complaining of it as a weak blot in the Abkari administration of the Presidency in that its object is revenue first and temperance afterwards will find some support of that complaint in the Government Resolution published so late as June last, reviewing

the Resolution of the Government of Bombay, dated the 10th of February last, reviewing the Police administration of the Presidency for the year 1894 tells us that "a better class of men are now coming forward for the Police." This is reassuring in view of the fact that of late a number of cases have occurred where certain Police officers have been proved to have either unlawfully misused or rashly abused their powers. I have made a note of such cases of the kind as I casually came across during the last twelve months. One of them comes from Poona where two men belonging to a Native Regiment were tried for murder before the Sessions Judge Mr. Steward, who stigmatised the evidence of the witnesses for the prosecution as having been concocted by the Police. The next case comes from Nasik—it is that of *Imperatrix vs. Bapuji Walad Mayaji* and three others who were charged with murder. The High Court, in dealing with the case and acquitting the prisoners, commented strongly on "the use of improper means" by and the laxity of the Police officers concerned in it, and remarked: "The evidence shows that the story was not told until after the illegal confinement of the witnesses by the Inspector." The third case comes from Bijapore, where the Sessions Judge remarked that the confessions of the accused had been extorted by ill-treatment by the police. The fourth case comes from the District of Ratnagiri. There the Chief Constable, the Jamadar, and some police sepoy of Guhagar were charged with and tried for having wrongfully confined certain persons for the purpose of extorting a confession. The Magistrate before whom they were tried discharged them. The Sessions Judge of Ratnagiri has upheld the order of discharge but has remarked that "there are circumstances in this case which show a gross want of discretion, if not worse, on the part of the Chief Constable and possibly of the Police Patel which require serious departmental notice;" and that, in the Sessions Judge's opinion, two women were detained by the Police "in order to force some sort of confession." Cases like those I have instanced—all occurring within these twelve months—cannot but shake the confidence of the public in the Police of this Presidency. Commenting on a police torture case which he had to try a few months ago, the Sessions Judge of Calcutta in the Madras Presidency is reported to have made this remark:—"If atrocious acts such as these could take place in the heart of a populous town like Calcutta, what can be expected to take place in remote villages

and places where the police have a freer hand?" That reflection must force itself on the minds of all who have been painfully struck with the number of cases of Police oppression that have during the last two or three years attracted public notice.

OUR AIM.

I must now close. I have endeavoured to the best of my ability to place before you in this address the more important topics and the more noticeable features of our Provincial administration of the last twelve months, and it only remains now for me to ask you to deal with these topics in a more exhaustive and satisfactory manner than I have attempted. In inviting your cordial co-operation to make this Provincial Conference a decided success, not unworthy of the Conferences that preceded it, I may express the confidence that the resolutions that will be submitted before this assembly and the speeches that will be made in support of them will be marked by accuracy of statement, cogency of reasoning, and moderation of criticism. I am sure that we all feel that our strength lies in our facts, in our moderation, and above all in the righteousness of our cause. We are all animated by the conviction that we come here, we meet in this place not for the purpose of embarrassing the administration and subjecting it to criticism from any selfish end or unworthy motive. Our object is to help the administration as far as we can—to do what lies in our power to bring the light of provincial public opinion to bear on the policy and principle of provincial administration. In claiming rights and asking for the redress of grievances from Government on behalf of the people we recognise our own responsibilities and duties—the duty we owe to our countrymen of devoting ourselves to the cause of their welfare and progress. It is the due sense of that duty that has brought us here together. If I am asked to sum up in a few words the aim and mission of this Conference, I should say in the words of one of England's greatest statesmen that that aim and mission is, "attachment to the Throne, reverence for the law, and a strong and united Empire"—an Empire broadbased on the growing confidence and affection of all the classes and creeds that compose it.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

AT THE

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, LAHORE, 1900.

The Hon'ble Mr. Chandavarkar took the presidential chair and delivered the following address :—

Mr. Roy, Members of the Reception Committee, Brother delegates, Friends and Fellow countrymen, Ladies and Gentlemen; I am speaking to you from the bottom of my heart when I say that I regard this as the proudest moment of my life (Cheers.) I can find no expression adequate enough to convey to you my sense of gratitude at the over-whelming kindness with which you have treated me. All I can say on the present occasion is to thank you, my fellow countrymen, from the bottom of my heart, for the very high honour which you have conferred upon me by electing me to the office and for the very great kindness with which you have treated me not only on this occasion but ever since my arrival in Lahore. Ladies and Gentlemen and Brother Delegates, the nomination of a President for the Indian National Congress is annually followed with deep interest throughout the country, and till last year your choice fell upon men whose claim to your suffrages was far greater than mine. It was therefore, with a feeling of considerable diffidence that I accepted the invitation to become your President. I am deeply sensible of the responsibilities of the position which your good-will has now assigned to me, and of my own short-comings. Your summons, calling me to this duty, was served on me rather late when there was not much time left for me to get ready for the work but I have obeyed your call, for I regard it as the country's call. I am in your hands; take me as I am with all my defects. All I can say in profound acknowledgment of the confidence which you have reposed in me is that I will try my best to deserve it. Diffident as I am, I draw hope and inspiration for the proper discharge of my duties from those I see before me. There is something elevating in the remembrance of the fact that you on whose deliberations I have to preside are all

earnest men, animated by a pure love of their country. And with your support and sympathy I hope I shall not prove unworthy of the great honour you have done me—an honour which I value all the more because it has fallen to my share to sit here at Lahore in the Presidential chair as the successor of that noble-minded man—Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. This is the first Congress that I attend after an absence of ten years, having attended all the previous Congresses, and though I have never been alienated from it I cannot conceal from you my feeling that I return to my old love. If what the poet says is true that “short absence urges sweet return,” how much sweeter is the return when the absence is long? I look back and find that in the years the Congress movement has gathered strength and force which is very reassuring. Time was when your President had at those gatherings to devote the best portion of his inaugural address to certain criticisms against the Congress, and to deal with a certain kind of opposition, ridicule and misunderstanding to which our movement stood exposed. Our right to call ourselves “national,” “loyal,” and so on was questioned; but that is all more or less past history. We do not now hear much of the old cries that raged round our heads—or, if we hear something of them now and then, they are more or less faint echoes of decaying creeds which serve to remind us that the Congress has, in spite of them, grown and marched on, and if I were asked how we stand at this moment, I should say that the Indian National Congress, having outlived the stage of active opposition, entered on the era of achievement when the Legislative Councils were expanded, and the Welby Commission was appointed and now it has arrived at a period when more than ever it can justify its existence as the political conscience of the country.

FAMINE OF 1899.

For, just look about and examine the circumstances under which we meet here. Since you last met under the presidency of that good man and true—Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt—the country has passed through a calamity the severest of its kind. No less an authority than the noble statesman who is now at the head of our Government has spoken of it as a “famine, which, within the range of its incidence, has been the severest that India has ever known.” (Cheers) The country has suffered from two famines which have followed in swifter succession than any two previous ones and,

great as has been the misery, acute as has been the suffering they have entailed upon the people, they have at the same time served as object-lessons by bringing responsible statesmanship nearer than ever to a consciousness of the gravity and urgency of the great problem, which the Indian National Congress, has been pressing on the attention of our rulers from the very day of its birth, sixteen years ago, in Bombay. That problem could not be expressed in more definite and appropriate language than was used when the second session of the Indian National Congress, which met at Calcutta at the end of the year 1886 under the presidency of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji—that Nestor of Indian politicians—passed its second resolution in these terms —“*That this Congress regards with the deepest sympathy, and views with grave apprehension, the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India.*” At every subsequent session of the Congress stress was laid upon the grave character of the problem, resolutions were passed and speeches made, pointing out the seriousness of the situation caused by the increasing poverty of the masses in India. But it takes long for the reforming spirit to move, and great movements, pledged to principles which are opposed to current ideas have sometimes to wait till Providence itself has to take their side. In their case history repeats itself in a manner in which it perhaps rarely repeats itself in other cases. You all remember the history of the Free Trade agitation in England. Speaking many years ago on the subject, the late Mr. Bright said that the Free Traders had to carry on their agitation under tremendous difficulties, and it was only when famine stalked throughout the land and Providence came to their help that the responsible statesmen of the country became converts to the Free Trade gospel, and Mr. Cobden won his cause. We find ourselves in a somewhat similar situation now in this country. The last two famines have in a way brought Providence to our help ; it has taken up the cry of the Congress, and it seems as though you heard from everywhere—“The Congress is coming to be right after all” For, when the Viceroy had to say in his last “Statement on Famine” of a province like Guzerat, generally considered rich, that “the weakness and incapacity for resistance of the people took the Local Government by surprise,” we may fairly say that the position taken up by the Congress from the beginning “about the increasing poverty of vast numbers of the population of India” is being practically recognised.

by those who hold the destinies of this country in their hands. I do not wish by any means to affirm that the Government had ignored the problem altogether in the past, or that it had been altogether unmindful of its gravity. Nor is it my intention to assert that it had hitherto done nothing to cope with it. If I said that, I should be doing injustice to the memory of those British statesmen who have repeatedly called attention to it, and have in their own way devised or suggested remedies. One has only to read the writings and speeches of Mr Dadabhai Naoraji to find out that in calling attention to the poverty question in India during the last twenty years, if not more, he has taken his stand, among other things, on the authority of several British India officials and administrators. But my point is this, that the Government has not approached its solution in a broad, comprehensive, masterly spirit, worthy of British statesmanship and worthy of so great an empire as that of her majesty's in India. The policy it has pursued in dealing with the problem and attempting its solution has been a policy of what Lord Rosebery would call "patches." And we need not be surprised at that, however much we may deplore it. There is indeed much in the British character which justly calls for admiration and appreciation. Its genius is practical; its devotion to duty, its sympathy for the suffering, and its practical benevolence, as the last famine administration has shown, are unflinching and unanswering—and it has "the old strength to dominate circumstances." This is its strength, but as often happens, what is our strength becomes at times our weakness. A people whose genius is practical, and whose saving quality is the capacity to be roused in the face of an intolerable evil, is apt to let things slide until they cause suffering, which might have been by wise foresight and judicious management prevented. And this is what has often happened both in England and in India. What Lord Rosebery complained of nearly a year ago in the case of administration in England holds good in the case of administration in India also. "I humbly think," said his Lordship, "that in this country"—meaning England—"we live a great deal too much from hand to mouth. . . . We are a people of enormous waste. We waste simply by not pursuing scientific methods." One has only to look back to see how true this is when applied to the policy that has been pursued in dealing with the agrarian problem in particular in India. So long ago as January 1883, so sober and

thoughtful a journal as the Spectator of London said : "All accounts, independent and official, show that the ultimate difficulty of India, the economic situation of the cultivator, is coming to the front in a most disheartening way, and is exciting among the most experienced officials a sensation of positive alarm." And then it went on to say what illustrates the point I am now making that the Government in India are faced "by a compulsion to pass small measures when they know that only large measures could succeed and doubt their right to sanction them" To take one of several instances ; for years before 1875 the indebtedness of the Deccan *ryot* had been a theme of loud complaint in the public press and elsewhere but it was only when the *ryot* in sheer desperation took the law into his own hands, and cut off the noses of his Marwari money-lenders, that the Government of Bombay woke up to the situation, and appointed a commission to inquire into it. When the Commission, among other things, reported about the rigidity of the land revenue system, the Government left that larger question aside, and went to tackle the money-lender. We had the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act to put restrictions on the money-lender. That was equity to some extent, but it was what Sir Raymond West called in his comments on the working of the Act some years afterwards "lop-sided equity," for as he put it :—"The *ryot* must pay the tax-gatherer, but as to other creditors the law protects him from the obligation of meeting his liabilities " But the Government stood by its guns so far as its own land-revenue system was concerned. It defended that system, and we find a year after the Act I speak of came into force, Dr. Pollen, now retired, who was appointed to administer the provisions of the Act, reporting, as follows .—"No steps that I am aware of have yet been taken that the revenue demand should be so timed and adjusted as not to drive the *ryot* to the *soucar*, even temporarily, in order to meet it." I do not wish to dogmatise on the effects of this Act for I know there are officials who hold—and their testimony is entitled to weighty and respectful consideration—that it has brought some comfort to the *ryot*. But as a British revenue official of the Bombay Presidency put it in recording his experiences of the Act, by it "debtors are comforted, creditors are tormented." But the mischief of the rigidity of the land revenue system was left untouched That is an instance of passing what the Spectator of London called in 1883 "small measures." And

this small measure has not saved the Deccan *yet* from falling an easy prey to famine visitations. Mr. Justice Ranade who was in favour of the Act, and had a great deal to do in administering its provisions before he was raised to the Bench, was cautious enough to say in his report in 1881 : "Of course, a famine visitation would expose the people's solvency to a test." Since then two famines have put it to the test—and we know with what results. Another illustration of this policy is afforded by the complaint of the Hon'ble Mr. Nicholson that though during the last thirty years there have been connected with agriculture numerous Conferences, Committees, Reports, Resolutions, yet nothing has been done. Ten years ago an Agricultural Committee appointed by the Government of Madras suggested the establishment of agricultural schools and farms in half-a-dozen stations to start with. The Government of India took the question out of hands of the Local Government, and did not arrive at any final decision for some years. In the case of the Poorundhur Bank Scheme, the Secretary of State took the matter out of the hands of the Government of India and the Bombay Government, and refused to allow the experiment to be tried on a small scale. This illustrates one of the obstacles to the carrying out of agricultural reform. The local Governments have to obtain the approval of the Government of India to their schemes, and they have to wait until the latter authority has had time to consider them and hit upon a scheme which will be suitable to all parts of the Indian Continent. As has been well remarked, "Indian official life is short, but Indian discussions are long," and officers who have expended much thought in elaborating schemes of reform have seldom a chance of seeing their labours turned to practical account. When they retire from service, their places are taken by others, who have not the same knowledge or interest in the subject. For instance, Mr. Nicholson has devoted his attention to the question of agricultural banks ; but it is only now when he has but a few years of official life left in India, that he is appointed a member of a Committee on the subject. More instances of this policy could be cited—a policy which has hesitated to deal with agrarian problems in a thorough-going, broad, and statesmanlike spirit. What occurs to one on this subject is the question : Cannot each Presidency be allowed to work out its salvation in the matter of agricultural reform in the way it thinks best ? Surely one would suppose that a Presi-

dency has large enough area for this purpose, and it is only by instituting a large number of experiments that the true method can be found. If this were done, there would be healthy rivalry between the several presidencies and they would profit by the failures and successes of one another. The fact is it has been more or less a policy of *drift*; it has left an evil to grow till it became acute, and then it has tried to grapple with it on the surface, and that too by fits and starts. India, we are told, is and ought to be above party politics, and we admit that there is no sounder maxim for administrative guidance. But if we have been above party politics, we have not escaped being the victims of petty politics. The problem is great, but the measures hitherto adopted for its solution have been small. "India House Traditions" wrote the late Sir James Fitzjames Stephen in his *Essays on Ecclesiastical Biography* published in 1849 "tell that when a young aspirant for distinction there requested one of the Chairs to inform him what was the proper style of writing political despatches, the Chair made answer: *The style we prefer is the humdrum.*" And it is the humdrum style that has been adopted generally speaking, in dealing with what has now become a very serious problem—the poverty of the people. It is no use crying, however, over spilt milk. Both the Government and the people have to co-operate in right earnest and to look ahead. The question now is: "Is the policy of the future to be one of drift, or of wise, well-regulated direction?" There are signs and indications already that the policy of the drift will not be the policy of the future, but there would be a serious attempt to deal with the problem of poverty and famine prevention in a broad, statesmanlike, and courageous manner. We have now at the helm of the Government of India a statesman, of whom we may justly say that he promises to be all that a Viceroy of India ought to be. (Cheers.) That he has won the hearts of the people and that the people trust in him goes without saying, and the enthusiastic receptions he met with during his recent tour bear unmistakable testimony to his growing popularity. Lord Curzon has won the hearts of the people, because since he came amongst us as our Viceroy, he has been more than a mere abstraction—he has been a flesh-and-blood Viceroy, who, whether he issues resolutions, or makes speeches on state matters, seems to the people that he addresses them and desires to take them into his confidence, and make his presence, his personality and his energy felt throughout

the land (Hear, hear.) His Excellency made a statement on famine early in October last, and the assurance he then gave after describing the woeful state to which the country had been reduced by the calamity, was reassuring. He said that the Government would "not sit idle until the next famine comes, and then bewail the mysteries of Providence" It is not the Viceroy's sympathy alone that has been aroused by the famine that we have passed through. As has been remarked in many a quarter, one bright spot in the dark scene of the last famine is that it has served to draw closer the British officials and the people. Every word of what Lord Curzon said in this statement on famine in cordial acknowledgment of "the administrative knowledge," the unflagging energy, and the devotion of the British officers" is endorsed throughout the country. These officers have worked silently amidst heart-rending scenes, and have now experienced more than ever that such suffering as the people have had to endure has been the acutest of its kind. Moreover, the great heart of the British nation has been moved by the calamity, as its benevolence as also the benevolence of America and some other countries has realised our position and come to our aid. But one is forcibly reminded here of the great dictum of the late Mr Bright that it is not *benevolence* but *justice* alone which can cope with gigantic evils; and may we not reasonably hope that sympathy so aroused will not fade before the problem forced on its attention by the last famine is solved in a spirit worthy of Imperial statesmanship? There are two or three notions of which we have to get rid before the problem of agrarian indebtedness and poverty in India is approached. That famines occur because the monsoon fails no one denies. In a sense they are inevitable in India; but no more inevitable, for instance, than in Ireland or Egypt. If the latter country was able to tide over this year of the lowest Nile in the century without a famine, why should not India be able to do the same when the rainfall fails? No famine policy is worth the name which does not discard the pusillanimous doctrine that famines are inevitable and that, therefore, not much can be done. The question which has been forcing itself on the attention of all serious thinkers and responsible administrators is not—why do famines occur? but why do they occur in increasing severity, and why is the *staying power* of the people going down? I do not think that anybody seriously believes in the *population* theory which is so often propounded in certain quar-

ters as an answer to the question. There are a score of countries where population has been increasing much faster than in India, and yet they have not been struck down by the phenomenal poverty which is starving us in the face in this country. Sir Robert Giffen, speaking recently before the Manchester Statistical Society on the achievements of the 19th century which is now closing, pointed out the prodigious rate at which the community of European nations had grown and was growing. The other notion is that we are a nation of spend-thrifts, and that our *ryots* in particular fall easy victims to bad times because they do not save. There are eminent authorities, official and non-official, who have, from their experience of the people in general and the *ryots* in particular, challenged the correctness of that view. The average English labourer is not known to be more provident than the Indian *ryot*, who has, further, this natural advantage in his favour that he requires less food, fewer necessities of life by way of clothing. If he spends on marriages more than he ought to, the benefit of such mild extravagance goes to other *ryots* of his class and goes not without return. What is spent on marriages is mostly in the shape of ornaments—and ornaments serve as a resource to fall back upon in times of distress. This was pointed out in the case of the *ryots* of the Deccan by the Deccan Ryots Commission, and I see that the Hon'ble Mr B. K. Bose, who is known to measure his words carefully, says the same on the authority of those who ought to know, in the case of the agricultural classes of the Central Provinces. If further proof were wanted of the extravagance of the accusation brought against the *ryot*, we have it afforded by an observation made by His Excellency the Viceroy from his place in the Viceroyal Legislative Council some months ago. His Excellency computed the gross annual agricultural produce of the Indian Empire to be worth 400 crores of rupees, which gives Rs. 20 per head as the gross annual income of the agricultural classes. Out of this, nearly Rs. 1-8 go in payment of the Government assessments on land, and of the balance Rs. 1-8 in payment of indirect taxation. We may safely challenge those who talk of the *ryots'* extravagance to point out another peasant in the world who can maintain himself on Rs. 17 per annum. (Cheers) And yet he is expected to make a saving out of it! Whatever else our *ryots* may be, they are not a nation of spend-thrifts. The national idea is one of asceticism, not athleticism, and our people are very much up

to it. That in itself would be an answer to the charge of extravagance. But even assuming that the *ryot* does spend something on marriages, it cannot be very much after all, and surely life must be made not only tolerable but a little pleasant even to the Indian cultivator. If, in his case, we cannot, as the late Mr. Gladstone desired in the case of the British workmen, level up his status so as to enable him to have a piano in his cottage, we need not at least grudge him some expense on marriage and other festive occasions which add charm to life. The problem is, no doubt, complicated, but much depends on the view which a ruler takes of the possibilities and limitations of the power of Government to benefit the people. It is just possible to exaggerate the one or the other. Those who hold exaggerated notions of the possibilities regarding them as equivalent to those of Divine Providence are doomed to discomfiture, but this at any rate, must be said for them that they "will not bind their soul with clay." Those, on the other hand, who exaggerate the limitations of human governments are those to whom hope never comes, and who can only plunge a race or a nation deeper into the depths of misery and despondency than they found it. It is encouraging to find that our present Viceroy has no superstitious belief in the virtues of official action. At the same time he is not a fatalist in the matter of administration. No one pretends—and if any one does, there are very few of the class—that agrarian indebtedness is due solely to any particular cause. What is complained of is that the Government has but touched the fringe of the subject hitherto in dealing with the question of its solution. For instance, take the question of the share which the money-lender on the one hand and our law courts on the other are said to have had in deepening the *ryot's* poverty. The money-lender is not a creature entirely of the British Government, but as years ago Sir Erskine Perry, once Chief Justice of Bombay, pointed out, where as before the advent of the British in India the money-lender was either some Bunnia or Brahmin of the village whose interests and fortunes were identified with those of the *ryots* to whom he lent, after that the Marwari adventurer took his place. The *ryot* did, and does require protection from the grasping money-lender, but it is admitted on all hands that he cannot do without the money-lender altogether. Now, we may fairly ask this question—have the attempts hitherto made to save the *ryot* from the money-lender's clutches proved the *ryot's* salvation? To take the

case of the law to which I have above referred—the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act passed in 1879. Its main object has been to save the Deccan *ryots* from the exactions of money-lenders and to prevent in that way lands from passing from the former to the latter. There is a suggestion now that the Act which applies to some of the districts of the Bombay Presidency should be extended to all. But those of us who have had to do with the course of litigation under the Act have reason to fear that the relief which is given by the Act to the *ryots* is more apparent than real. The *ryot* is allowed to sue his money-lender without any charge for the court-fee for his litigation. The court scrutinises his dealings with his creditors with a great deal of jealousy, and helps him to get his land freed from exorbitant demands. That is so far for the good of the *ryot*, but does the good go to him? What professional men like myself, having to deal with cases under the Act, often find is that the *ryot* is only the man who figures on the scene, but behind him is some one fighting his battle, spending the money for him, carrying on the litigation, and getting probably all the benefit of the Act intended to save the *ryot*. The Act in fact substitutes one creditor for another, but all the same the *ryot* is not saved. This is a point which has struck nearly all those who have any experience of litigation connected with this Act. It is my impression—and the impression of several of my brother pleaders—gathered in the course of professional business. It is said that the tendency of the *ryot* to have "frequent intercourse to the law courts"—I borrow the words used by his Excellency the Viceroy in his reply to the address of the Mahajan Sabha of Madras the other day—has contributed to his impoverishment. The Hon'ble Mr Toynbee drew the attention of the Government to this phase of the problem during the discussion on the last Budget in the Viceroy's Legislative Council—to the steady increase which is taking place year by year in the Government revenue from court-fees and the enormity of the law charges. He said "The character of our courts is a cause of our poverty." Undoubtedly it is a striking fact that large and highly paid judicial establishments are kept to deal with litigation, the bulk of which—i. e. over 60 per cent, as an examination of the statistics shows, concerns property or transactions worth less than Rs. 50. But this character of our litigation is not so much a cause as an indication of the poverty of the country, showing how small the tran-

sactions of the community are. It is proposed to pass a law for the mofussil on the lines of the Arbitration Act which applies to Presidency towns. That is a good move in the right direction and may help the *ryot* to some extent, but will not save him from his load of indebtedness. That brings me to the principle of a law which has recently been passed for the Punjab, and the application of which to other parts of the country is said to be under the consideration of the Government. The object of this law is to restrict the *ryots'* power of alienation. It is not possible to foresee the consequences of it, and we know that it encountered strenuous opposition in its passage through the Viceregal Legislative Council. Both the mover of the Punjab Land Alienation Bill and his Excellency the Viceroy have claimed for it no more than that it is a bold experiment, based on the principle that "he who never risks anything never wins anything." But assuming that the experiment will succeed, it will only serve to tie the *ryot* to the land—a very good object to gain so far; but to tie the *ryot* to the land is one thing, and to enable him to live and flourish on it is another. Such measures may be good and useful as far as they go as *palliatives*. But after all is done by way of palliatives for the *ryots'* relief, his poverty will remain and the evil of agrarian indebtedness may still stare us in the face like the goblin in the German legend, who, as soon as the peasant had burnt his house down to get rid of him, reappeared amidst the saved furniture, and lustily shouted out—"Lo! I am still here!" (Laughter) The feeling largely shared in the country is that side by side with all these palliative measures it is necessary to relax the rigidity of the land revenue system (Cheers.) Mr Dutt dealt with this subject in his last year's presidential address, and the Hon'ble Mr. Metha for Bombay and the Hon'ble Mr. Bose for the Central Provinces drew pointed attention to it in their speeches on the last Budget at a meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. His Excellency the Viceroy has more than once assured that this important subject is now engaging his "independent investigation." But His Excellency put the question to the Mahajana Sabha of Madras the other day "Supposing that we did reduce the assessment throughout India by 25 per cent is there a man among you who would guarantee me that he honestly believed that there would be no more famine, no more poverty, no more distress?" No one would be so bold as to give a guarantee on that

condition, and no one, I take it, thinks that a mere reduction by 25 per cent. in the assessment throughout India will stamp out poverty, for the poor will always be with us. But what is put forward is that if the assessments be reduced by 25 per cent. in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and in the Central Provinces, where revision assessments have been raised more than 25 per cent, the relief given will be sufficient to dispense with the necessity of direct famine relief to that extent. At present where Government levy high assessments in good years, they have to refund the sums so levied by opening relief works when famine visits the land. The rigidity of the land revenue system, its uncertainties and vagaries, are questions which must be tackled side by side with the other phases of the problem, and then some step will have been taken in the attempt to help the *ryot* in coping with famine or distress. The *ryot* may be right, or the *ryot* may be wrong, but the fact is there, attested now and then by Survey Settlement Officers that the periodic revision of settlements has a nervous effect on the *ryot*. As an instance, I will take that of the Kallian Taluka in the Bombay Presidency, as to which we gather from its last Settlement Report that at the last revision survey it was found that garden cultivation had considerably decreased. "In superior soils, and where sufficient moisture is retained for second crops, they are grown to some extent, but not as much as might be." That is the tale told, and in accounting for it, one Survey Officer concerned in the revision settlement ascribed it to the "laziness and lethargy of the cultivators," but another officer "to the advent of the revision survey for fear that the existence of the second crops would lead to a higher estimate being made of the capabilities of their lands." The *ryot* was not lazy and lethargic formerly when garden cultivation flourished; its subsequent decrease can only be due to the cause suggested by the Survey Officer—the fear of the *ryot* that improvement means more assessment. That is the crux of the problem. The situation would be comical, were it not serious. When the Deccan Ryots Commission was appointed to devise measures for the relief of indebtedness, two of its members condemned the Bombay Land Revenue System—and they were officers belonging to Northern India, and therefore, independent so far as the Bombay Presidency went. Mr. Rogers, who, on the other hand, was a Bombay Civilian, has been defending the Bombay system, but condemning the Madras

system and he seems to doubt if the Central Provinces system is all right. That points a moral, and shows even independent official opinion is not unanimous on this much-vexed question. We rest satisfied for the present, however, with the assurance given by Lord Curzon that the subject is under his consideration. All that we plead for is a more systematic, sympathetic agricultural policy than has been pursued. Government have gone to the relief of the Bengal *ryot*, and fixed the relations between him and his zemindar. Government are going to give relief to the *ryot* in Ratnagiri as against his *kholt*. Why does it not examine more closely than it has done, and subject to a thorough impartial inquiry, its own relations towards its own tenants? Then, as to the improvement of agriculture. It was stated by the Hon'ble Mr. Ibbetson some months ago in reply to the Maharaja of Darbhanga that the Secretary of State had sanctioned the appointment of a Director to become the chief of a great Government organization for affording assistance to the agricultural industry in this country. This we welcome as a hopeful assurance. That was the dream of Lord Mayo's wise and judicious administration, and it is known to all that Mr. Hume in Lord Mayo's time was appointed to organise an Agricultural Department for the improvement of agriculture. But one Viceroy succeeds another—and we drift. At one time the cry is taken up that the *ryot's* ways of cultivation require to be reformed. We hear it for a time, and then it is replaced by another cry that the *ryot* knows all about it and stands in no need of help. Now, the Indian *ryot* is neither a sinner nor a saint in his business—he is neither stupid nor perfect. It is no use teaching him to give up his methods of cultivation wholesale. He is wiser than his teachers there. But at the same time the state may gently take him in hand, and help him to improve his industry by scientific methods where that can be done. And it can be done provided the policy is pursued systematically and steadily. Let us hope that this new experiment which is to be made by the appointment of a Director of Agriculture for affording assistance to the agricultural industry of the country will be marked by a consistency of policy. We want not only a Director of Agriculture, but a Central Department of Agriculture and Industries. That brings me to the subject of industrial development—a subject on which I am rather afraid to speak with the warning before me of Lord Curzon given the other day at Madras that this subject of techni-

real education or industrial development has "an extraordinary fascination for the tongue in India" I know that there are people who talk about it without knowing the real aspects of India's industrial situation—but all the talkers may not be altogether a useless class (Chhorr) In every country the talkers precede the actors at every stage of its progress. And, as the late Mr. Bright once put it, 'I have observed that all great questions in this country require thirty hours of talk many times repeated before they are settled. There is much shower and sunshine between the sowing of the seed and the reaping of the harvest, but the harvest is reaped generally after all' And in India, where there is such a tendency to let things drift, there is fear that talk may do us good—for that is one way of keeping the problem before us. The first Famine Commission declared that "the multiplication of industries was the only complete remedy for famine." That was twenty years ago. But since that report was made very little has been done to advance the suggestion into the region of practice. On the contrary, some things have been done, unconsciously perhaps, which have had the effect of reducing the number of our industries. Is it wonder that, under the circumstances, with millions of people coming on the land, millions of them should go out of it, and that Sir James Lyall and his colleagues on the second Famine Commission should find that numbers of the peasantry have been, and are being, reduced to landless day-labourers? These are the people whom a famine first touches, and who flock to relief-works the moment they are opened, and as they go increasing in numbers, famine relief must soon out-run the resources of Government. The present relief policy is doomed to early extinction, and already during the famine it has been stretched to the breaking point. We are assured here again by Lord Curzon that as to this question of industrial development "Government is bestowing its serious attention upon the matter." His Excellency has, however, suggested the difficulty which stands in the way. Replying to the Mahajan Sabha of Madras on this point, His Excellency asked: Are you quite certain that those agencies and institutions which exercise so powerful a control upon the mind of the Indian youth are using their influence as they might to encourage the particular form of education which in theory they applaud? Now I do not wish for one moment to minimise this difficulty. That we have to do our part in

this matter—to do our best to turn the mind of our youth to industrial channels rather than the seeking of merely literary education and the courting of Government employment—is what I will freely admit. But what has happened in India by way of tendency to seek literary education, and go in for Government employment, is what happened at one time in some countries in Europe, and what will happen in any country at first whose schools are established and the improved machinery of official administration creates a large number of offices. Montalambert many years ago pointed that out in writing about some countries in Europe. The tendency will move in another direction—slowly, but steadily—if the initiative comes from the State as it has come in many other civilized countries. It is true that on the principle that while one man can lead a horse to drink water, even twenty cannot make it drink. Government may open schools for technical instruction, but they cannot get Indian youth to enter them if the youth will not enter, and that Government cannot create the spirit of enterprise where there is no desire for enterprise. But after all the mind of the Indian youth is not so hopelessly conservative and blindly stubborn. There are already signs that our educated men are not merely talking in the matter. As a Madras paper pointed out the other day in adverting to Lord Curzon's advice to the students at Cochin, there is a stream of tendency in the direction. What is claimed at the hands of Government is that it should take advantage of this tendency, and do all it can to help and forward it on. One way of helping it on was pointed out by the *Indian Agriculturist* in March last. It said "If we wish to see how a Government can help its subjects to solve this problem, we have only to look at what has been done in Canada, and is now being done in Ireland. In Canada, as we have more than once pointed out in these columns, the Agricultural Department acts on the principle that as it can command better brains than the individual farmer, its duty is to take the initiative, and to show the farmer how he can improve his methods and where he can find new sources of profit. If these new sources are beyond his unaided reach, the Department gives him a helping hand, but always on the understanding that as soon as the individual has secured a good grip of the new industry, he will do the rest of the work for himself. It is in this spirit that the Canadian Department of Agriculture has organised a cold storage service of train and steam-bond, so that butter and

cheese can be sent in good condition from remote Canadian farms right away to Liverpool. As soon as the system is self-supporting and self-managing—an end already in sight—the Department will leave it alone, and go on to something else. The Irish Department of Agriculture has been planned with the same ends in view, but with this valuable addition that it is empowered to deal with manufacturing industries as well as agriculture." Above all, no country in the economic and industrial condition of India has thriven under a *laissez faire* policy of commerce and agriculture. Even in England it was only in the middle of this century, when industries had grown to manhood, machinery had been invented, and manufactures had fully exhausted the advisability and needs of the old policy of protection that, in response to the altered circumstances, the Free Trade policy was pursued. Now, I do not plead for Protection, for if I did I should have to go back to the times when people had faith in it and we do not live in those times. And even if we did ask for Protection, there is not the slightest chance that we shall get it. We have to deal with the question as a question of practical politics—and Protection is a creed that is obsolete and British statesmen will have none of it. And what Lord Salisbury said some twelve years ago is true. His Lordship said.—“My belief is that Protection means nothing else but Civil War.” But if the British manufacturer does not get Protection, he gets from the State something very much better in its stead—“the open door” or “foreign markets.” Now let that open-door policy be for the whole of the Empire, and let not Indian subjects going to Natal or Cape Colony be treated as if India had no part or lot in the Empire. (Cheers.) Nor should they be subjected to such restrictive rules as have been recently passed as regards the Roorkee College in India and Cooper’s Hill in England. Let us have, secondly, an “open door” in our own country for our country’s industry. The excise duty levied on the Bombay mill industry clearly shows that under the present policy no Indian industry will be allowed to outgrow European competition. But a solution of this problem which calls for remedies against famines will not be complete unless they are made possible by a policy of wise and judicious economy in administration. Governments any more than individuals cannot both eat the cake and have it. The larger the proportion of revenue spent on the administration, the less of it there is to provide for the administered. It is encouraging that

Lord Curzon has applied himself to this question also. Some years ago, no less an authority on Indian finance than Sir Auckland Colvin said in an article contributed to the columns of the *Nineteenth Century*—an article which created considerable interest at the time it appeared that “there can be no improvement in Indian finance so long as Indian revenues are depleted by the claims of frontier extension.” Soon after his assumption of the office of Viceroy Lord Curzon addressed himself to this question, and his examination of the subject in relation to the financial condition of the country has resulted in what may be regarded as a wise compromise, the new policy being to irritate the susceptibilities of the frontier tribes as little as possible and to conciliate their good-will. It is true the policy of subsidising these tribes may be carried too far, and these annually recurring subsidies may in course of time mount up to the cost of a war. Besides, good-will obtained by subsidies will have to be kept up by subsidies—and these may become a perpetual drain on the country. The success of the new policy will have to depend mainly on the careful choice of the officers appointed to deal with and keep in hand the wild tribes on the frontier. Here it is mainly a question of “men, not measures.” These rude, unsophisticated men adore a man that is true and brave, and discreet and personal ascendancy so gained over them will be proof against the outburst of fanaticism more than anything else. But it is not on frontier extensions alone that money has been wasted. I am prepared to make every allowance for expenditure to grow in these days of advancing civilization and increased State responsibilities. But it should not in any case be allowed to outgrow the capacity of the country, and when it does it makes a costly administration synonymous with a ruinous administration. Complaints have been made that while important works of public utility are postponed or declined, works of considerably less urgency are undertaken, and hastened on, without reference to the state of the treasury. An Anglo-Indian friend cited to me the other day what may appear a trifling instance, but what seems to me to be an apposite illustration of what I am submitting. He had always wondered, he said, how Government could sanction the erection of a costly building for a Military Mess in the Marine Lines on the Queen’s Road in Bombay. While every pie the Government could spare was, it was said, wanted for plague and famine, here

was a building rising in imposing greatness, and it stands there as one more proof of how economy is more preached than practised. There is the other thing—the importation of medical men from England for the purpose of plague. These may appear small matters, but these straws best show how the wind blows. Apart from these individual instances there is a general tendency for the cost of the administration of the country to increase, and it is a danger to be guarded against. If the country progressed in a corresponding measure, it will not much matter, but the country does not. The Welby Commission say that the cost of Civil Government increased during the period of 1883-84 to 1895-96 at a rate more than double that of the population during the same period, notwithstanding the re-imposition of the taxation remitted in the previous year, and the addition of further new taxation at a rate only slightly in excess of the growth of the population. This means, to my mind, that while the prosperity of the nation has been practically at a standstill, the expenditure has grown by leaps and bounds. But it is somewhat encouraging to find that the Secretary of State for India has resolved and arranged to relieve India by £57,000 yearly, beginning on the 1st of April next. Lord Curzon, we all feel, has well begun by setting his face against the policy of drift of which I have been speaking. But, after all Lord Curzon has come among us for five years, two of which have expired and but three remain. Will British statesmanship drift, into the old policy after him? It is here that our duty lies. The Congress has been from the beginning of its existence a standing protest against the policy of drift and the time is now come—it is now most opportune—when standing out more emphatically than ever, it ought to redouble its efforts and help the Government in the solution of the great Indian problem to which all eyes are now turned. We belong to a movement which is the product of the genius of the British administration. It is the movement which is the natural outcome of the spirit of the age, and all that is best, noble, and enduring in *Pax Britannica*, and the one duty that devolves on it is to stand forth and preach. “Not drift, but wise and sustained direction will save India.” And in fulfilling this duty we have no reason to fear that we shall be suspected as noisy agitators who wish to embarrass rather than help the Government. We have moved on since it used to be said in some quarters that the educated

native does not represent the people. That controversy is now a mere matter of history, or if it is not, I look upon it as a mere war of words. And so far as I have been able to gauge official opinion, the large majority of those who are responsible for the good administration of the country recognise the value of the opinion and influence of educated natives. And the very wise and statesmanlike observations made on this subject by Lord Curzon in his reply to the address presented to him by the Municipal Corporation of Bombay ought to dispel all doubt on the point. And we have now arrived at the stage where the Congress has in its power to make its usefulness felt by carrying on its work on its old-accustomed constitutional lines, by helping the Government with facts, with information, with practical suggestions, which will strengthen its hands, and enable it to pursue a policy of large and liberal measures and give up the tendency to drift in administration. This is the duty before us. It is that to which we have committed ourselves, and for the performance of which in the spirit of loyal adherence to the Throne of Her Majesty we have here assembled. We know that the work before the Government—the task to which our Viceroy has devoted himself—is arduous and beset with difficulties, and that years must pass before the cause of reform wins. It is not for one man or even any body of men to say that he or they can finish the work and see his or their endeavours crowned with success. A learned divine has said, and said rightly: “One alone among the sons of men was able to say—It is finished.” But that British statesmanship has awakened to the gravity of the situation which envelops the Indian problem is one of the most hopeful signs that the country has a better future before it, and the last famine, the disastrous suffering that it has brought to the people, the terrible stain it has put upon the officials and the marks it has left of misery and death—will not be altogether a calamity, if it keeps alive the conscience it has so signally served to awaken. All this should hearten us for the future. It should encourage us to devote ourselves to our country’s cause with unflinching zeal. We have as members of this Congress taken up on ourselves a sacred duty—and be it ours to go in the discharge of it with faith in our mission, hope for the future, and loyal trust in the sense of justice and righteousness of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. (Loud and continued cheers.)

Miscellaneous Section.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND HINDU RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS.

As the opponents of Sir Andrew Scoble's Bill, which proposes to protect childwives under 12 years of age from outrage on the part of their husbands, have entered a protest against the measure mainly on the ground that it is a breach of the sacred pledge of the British Government to leave its subjects in the enjoyment of complete freedom of action in regard to religious matters and ancient usages, it will not be out of place to take a brief retrospect of those laws which the Legislature has passed since the advent of British rule in India upto now with a view to put down certain so-called religious customs which it regarded as inhuman. It is perhaps too much to expect the opponents of the Bill to discuss the principle of Sir Andrew Scoble's Bill by the light of past legislation in similar matters, for they seem to think that religion and usage are sufficient justification for any inhuman practice and that the British Government should not perform one of its functions as a Government by protecting the weak and helpless from cruel customs, when such customs can be defended on the basis of texts drawn from Hindu religious writers. The Bill, however, cannot stand or fall as the Shastras dictate. Its principle, I maintain, does not depend on the texts of the Hindu law-givers. It draws and is entitled to draw its main support and justification from the fact that the British Indian Legislature has never tolerated any inhuman custom because the Shastras enjoined it, and I should like to know what the opponents of the Bill have to say to the argument in support of it, that it is in complete harmony with the principle and the policy of natural justice and humanity, which has hitherto formed the distinguishing feature of the penal laws of the British rulers in India.

The main objection to the Bill is that it proposes to declare that as a *crime*, which religion not only sanctions but strictly en-

joins. The objection, in effect, comes to this, that the Legislature should not treat any act as an offence, which has religious sanction. In other words, the Legislators are asked by the objectors to take the Shastras as their guide in framing their penal laws, because, they say, Her Majesty has promised from time to time not to interfere with religious usages. I contend that nowhere, either in the principles or practice of the Government or the Legislature is there any such promise as can be held to take away absolutely from the Legislature the power of penalising any religious act or practice which is barbarous and inhuman. This I shall try to make clear by taking a short historical retrospect of the policy administered by the Legislature in the past.

In those parts of the country, particularly in Bengal, which now heads the opposition to the Bill, where Mahomedan rule had prevailed before the British conquered them, the criminal law administered by the latter for some time after their conquest was the Mahomedan criminal law. The Hindu Shastras, so far as criminal justice was concerned, had no weight given to them by the Mahomedans. When the British succeeded the latter in power, they adopted the Mahomedan criminal law too. This law was enforced for some time, but in the year 1772, the Court of Directors, feeling convinced that the Mahomedan criminal law contained many defects, led to serious inconveniences, and was in several respects incompatible with the principles of justice and humanity, took up the question of remodelling and reforming all the branches of Indian jurisprudence. They wrote to the Government of India to take the necessary steps in the matter. Accordingly, Warren Hastings prepared a plan conforming, as he put it, "to the manners and understanding of the people and exigencies of the country, adhering as closely as possible to their ancient usages and institutions." Be it particularly noted that there was no pledge or promise in this to enforce the Hindu Shastras rigidly out of deference to religion and custom. On the other hand, while the Supreme Court at Calcutta was directed that it should adopt such forms of procedure as would be adapted to "the religion and manners of such natives," it was also warned that it should adopt them "so far as the same may consist with the due execution of the law and the attainment of justice." This was as regards Calcutta, but as regards the mofussil subject to the jurisdiction of the East India Company,

it was ruled that it should be "lawful for the Governor-General and Council of the United Company's Settlement at Fort William in Bengal from time to time to make and issue such rules, ordinances and regulations for the good order and civil government of the said United Company's Settlement at Fort William aforesaid and other factories and places subordinate or be subordinate thereto *as shall be deemed just and reasonable* such rules, ordinances, and regulations not being repugnant to *the laws of the realm*." Thus the Governor-General in Council was authorized to frame laws not repugnant to the laws of the British Empire—that is, power was given them to frame those laws in accordance with justice and humanity. All this was in 1773, when the Parliament laid down in the words I have quoted what line of policy should be adopted by the Government in its legislative department. The laws framed, however, in accordance therewith were not free from defects. And it was in 1790 that we find Lord Cornwallis pointing out that those defects should be remedied and that the Government, as the ruling authority of the land, had the power, based both on *principle* and precedent, of making criminal laws conformable to "*natural justice and the good of society*." In a minute, dated the 1st December, 1790, His Lordship said:—"With a view to ascertain more particularly the nature and causes of the defects (in the administration of criminal justice) and to collect the necessary information for working them, I directed some queries to be stated to the magistrates of the several districts; from their answers to which it will appear that the evils complained of proceed from two obvious causes—first, the defects in the Mahomedan law; and, secondly, the defects in the constitution of the courts established for the trial of offenders. A provision against the first of the defects cannot otherwise be made than by our correcting such parts of the Mahomedan law as are most evidently contrary to natural justice and the good of society. That this Government is competent to such an amendment of that law, as may appear thus essentially necessary, cannot, I think, admit of a doubt, since, being entrusted with the Government of the country, we must be allowed to exercise the means necessary to the object and end of our Government; besides that, we appear to possess a sufficient legal recognition of the right in question from this—that the alterations made in the established Mahomedan law of the country by the first Code of Judicial Regulations 1773 and more particularly

that entire alteration and now very severe provision, therein contained for the punishment of dacoits, together with the superintendence and control over all the new Criminal Courts, which the said regulations vested in the Company's covenanted servants, stand both fully submitted to Parliament" We have here Lord Cornwallis's testimony to the fact that the Government possessed the right of amending its criminal laws so as to adapt them to "natural justice and the good of society," implying thereby that nothing, not even religion, could stand in the way of the Government where the good of society demanded that an inhuman practice should be declared criminal. He argues from two undeniable circumstances—(1) "the object and end" of the British Government and (2) the fact that the Government had amended the Mahomedan criminal law itself by means of various alterations, the chief of which was that professional robbery and dacoity, not recognised as offences by that law, were declared as crimes—that the Government could amend the criminal law so as to make it worthy of a civilised Government. It is not necessary that I should mention what subsequent Viceroys said on the subject or how the subsequent Acts of Parliament recognised this power of the Government and did not commit the Government or the Legislature to the toleration of inhuman practices sanctioned by religion. But I should mention that in the Bombay Presidency the criminal law administered upto the passing of the Penal Code into law in 1860 superseded both the Hindoo Shastras and Mahomedan law. The Bombay Code, as the framers of the Penal Code pointed out, superseded "all the ancient systems of Penal law and this without the smallest sign of discontent among the people" The Law Commission appointed at the instance of Parliament in 1835 was distinctly authorised by Parliament to suggest "such alterations as might in their (Commission's) opinion be beneficially made in the said courts of justice and police establishments, forms of judicial procedure, and laws, due regard being had to the distinctions of castes, difference of religion and the manners and opinions prevailing among different races and in different parts of the said territories." This language is again very guarded—it does not mean that the Legislature in India was to tolerate every religious practice, however inhuman it might be but only to pay "due regard" to it, by "due regard" being meant such regard as is reasonable and consistent with the dictates of humanity. The

to interfere :—1. I first call attention to Bengal Regulation 21 of 1795, the preamble of which runs thus :—“The reverence paid by the Hindoos to Brahmins and the reputed inviolability of their persons and the loss of or prejudice to caste that ensues from proving the cause of their death have in some places in the province of Benares and more especially in the Pergunnahs of Kuntit and Budhoco, been converted by some of the more unlearned part of them into the means of setting the laws at defiance from the dread and apprehensions of the persons of the Hindoo religion, to whose lot it must frequently fall to be employed in enforcing against such Brahmins any process or demands on the part of Government. The devices occasionally put in practice under such circumstances by these Brahmins are, lacerating their own bodies, either more or less lightly, with knives or razors, threatening to swallow or sometimes actually swallowing poison or some powder which they declare to be such or constructing a circular enclosure, called a *Koorh* in which they raise a pile of wood or of other combustibles, and betaking themselves to fasting, real or pretended, placing within the area of the *Koorh* an old woman with a view to sacrifice her by setting fire to the *Koorh* on the approach of any person to serve them with any process or to exercise coercion over them on the part of Government or its delegates. These Brahmins, likewise, in the event of their not obtaining relief within a given time for any loss or disappointment that they may have justly or unjustly experienced, also occasionally bring out their women or children and causing them to sit down in the view of the peon who is coming towards them on the part of Government or its delegates, they brandish their swords and threaten to behead or otherwise slay these females or children on the nearer approach of the peon; and there are instances in which, from resentment at being subjected to arrest or coercion or other molestation they have actually not only inflicted wounds on their own bodies but put to death with their swords the females of their families or their own female infants or some aged female procured for the occasion. Nor are the women always unwilling victims; on the contrary, from the prejudices in which they are brought up, it is supposed that in general they consider it incumbent on them to acquiesce cheerfully in this species of self-devotement rather from motives of mistaken honour or resentment and revenge, believing that after death they shall become the tormentors of those who are the occasion of their being sacrificed.”

These practices, it is apparent, were based on a religious prejudice; and the women, who were the victims, willingly allowed themselves to be killed under a superstitious belief. Religious though the practices were, the Legislature put them down.

2. Until 1817 the Brahmins of Benares had been exempted from the punishment of death for the offence of murder. But Regulation 17 of 1817 removed that exemption.

3. Regulation 17 of 1836 put down the religious custom of what is called sitting *Dharna* i. e. 'the practice of illegal duress by individuals for the extortion of money or for the recovery of debts without authority from the Civil Magistrate.' This custom had a religious basis, for, if a Brahmin sat *Dharna*, it was believed that so long as he remained fasting in that condition, 'it was equally incumbent on the party who is the occasion of such Brahman's thus sitting, to abstain from nourishment until the latter be satisfied.' The Mahomedan law did not provide for any punishment for this offence and the Regulation in question was therefore passed to root out the inhuman custom, religious though it was.

4. Regulation 17 of 1829 abolished *Suttee*. This was admittedly a religious practice. Before legislating against it, Lord William Bentinck consulted several individuals. European as well as Native. Many looked aghast at the proposal and suggested that as the custom had a religious origin, the Legislature, instead of abolishing it altogether, should simply minimise its horrors by directing that every case of *Suttee* should be allowed to take place under the personal supervision of a responsible Government officer, the public being excluded from the place of the funeral pyre. Others suggested that the penalty of death for an act of this kind, which the Government had tolerated till then, was too much. When Lord William found that a great majority of the people was against his proposal to abolish *Suttee*, he sent for the greatest social reformer of the time—Raja Ram Mohun Roy—and asked him what he thought the best thing to do under the circumstances. Lord William explained to the reformer that for his part he was strongly inclined to abolish the practice. Roy sympathised with his Lord's resolution, but suggested that it would be better to begin by abolishing the practice only so far as Bengal was concerned. Lord William replied that such partial suppression would be regarded as a confession of weakness on the part of Government.

Ultimately he made up his mind to abolish it root and branch; he stood firm and had the law passed. This law distinctly points out that the principle of religious toleration and neutrality is subject to the "paramount dictates of justice and humanity." Thus India was saved from a most barbarous and inhuman practice which had tried to justify itself in the name of religion and usage.

5. According to both the Hindu and the Mahomedan law *change of religion* disabled a man from the right of inheriting any property. By means of Regulation 7 of 1832, which applied only to Bengal, the disability was removed and thus a religious injunction both of the Hindoo and the Mahomedan religion was set at naught to make way for a more human and liberal principle of law.

6. Act No. 30 of 1836 was aimed at *Thuggee*, which was "a crime of murder committed by professional robbers, who strangled their victims usually with a handkerchief, and offered them as an offering to the goddess Kālī."

7. Act No. 10 of 1840 abolished certain pilgrim taxes and made better provision for the management of the temple of Jugernaut. The taxes in question had not only been sanctioned by long usage but owed their origin and continuance to a religious superstition. When the Legislature proposed to abolish them, some educated Hindoos suggested that instead of abolishing them altogether the Legislature had better continue them and utilise the proceeds of the tax for the purposes of the education of the people. But the Legislature regarded the imposts as objectionable and oppressive and abolished them. What is more important, the Legislature in entrusting the Raja of Khoorda with the management of the temple of Jugernaut enjoined "that the said Raja and all persons connected with the said temple shall on all occasions be guided by the recorded rules and institutions of the temple, or by ancient and established usage so far as the same may be consistent with the provisions of this Act." I italicise the last words, because they show that when the Legislature found that the affairs of a great temple, to which large numbers of Hindoo pilgrims flocked, were mismanaged and the pilgrims oppressed, it interfered and directed that the government of the temple should be in accordance with established usage only so far as that usage was consistent with the provisions of its own law. This was certainly interference with religion—and interference of a beneficial character.

8. Act No. 5 of 1843 abolished slavery. I call this piece of legislation an interference with religion, because both the Hindu Shastras and Mahomedan law recognised slavery and permitted it.

9. Act No. 21 of 1850. According to the Hindu Shastras and the Mahomedan law no Hindu or Mahomedan changing his religion could inherit any property. Regulation 7 of 1832 had removed this disability, but that law till 1850 applied only to Bengal. Act No. 21 of 1850 merely extended that Regulation to all parts of the country governed by the East India Company. This interference on the part of the Legislature with one of the most rigorous and strict injunctions of the Hindu Shastras did give rise to opposition. From a journal of the period we glean that Bombay regarded the measure with indifference (perhaps because there was no Madhav Bang then); Madras protested against the measure. But what is most curious, the Bengalis who were not affected by the Act, because it only proposed to extend to the other parts of the country what had already been the law in Bengal ever since 1832, also got up meetings to protest against the Act! And we find a journal of the time observing what stands true of the present opposition to the Age of Consent Bill:—"The most opposite parties—those who treat the popular superstition with the utmost ridicule and those who are completely enslaved by it—united in opposition to the measure." The Mahomedans remained indifferent. The Legislature carried its point, and Bengal, unaffected though it was by the Act, nevertheless sent up a petition to Parliament, raising the cry of religion in danger. But nothing came of it and the Act stands in the Statute Book to the everlasting credit of the British Indian Legislature.

10. Act 15 of 1856 legalised the marriages of Hindu widows. This Act too encountered a great deal of opposition. Monster meetings were held and long and strongly-worded petitions sent to the Legislature imploring it not to pass the law as it was a measure interfering with Hindu Shastras. Sir John Peter Grant, who introduced the measure in the Council, defended it on the ground that the Shastras did not prohibit widow marriage and cited the very *Raghunandan*, whom Sir Romesh Mitter has called to his aid for the purpose of opposing the Age of Consent Bill, as one who had advocated the cause of widow marriage and gone so far in

his advocacy of it as to firmly resolve that his own widowed daughter should remarry.

To come to the opposition to the Widow Marriage Bill, the argument of its opponents was that it interfered with the Hindu religion. Sir John Peter Grant repudiated this notion, and his remarks in reply to the opponents of the measure would serve equally as a reply to the opponents of the Age of Consent Bill, for he said that "he was not sure that it (the Bill) might not interfere with the sports of some Hindoos. In every country there were too many who made it their sport to tyrannise over the conduct and the consciences of others. He could not be sure that this Bill might not be displeasing to some on this ground, Remonstrances springing from such a feeling this Council might well disregard." Sir Barnes Peacock supported the measure, and, in answering the argument that it interfered with the Hindu religion, pointed out *when and under what circumstances and in what cases* the Legislature was bound to interfere with religious customs. Sir Barnes's remarks on this point are worth quoting, for they apply fully to Sir Andrew Scoble's Bill. He said .—

"When the commission of an act or the omission of a duty would be an offence against society, a political Government interfered to prevent that act or omission. But it did that for the protection of society, not for the protection of religion. Upon what principle was it that the Indian Legislature had proceeded with reference to the practice of *suttee* ? That rite was an injury to society. It was an injury to society that a widow should burn or bury herself with the body of her husband or that any one should assist her in doing so ; and, therefore, the Legislature had interfered and made the practice illegal. If a person believed it to be his imperative duty to do any act which would not be an injury to his fellowmen or to society at large, the Legislature would not forbid him to do it ; but if he believed it to be his imperative duty to offer human sacrifice, the Legislature would interpose and say :—

"*We will not allow you to carry out your belief to the injury of your fellowmen* Under no circumstances ought the Legislature to interfere with the privilege of a man to do any act which in his own conscience he believed he was bound to do, unless such act should be injurious to society. But where such an act would

be injurious to society he (Sir Barnes) maintained that it was the duty of the Legislature to prevent him from doing it."

These words most aptly express what the principle and the policy of the British Legislature in India have been and ought to be with regard to inhuman practices sanctioned by religion. The Shastras have no *locus standi* where an act is plainly injurious to individuals and society. To condemn and oppose the Age of Consent Bill in the name of the Hindoo religion is to call on the British Legislature in India, to abdicate its functions as a Government bound to suppress all inhumanity, and to frame its penal laws on the model of the Shastras, though for centuries the Shastras have not been the criminal law of the country

After all these enactments came Her Majesty's Proclamation, on which the opponents of the Age of Consent Bill so strongly rely. It was issued in 1858 and, as I have already pointed out, it did not at all pledge the Legislature so absolutely as the opponents suppose to the policy of non-interference with inhuman, though religious, customs.

In that Proclamation Her Majesty, besides promising to see that none shall be molested or disquieted by reason of his religious faith or observances, and "that all alike shall enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law," further pledges herself to paying only "due regard" to the ancient rights, usages and customs of India, "generally in framing and administering the law." *Due regard* does not and cannot mean *unconditional* and *absolute regard* but such regard as is *proper*—i. e. consistent with reason, justice, and humanity. There is nothing in the Proclamation to support the contention that Her Majesty has pledged herself therein so *absolutely* and *unconditionally* to the principle of religious toleration and neutrality as to promise that Her Government and Legislature in India shall not protect any of her subjects from outrageous and inhuman acts when such acts are sanctioned and enjoined by religion.

Two years after the Proclamation, i. e. in 1860, the Penal Code drafted by the Law Commission, presided over by Lord Macaulay in 1837, was passed into law by the Legislative Council of the Government of India. I call special attention to this fact, because some of the opponents of the Age of Consent Bill allege that, though it is true that before the Proclamation of 1858, the British

Government in India by means of its Legislature did suppress several inhuman religious usages, yet after that Proclamation there has been no law of a penal or other character interfering with any religious usage of the people of British India. That this allegation is absolutely unfounded is proved by these facts : (1) that the Penal Code, which became the criminal law of British India two years after the Proclamation, was, generally speaking, not based on either the Hindoo or the Mahomedan religious books or usages but on the broad principles of civilised jurisprudence, humanity, and justice ; (2) that there are provisions in the Penal Code which declare certain so-called religious usages as criminal and which, therefore, furnish instances of interference by the British Indian Legislature with injurious religious customs after the Proclamation of 1858 ; and (3) that the Penal Code reaffirmed the laws which had before the Proclamation of 1858 suppressed such superstitious usages as *thuggesism*, sitting *dharma*, slavery, &c.

In proof of the *first* of these facts—namely, that the Penal Code is, generally speaking, based not on the Hindoo Shastras or the Mahomedan law, but on the broad principles of humanity and justice, I cite the following remarks of Lord Macaulay's Commission which drafted that Code.—

“ Your Lordship in Council will perceive that the system of penal law which we propose is not a digest of any existing system, and that *no existing system has furnished us even with a groundwork*. We trust that your Lordship in Council will not hence infer that we have neglected to enquire, as we are commanded to do by Parliament, into the present state of that part of the law, or that in other parts of our labors we are likely to recommend unsparing innovation, and the entire sweeping away of ancient usages. We are perfectly aware of the value of that sanction which long prescription and national feeling give to institutions. *We are perfectly aware that law-givers ought not to disregard even the unreasonable prejudices of those for whom they legislate*. So sensible are we of the importance of these considerations, that, *though there are not the same objections to innovation in penal legislation as to innovation affecting vested rights of property*, yet, if we had found India in possession of a system of criminal law which the people regarded with partiality, we should have been inclined rather to ascertain it, to digest it, and *moderately to correct it* than to propose a system fundamentally different.

"But it appears to us that none of the systems of penal law established in British India has any claim to our attention, except what it may derive from its own intrinsic excellence. All those systems are foreign. All were introduced by conquerors differing in race, manners, language, and religion from the great mass of the people. The criminal law of the Hindoos was long ago superseded through the greater part of the territories now subject to the Company, by that of the Mahomedans, and is certainly the last system of criminal law which an enlightened and humane Government would be disposed to revive. The Mahomedan criminal law has in its turn been superseded, to a great extent, by the British Regulations."

The portions I have italicised in the passage quoted above are noteworthy, especially the last one, where the Commissioners say that "the criminal law of the Hindoos" should not be revived by an enlightened and humane Government. This, I say, is noteworthy, because the argument of the opponents of Sir Andrew Scoble's Bill, which proposes to give legal protection to girls under twelve years of age from outrage on the part of their husbands, comes in effect to this that the Bill seeks to declare that as an offence, which, according to the Hindoo law and religion, is not a crime. This argument, I maintain, does not deserve any consideration, because in determining whether a particular practice should be penalised, the British Indian Legislature has hitherto mainly guided itself by the principle of humanity and not by what the Hindoo law and usage have said about it. The Age of Consent Bill seeks to amend a certain section of the Penal Code; and the same principles of humanity, which form the groundwork of that Code, furnish complete justification for that Bill.

The Penal code contains provisions, interfering with certain so-called religious usages. For instance, Section 372 of that code holds every person guilty of an offence, who sells, lets to hire, or disposes of any minor girl under the age of 16 for the purposes of prostitution. This is clearly an interference with a religious usage, because in certain parts of this country it has been customary for girls to be dedicated to religious temples and doomed to prostitution. Under the Section this custom has been declared criminal, and persons disposing of minor girls for the purposes of prostitution under this cloak of long-established usage have been punished.

Another provision of the Penal Code, which suppressed a so-called religious practice is Section 317. It runs thus:—

"Whoever being the father or mother of a child under the age of 12 years, or having the care of such child, shall expose or leave such child in any place with the intention of wholly abandoning such child, shall be punished, &c."

When the Penal Code was first drafted, the limit of age in this Section was not *twelve* but *five*. When the Code was taken up by the Legislative Council and referred to a Select Committee, the Government of Bengal reported the existence "of a superstitious custom which appeared to be rather prevalent of abandoning children in the Sunderbuns." The custom of course had a religious origin, and it appears that children of even more than five years of age were abandoned in accordance with it. Some cases of this kind having actually happened at the time the Penal Code was under discussion, the Select Committee, on a careful consideration of the papers on the subject received from the Bengal Government, thought it advisable to recommend to the Legislature that the custom in question, religious though it was, should be stopped by enlarging the limit of age from *five* to *twelve* in Section 317 of the Code. During the discussion which took place in the Council as regards this Section, one of the Hon'ble Members enquired if the limit of twelve years was not too high; but Sir Barnes Peacock, who was in charge of the measure, explained that the high limit had been rendered necessary owing to the prevalence of the religious custom of parents abandoning children in the Sunderbuns. This explanation was deemed satisfactory, and the Section as altered by the Select Committee was unanimously adopted by the Council. Here, again, there was clear interference with a religious custom.

I could mention other provisions in the Penal Code of a similar character, such as the Section which renders it criminal for any man to utter any obscene word or sound in or near any public place to the annoyance of others (Section 294), although it has been customary to use obscene words, according to Hindoo usage, during the days of a religious festival called the *Noli* festival. All these Sections have discarded Hindu usage and religion, and have been framed in the interests of humanity and morality. The Age of Consent Bill is conceived for the same object and in the same interests. Why, then, should Hindoo religion and usage bar the Legislature from protecting child-wives from the outrages of their husbands?

As another instance of legislative interference with the injunctions of the Hindu Shastras (religious books), I may mention Bombay Act No. VII of 1866, otherwise called "the Bombay Hindu Heirs' Relief Act." Before the date on which this Act came into force, the Mofussil Courts in the Bombay Presidency had been holding on the authority of certain texts in the Hindu religious books that if a Hindu died without leaving any property, but leaving a son or grandson, that son or grandson was liable to pay the whole of the deceased's debts. The said Courts had also been holding on the same authority that if a Hindu died, leaving a widow, and if that widow married a second time, her second husband was liable to pay the debts of the first. "This doctrine of the Mofussil Courts was that of the Hindu law, as interpreted by the Shastris of this side of India" (*Vide* the note to Section I of Bombay Act No. VII of 1866 at page 1967 of Vol. VI. of Sir R. West's Bombay Acts and Regulations). The doctrine was based on the religious view that if the debts of the deceased were not paid by his son or grandson, or, where his widow remarried, by her second husband, the deceased could not find a place in heaven. Mr. White, who was in 1866 the Advocate-General of Bombay and an additional member of the Bombay Legislative Council, introduced in March that year a Bill, setting aside this doctrine of the Hindu Shastras, and pointed out that the proposed legislation was needed in the interests of the people in the mofussil and that its principle was within the province of the Legislature. The Bill passed into law subsequently and that law is embodied in the Act I have mentioned above. Here the Bombay Legislature discarded the texts of the Hindu Shastras as interpreted by the Shastris, because justice required that the law founded on those texts and on that interpretation should be abrogated. This was eight years after the Proclamation of 1858. And yet we have now most of the opponents of the Age of Consent Bill, in utter disregard of such clear precedents, maintaining that the British Indian Legislature is bound to accept the interpretation which the Shastris put on the texts of the Hindu Shastras, and has no right to base its laws on justice and humanity!

The Legislature has thus never refused to interpose where an inhuman practice, defended on religious grounds, had to be stopped. Why should it refuse to interpose now? The cry of religion in danger is not only an old but discredited cry. Are we to have our crimi-

nal laws framed in accordance with the antiquated, conflicting, and barbarous injunctions of the Shastras ? Since the advent of the British rule in India, can we point to a single period when the Shastras were taken as their guides and monitors by the Legislature ? If our criminal justice is to be administered in accordance with the Shastras, what becomes of all the enactments above-named ? Would not the Government then be bound to revive *Suttee* and slavery, Dharna and Koorh, and declare that Brahmins convicted of murder shall not be hanged ? The mob of Madhav Bang may not be capable of comprehending the ludicrous position into which the Government will be landed if that Government defers to their wishes and gives up the Age of Consent Bill because the Shastras sanction inhumanity, but the Government has a policy and a principle to maintain. The occasion is one when it owes a sacred duty to itself and to its subjects. It must stand calm and firm and proceed with the good measure it has taken in hand, remembering that that measure is in perfect accord with the policy which has formed all along the elevating feature of its criminal laws in particular.

SOME REMINISCENCES OF THE LATE MR. JUSTICE TELANG.

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(*Times of India*, September 4, 1893.)

At a time when all communities are deeply mourning the loss of Mr. Justice Telang, and feeling that in him the country has been deprived of one who occupied a unique position in the native community, it seems to me to be the duty of educated natives in general, and the younger generation of them in particular, to reflect on the example of his life and catch the inspiration of his character. His public career is now before us all, and his intellectual eminence, the sweetness of his temper, and above all, the purity of his character, are now spoken of with admiration ; but to know the man thoroughly and enter into a full appreciation of the qualities of head and heart which enabled him to become one of the most loveable of our leaders and god-like of our men, we must get to know him as he was, not only in public, but also, and perhaps even more, in private life. There are several who, like me, enjoyed frequently the privilege of his company and converse, who mixed and talked with him on various topics and found abundant opportunities of studying this great and good man even more closely than others. By his charming manner and his high-minded example he drew us around him and taught us, what we all need learning in these days, that the highest pleasure of life is to live a life of *culture* and *rectitude*. I recall to my mind now the many occasions on which he and we whiled away idle moments discoursing many questions of public interest and moral concern, how during the annual vacations of the High Court we rambled with him among the woods and learnt from him what joy there is in admiring nature's scenery, of which he was a passionate lover ; and it is sad to feel that we shall no more have this dear guide of ours to teach us how to aim at plain living and high thinking. We shall speak of Mr. Telang as a deeply-read scholar, and doubtless that he was ; but we shall miss the lesson to be learnt from his scholarship if we forget that he always regarded learning, books,

and education as worth nothing if they did not influence the mind and the heart, and enable us daily to be what Goethe calls "a growing kind of men". And for this purpose he held nothing was so valuable as the constant reading of good poetry. How much he was himself influenced by the study of some of England's greatest poets I can perhaps best tell by recounting here one of what I consider the most pleasant and edifying reminiscences of his life. Before leaving for Lanowlee last October, he asked me to join him there that we may spend part of the vacation together. He said that as he wanted to take complete rest, he was going to take with him only one or two books, and hoped that I would join him and help him to while away his time in what he called idle gossip. I knew what he meant by "idle gossip." He was not given to what is called small talk, and hated nothing so much as speaking scandals of people, or criticising the follies and weaknesses of others. When I joined him, his conversation was all on English poetry. He spoke of Tennyson and Wordsworth, and he said he preferred the latter to the former. I asked him if he did not think Wordsworth too prolix and common-place, especially in his *Excursion*, when he replied - "I enjoy the *Excursion* even more than the rest of Wordsworth's poetry, for his descriptions of life there have a very soothing effect upon me." "But," he went on to say, "there is, I confess, nothing comparable about Wordsworth's lines about Tintern Abbey. That is a gem of a poem, I don't know how often I have read it, and the more I read it, the more I get to like it." I asked him to tell me why Wordsworth was such a favourite poet of his. He said that somehow he felt that Wordsworth more than any other poet he had read appealed to his heart; that, while reading him, he felt as if he were in the presence of a great moral teacher, who taught us to be at peace with the world by holding communion with nature, and endowing us with "the passions that build up our soul," until—and here he quoted Wordsworth—we recognise "a grandeur in the beatings of the heart." He again returned to the *Excursion*, and remarked that the description of a funeral procession in the Second Book of it had made a deep impression upon him, because it always made him feel what Wordsworth calls "the awfulness of life." And his talk with his friends was always of this edifying kind. There was not a topic of even the most trifling character which he did not illuminate, as it were, with the light of his varied reading and the

enunciation of some clear and defined moral principle. Even during the one month and a half when his illness confined him to his bed, and made it an exertion for him to talk much, he delighted in holding conversation with his familiar friends on subjects of literary or moral interest. I shall never forget, for instance, the very instructive conversation I had with him on the Bible only a month ago. It happened in this way. I visited him one day to enquire after his health. He seemed then quite depressed in spirits and weak. He told me he had passed a restless night and did not feel cheerful. I did not like to enter into any further conversation, and for some time we both of us were silent. He then suddenly put me his usual query, "What books are you reading now during your spare hours?" I told him I was reading the Bible. He said, "I am glad that you are reading that book, it is a pity we do not read and study it as much and as often as we should. I don't know who said it, but I remember reading somewhere that the Bible is a library in itself. Europeans are trying to acquaint themselves with our religious literature. I think we should follow their example and try to acquaint ourselves with theirs." He paused for a while and was resuming to speak, when I told him he had better not exert himself. He said he rather felt relieved when he talked on some good subject, and continued: "I remember the time when the older generation of our students read the Bible more carefully than is now the case. Take our friend Ranade, for instance. He has the Bible at his finger's ends as it were. Now-a-days we are too much for *our* books; We think we have nothing to learn from the West. I should be the last to undervalue the study of our own religious literature. In fact, it is our duty to study it; but I should always like to see that study combined with a study of other religions, for it is only in that way that we may hope to correct what is bad, while retaining what is good in that religion." Here, again, he paused, and then asked me if I had read the Book of Job. I told him I had, when he said. It is some years since I read it, and I can't say that I remember the arguments of Job and his friends very well at this moment. But it is certainly an instructive book. What impressed me most when I read it was this—that though Job, in arguing with his friends, complained of God and quarrelled with him for afflicting him, yet he did not loose faith in either his own righteousness or in God. He felt all the while that God would

do him justice in the end, not in this, but in the life to come." I asked him how one could reconcile Job's denunciation with his faith in God. He said: "Ah! that is what I was coming to. If you have what is called living faith in God, and if you are righteous, your condition must be like that of Job. To make my meaning clear, I will take the case of a child and its mother. Perhaps the child feels that the mother is cruel in chastising it or in not allowing it to do what it likes. But for all that the child is bound to the mother by *love*, and that love is so deep and natural, that even when the child feels that its mother is mercilessly cruel, it does not lose its faith that after all the mother will come round and be kind." Another example of the delight he took in enlightened and elevated talk may be cited. I called on him a day or two after the suppression of the recent riots and told him all that had appeared in the papers—how on Friday the Mahomedans had mobbed the Hindus and on Saturday the Hindus had retaliated and how various opinions prevailed as to the causes of the outbreak. I expected to hear him say something about the riots, but no sooner had he heard me say all I had to tell, he spoke in his usual literary vein, and said: "It is wonderful how the religion of Mahomed has come to be associated with bloodshed and massacre. I do not suppose Mahomed could have originally intended it to be so associated. The unfortunate thing was that his religion fell upon a soil congenial to cruelty. It would have perhaps been a greater power for good if it had fallen upon a more congenial soil than that of Arabia." I have chosen from my notes only those portions of his conversation with me which bring out what I may call the religious aspect of his character, for it is that aspect on which I know some misconception prevails among some of those who did not know him immediately. I remember the time when he was regarded either as an Atheist or an Agnostic. That was a time when he was an ardent student of Mill's and Mr. Spencer's works; and perhaps in his younger days he did lean towards Agnosticism. But his was a mind which always progressed in thought, and to those of us who constantly moved in his company it was clearly discernible that latterly he had lost faith in Agnosticism and leant towards faith in God. The subject of religion was avoided by me in my conversations with him during the first few years of our intercourse, but two years ago, in the course of a talk on Tennyson's

"Two Voices" he happened to remark : "Those lines of Tennyson's about a family going to church are very charming." I thought this was a good opportunity for me to sound him on the subject of religion. I asked him wherein the beauty of the lines he admired consisted. He said "After all is said and done, though there is much that is mysterious about life and human destiny, you cannot get rid of one fact, to which Wordsworth has given the best expression when he says — '*There is not a man that lives who hath not known his godlike hours, and feels not what an empire we inherit as natural beings in the strength of nature.*' You feel, in spite of all your doubt and uncertainties, that there is something in you which is not human, and that something calls for faith." On another occasion he asked me to read Cardinal Newman's poetry, for, he said, "I regard him as the best religious poet" For Thomas Kempis's "Imitation of Christ" he had great regard, and that was also one of the books to which he drew my attention. I am now informed by a friend who knew him well that that was one of the books which he intended translating into Marathi. He did not care for the dogmas of any religion, nor did he talk as effusively on the subject of religion as he did on other topics ; but when latterly he spoke of it, he spoke with reverence. And that word *reverence*, be it said, formed the very guiding principle of his life. We all admired him for the suavity of his disposition, but that suavity was less the gift of nature and more the result of the high moral discipline that he received from his now bereaved father. He was throughout careful to pay respect to his elders. When some years ago some students hissed at Professor Wordsworth as the latter came out of the University Hall after the debate in the Senate on the subject of exempting a now very capable Government servant from some University examinations, Mr. Telang was pained at the sight, and I find recorded in my notes the following remarks of his made to me when I saw him soon after :—"I really do not know what is coming on. I am ashamed of the conduct of our students. One despairs of the future if our young men are to go on in this way." He went on to say that reverence was an essential virtue, and that the older generation of our students was very particular of it. He continued: "Take my own case. You know our friend, Mr. Balwantrao Wagle, who is now an Advocate of the High Court like myself. But though he and I have been for some years on an equal footing in point of position, till a year ago,

whenever I had to write to him, I addressed him as 'My dear Sir, just because I thought it was my duty to respect him as he had been my teacher in my younger days. It was only after he strongly protested against my addressing him in that way that I discontinued it. There is again our friend, Mr. Parmanand. He also was my teacher at the Elphinstone High School. I address him as 'My dear Sir' even now." A great deal was said against Mr. Telang's want of moral courage as a social reformer, especially when some months ago he celebrated the marriage of his daughter, a girl eight years old. His critics used very strong language at the time, and some even went the length of charging him with hypocrisy. I will not say one word here against that part of criticism, which was harsh and unjust, knowing, as I do, that he himself bore it all with equanimity. But one incident let me narrate in this connection, for I feel sure it will show to all how honest and magnanimous he was. A few days after the marriage, when the criticism against him was raging fiercely, he sent for me and said (he had then but partially recovered from the illness and was weak):—"I know what I have done will pain my friends Nulkar, Bhandarkar, and Ranade. You know under what circumstances I have had to act as I have done. I do not feel strong enough to write to my friends. You must explain it all to them when you next go to Poona; but tell them this, that no one feels more than I do that I have not done the right thing. I plead guilty to the charge—I have no defence; and I must bear calmly what is being said in the papers." That he had not the courage of a reformer he knew even more than others, and he himself often admitted that it was a lamentable weakness. But let me say this for him, and for those who gathered around him, regarding him as their leader even in matters of social reform, that though he had his share of human weakness, we felt that the man's purity of character and honesty of purpose, no less than his large heart, tolerant spirit, and clear intellect, were most valuable adjuncts to the cause of social progress. We all believe in the law of evolution, and that law teaches us that it is not all at once that the reformer of moral courage and action is produced. He will come in the fulness of time, but the man of action in social matters must be preceded by the man of thought. And Telang seems to me to have been designed by Heaven for our man of thought. This is not the place for me to describe how, in spite of his apparent—and only appar-

ont—want of moral courage he assisted in a variety of ways the cause of social reform ; but it is significant to note at this moment that even those who are by all regarded as the most courageous of our reformers are now mourning his loss deeply, and feel that they have lost their right arm. One of them—and he a bright specimen of the class—writes to say that “the sun has set even while in the meridian, and darkness and desolation have spread everywhere. The prospect before us is very gloomy.” We are all left the poorer by his death, but may we not still hope to better the future of our country if, inspired by the memory of his example, by his high-mindedness, and the purity of his life and aims, we sincerely endeavour to live as he lived—nobly and wisely ?

THE SANDHURST MEMORIAL, 1900.

The Hon'ble Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar who was received with loud and prolonged cheers, moved .—

"That this meeting, consisting of friends and admirers of His Excellency Lord Sandhurst from the various communities of Western India, desires to place on record the deep sense of gratitude entertained by them for the services rendered to this Presidency by His Excellency during the term of office as Governor of Bombay ; a period which, owing to famines and plague, has been full of the gravest anxieties to His Excellency, who besides guiding and superintending as head of the administration visited the famine camps and plague hospitals to soothe and cheer the sick and dying, the bereaved and the afflicted."

He said :—"In moving this resolution, I mean to detain you for some little time, while I state as shortly, but as clearly as I can the grounds on which I intend to support it. It is a truism which has been often repeated that Lord Sandhurst has had to govern this Presidency during a period of calamities and difficulties of an exceptional character ; but exceptional as the period has been, it has served to test to the utmost his capacities and qualities, and bring out in a remarkable manner his coolness of head, his courage and energy, and, above all, his sympathy for the suffering. The ancient Romans said that Jupiter himself loved to see a brave man battling with difficulties, and Englishmen admire nothing so much as what is called "the old strength to dominate circumstances." And it is this "old strength to dominate circumstances" that Lord Sandhurst has shown with all the pluck and energy of his race. It is a fact which must be admitted by all, and which is, in fact, acknowledged even by those who are not inclined to take a favourable view of his administration, that in nearly two years after he had assumed charge of the office of Governor he made himself by his acts and measures one of the most popular Governors. (Cheers.) Within a very short time after his arrival here, he applied himself to the solution of several questions which had for some time formed the principal subjects of public controversy. For instance, he

put himself in direct communication with the late Mr. Abdulla M. Dharamsi, who was then President of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, on the vexed question of the Bombay Police charges, and succeeded eventually in settling it to the satisfaction of that body. The right to elect a representative to the Legislative Council, for which the Central Division had long been asking was given to it without any hesitation. The punitive Police tax, which had been levied on Poona in consequence of the riots of 1894 was removed with equal readiness. His Excellency visited the hospitals, schools, and the dwellings of the poor in this city, and finding that our primary schools were located in dark, dirty, and ill-ventilated buildings, injurious to the health of the young who went there to learn, he gave a grant of Rs. 50,000 to the Primary Schools' Fund. All this, added to the encouraging words he addressed to the Principal and Professors of the Fergusson College at Poona, the appointment of two native gentlemen as District Collectors, and the permission he gave for the holding of the Shi-waji festival at Raigad, as also the appointment in his time of Mr. Budroodin Tyebji as a Judge of the High Court—all this was taken by all betokening the sympathetic spirit of Lord Sandhurst's Government, and all joined in speaking of him as a "People's Governor." (Applause).

COURAGE AND SYMPATHY.

I remember that at the Provincial Conference held at Karachi towards the beginning of May, 1896, the delegates assembled from the different parts of the Presidency were enthusiastic in their conversation, and some in their speeches in their praise of Lord Sandhurst. That covers a period of nearly two years. It was followed by the period of calamities to which I referred at the very outset. During such a period it is impossible for a Governor, however much he may do, to please all and to secure for his measures the approval of all. He has to perform the most difficult of duties during crises of that kind, and he has to perform them with a sympathetic but a resolute heart and a devoted will. Those are times of suffering and distress, and administration is then at best a thankless task. Fifty years ago, one who had himself held for some years the office of Governor of Bombay—one who was a shrewd observer of character and manners, and proved in every office he held one of the most sagacious and capable of British Indian administrators—I mean Sir John Malcolm—left it on record.

that the Governor of Bombay, whoever and whatever he be, must always be prepared to be assailed from some quarter or other. And it must be so when he has to govern in the midst of storms following one another in rapid succession. The Apostle has indeed said that we must be all things to all men. But that is a passage in the Apostle's teaching on which, I confess, I have stumbled whenever I have resorted to it with the object of grasping its exact practical meaning. But St. Paul himself was not able to be all things to all men—nay, the Great Master whom he followed, and whose Gospel he preached, has left us an example which shows that no good and lasting work is or can be done by those who model their lives on the principle of being all things to all men. What is required of a Governor during a period of public calamity and suffering is what Lord Curzon has rightly described as "courage and sympathy." And I claim for Lord Sandhurst this that he has proved both a courageous and sympathetic Governor. (Loud Applause.)

THE PLAGUE POLICY.

Let us take first of all the policy he has pursued in dealing with plague. Now, there are but two ways of testing that policy, *firstly*, by finding the principle which underlay that policy, and *secondly* by ascertaining the measure of success which it was possible and practicable to attain by means of it and which it did attain. As to the first branch of this subject, allow me to invite your careful attention to certain facts. The plague, as we all know, broke out in Bombay in September, 1896—at any rate, it was then and not till then that we came to know that the grim foe was in our midst. We also know that its discovery led to a great panic, when large numbers of people began to leave the City, and nearly everyone seemed on the point of losing his head. Counsellors, advising Lord Sandhurst's Government to do this and to do that, cropped up in large numbers. In fact, they seemed to increase like the plague bacilli at the time. Some were for burning down Bombay; some, again, wanted a military cordon to be placed round the City; others advised Lord Sandhurst to have either Kurrachoo or Surat as the headquarters of Government and leave Bombay to its fate. There were other counsels of the kind. But the cry uppermost at the time was that Government should take the plague administration of Bombay out of the hands of the Municipality and take it into its own hands. Lord Sandhurst, however, stood calm and

firm—he saw that it would not do to be rash and hasty and interfere with the powers and responsibilities of the Municipality. He could have, if he wished, played the autocrat in the midst of the crisis and the panic—but he set us all a worthy example of coolness of head on the occasion. He left the Municipality to do its best, and gave the Government House at Parel for the accommodation and treatment of plague patients.

THE PLAGUE COMMITTEE.

When after five or six months he saw that the plague not only continued unchecked but increased, and the trade of Bombay was being ruined ; that Europe had got nervous and was determined to put the trade of Bombay under a ban ; that the City had become one scene of desolation—he invited the Justices of the Peace to a meeting in the Town Hall, and requested them to co-operate with a Plague Committee which he had appointed with General Gatacre at its head. The Plague Committee, under General Gatacre, became a popular body—its work restored confidence, and when General Gatacre left these shores in June, 1897, he departed with the grateful encomiums of all classes of people. Finding that the Plague Committee of 1897 had proved a success, Lord Sandhurst left the administration of plague in 1898 to that body ; but the Committee of that year did not become popular—its methods and measures led to numberless complaints. There are hundreds of native gentlemen who can testify that Lord Sandhurst was then busy making enquiries about these complaints. He could not in fairness to the Committee set it aside at once and by a stroke of the pen without being fully satisfied that the complaints were true. The moment it was represented to Lord Sandhurst that the employment of soldiers was creating a great deal of irritation in the native community, he arranged for a conference of certain native gentlemen and the President of the Plague Committee, and as a result of that conference ordered the soldiers to be withdrawn. He then set himself to the task of inviting leading and representative native gentlemen to Government House with the view of ascertaining what the peoples' grievances were, and he had been in consultation with them arranging to remedy them before the riots broke out. (Hear, hear.)

AFTER THE RIOTS.

When, however, the riots broke out, there were people who

publicly said that Government should not yield an inch to popular clamour, because yielding under such circumstances was sure to be regarded as a sign of weakness. But Lord Sandhurst heeded not that advice. Had he acted upon that view and refused to remedy the grievances because there had been riots and some people had acted recklessly, he would have proved not a strong but an obstinate Governor—and obstinacy is never strength, it is perversity in administration. There is a story about the Duke of Wellington which affords an apt illustration of such perversity. When the Duke was Prime Minister of England, a deputation, of which the late Mr. Bright was a member, waited on him to urge the favourable consideration of a certain question on which the people felt strongly. The Duke heard the deputation rather coldly and warned them not to talk of people's feelings but to keep their heads on their shoulders. The deputation retired disappointed, but it was not long before that Duke had to see that it was he and not the deputation who had forgotten to keep his head on his shoulders. The great art of wise government lies in yielding wisely. And Lord Sandhurst who had before the riots been arranging in consultation with a large number of representative native gentlemen to remedy such of the grievances of the people as he was satisfied to be well-founded, invited many citizens of Bombay to the Town Hall, and there, with a candour and dignity worthy of his high office, publicly declared that in his opinion to yield when the people had a real grievance was a mark of strength, not of weakness. He established a Court to hear the people's complaints and remedy them; and he invited the citizens to form themselves into volunteers for the purpose of assisting the officials in combating the plague. This action of his was most heartily commended by all at the time.

SUCCESS OF THE POLICY.

Now, these are the facts—facts which prove this, that the principle which had underlain the policy of Lord Sandhurst in dealing with plague, had been to associate, as far as was practicable and expedient, the popular with the official element, without surrendering the responsibility which primarily lay on the latter of combating plague, saving the people and protecting the trade. Then let us examine the measure of success which that policy has attained. And when we speak of success we must remember that Lord Sandhurst had to deal with a calamity as to which neither

the Government nor the people had any experience by which to be guided. Moreover, it was a calamity which was certain to cause suffering and distress. Unqualified success it was impossible to command under the circumstances ; it was impossible to escape abuse and criticism altogether. He had, on the one hand, to obey the demands of the Venice Convention and to save the lives and protect the trade of Bombay ; and on the other to see that the stringency of the measures undertaken was, as far as possible, mitigated with due regard to the feelings of the people. In such times it is human for those who suffer to remember their sufferings, and in the face of that to forget or at least to underrate what is done to relieve them. But Lord Sandhurst has been the first to acknowledge the extraordinary amount of suffering through which the people have gone. And while we hear from here and there of official caprice and oppression, let us not forget this, that there are deeds of quiet heroism and sympathy on the part of officials which have gone unrecorded, but which are told in stirring tones by people who have witnessed them. I have in my tours in the mofussil now and then utilised my spare time to going amongst the people and hearing what they have to say of such deeds. In one place I was told by many poor people how an officer on plague duty cared for plague patients, and when one died and was deserted by all those about him, the officer carried the dead body for burial, and inspired the dead man's family with hope and courage. Yet, in another place, have I heard that the Plague Officer there used to visit the segregation camps with sweetmeats and fruits for the segregated, and spend his time with the children. I could say more of what I have heard on reliable testimony, but that would take me long. If to-day the trade of Bombay is not ruined ; if to-day we feel that plague is become an old friend of ours, and we care not for him, but leave him to himself and go about our business with calm and contented minds—it is all due to the fact that Lord Sandhurst has from the first preserved a cool head, a cheerful mind, unhesitating, unrelenting, and has never allowed panic to get the better of our judgments. Though plague is still with us, panic has become a thing of the past. Bombay lived and flourished, and Europe has not put us under a ban. That, I say, is evidence of the success which the policy I am speaking of has attained—more it could not have when we bear in mind the fact that plague is a foe which it is most difficult

to combat and extinguish. Lord Sandhurst spared not himself, he denied himself in visiting from time to time the centres of plague, and thus cheering the sufferers and infusing energy and confidence into those charged with the duty of combating plague. (Applause.)

THE FAMINE POLICY.

I now ask you to consider a little the famine policy of Lord Sandhurst's Government. That the famine administration of 1896-97 was creditable and praiseworthy is acknowledged by all. The native members of the Legislative Council endorsed that view heartily at a meeting of that Council held in August, 1897. But more eloquent testimony on that point is afforded by two undeniable facts. While the famine of 1876-77 resulted in the desertion and desolation of several villages, not a single village was deserted as a consequence of the famine of 1896-97. While nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of acres of land were relinquished as a consequence of the famine of 1876-77, scarcely any land was relinquished in consequence of the famine of 1896-97. Relief works were organised, gratuitous relief was administered, assistance was given to manial village officers, *talavi* advances amounting to over $30\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs were granted to *ryots*, loans were granted to them to provide themselves with cattle in a manner which can only be spoken of as liberal and splendid. These are facts which cannot be denied. His Excellency presided at a public meeting to collect funds for famine relief early in December 1896, and soon afterwards visited in the same month, and in the January following the famine-stricken districts. Not content with that single visit, he visited those districts for the second time in March, 1897, and had a consultation with the famine officers at Bijapur. (Hear, hear.)

ENERGY AND SYMPATHY.

He thus infused energy and sympathy into all who were charged with the duty of saving life and relieving distress, and the best proof, if proof were wanted, of the very favourable impression made by the famine administration of 1896-97 on the people's minds and hearts is what I heard from many poor people at Bijapur some time ago. I heard from a large number of them—they are untutored people—men in the street who can honestly open their hearts to you. I heard from them that when the famine officer of the district left the district, thousands of men and women and

children lined the streets and cried because he whom they considered their father and mother was leaving them, And that officer's name is now a household word in the district. That is only one instance of many—typical of the sympathetic manner in which famine relief was administered two years ago. And now that we are and have been for some months in the throes of famine, the same liberality and sympathy for the people that distinguished Lord Sandhurst's Government in 1896-97 is being shown. and what is particularly noticeable is this—that if you read the more thoughtful and carefully critical of the native papers, and follow that reading by a perusal of the resolutions of Government on famine, you will find that most of the suggestions made by the former have been taken up and carried out. Measures to afford relief to human beings and save cattle were taken as soon as it was felt that the rains had failed ; forest areas have been freely allowed to be utilised for saving cattle ; fodder is being supplied at rates within the reach of agriculturists ; special attention is being paid to hill tribes ; special officers have been employed to facilitate the grant of *talai* advances to the *ryots* ; advances are being liberally made for well-sinking ; and circle inspectors have been appointed to visit villages and find out whether every person needing relief has got it. (Applause.) So much for the famine administration of Lord Sandhurst's Government.

THE DECCAN EPISODES.

Now, there are, I know, certain incidents connected with that Government which none of us but deplores. It is one thing, however, to deplore them, and quite another to denounce those on whom was thrust a deplorable necessity. The conditions under which public criticism proceeds in this country do not invest it with the same responsibility as those under which it proceeds in Great Britain. Every critic is, however, bound to ask himself how he would have acted in the circumstances which called forth the action he is criticising. By tradition and training Lord Sandhurst was the last man to lend himself to restrictive measures. Perhaps nobody regrets the necessity for them more than His Lordship himself. And when we think of what is due from the State to the individual, we should not forget what the individual owes to the State. Some people are, however, so inveterately committed to an extreme view in this matter that they will not see that a juster and a more dis-

passionate view of it is not only possible but can be fairly taken—the view that while we may regret the necessity for the action that Lord Sandhurst, as the responsible head of the administration, had to take after fully weighing the force of the circumstances in which Government was placed—while we may sympathise with those on whom that action bore hard in their troubles, it is not fair, it is not just to condemn the Government that had a duty to perform.

A GOVERNOR WHO MANFULLY DID HIS DUTY.

I have already detained you longer than I intended, but now, in conclusion, I will say this that when the future historian of this Presidency comes to write on Lord Sandhurst's administration, bearing in mind the facts I have given, the difficult times he had to deal with, and the anxieties he had to pass through, he will speak and write of him as a Governor who did not flinch in the face of danger but manfully did his duty. He ever worked, never worried, and showed the Englishman's pluck and perseverance. Never sensitive to criticism, accessible to all, kind and genial, he has borne himself with a coolness of head and a cheerfulness of heart which has enabled him to preserve the name, the reputation, and the trade of Bombay. I will repeat what I said of him in another place and on another occasion some time ago—he has toiled and trusted among us, toiled faithfully and trusted wisely, and now that he is shortly to lay down the reins of office, we may fairly and justly say that he will carry with him to his native land the gratitude and admiration of all who have the welfare of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and India at heart. (Loud cheers.)

THE LATE MR. JUSTICE RANADE.

—.—.0.—.—

ADDRESS AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE
HINDU UNION CLUB, BOMBAY.

—.—0.—.—

(16th February, 1902.)

Mr. Justice Chandavarkar delivered the following speech:—

I should have declined the honour you have done me by choosing me for the address on this occasion, were it not for the fact that your secretary assured me that he had failed to secure the proper person for this anniversary celebration, and there was no time to get hold of another. He tried for Dr. Bhandarkar, but the learned Doctor's health, I understand, would not allow of his coming down to Bombay and giving us something which he, more than anyone else, could have said with the voice of authority about the late Mr. Justice Ranade. So much has been said and written about Ranade that I do not know there is anything left unsaid, and I have undertaken the duty with which you have charged me, only because to-day's function must be performed, though nothing remains to be said.

TWENTY-FOUR YEARS AGO.

My acquaintance with Ranade commenced nearly twenty-four years ago when I commenced to edit the English columns of an Anglo-Vernacular weekly. Telang was then supervising my work, and I did not know Ranade. He was at that time stationed as Subordinate Judge at Nasik, and I wrote to him, whether he would kindly assist me with his counsel, as he had been the first editor of the paper of which I had taken charge. His reply was at once cordial and counselling. He said he had been reading my articles and editorial notes and did not like their length for one thing. "Avoid" he said, "prolixity in your articles, and bestow more attention and energy on your editorial notes, because this is a busy age, and people have no time to read long articles. Let your editorial notes be short, terse, and crisp—let them be *parthian*

shots." Ranade's own style of writing was not one of parthian shots, but it was a style which kept pace with, or was born of, his powerful thought. It was a stately style, which had little of Anglo-Saxon English, but it arrested attention by his bold and brilliant generalizations, and his vigorous historic imagination. It is said that he owed his style to his early familiarity with Alison's "History of modern Europe."

A DILIGENT STUDENT.

Some of his contemporaries at Elphinstone College have told me that while he was preparing for M. A. he used to sit bare-headed on a bench in the College Library with his legs stretched on a table, and read aloud every day for hours together Alison's volumes. Sir Alexander Grant, the Principal of the College, hearing the noise peeped in one day to see who was reading aloud. He enquired of some of the students who the bare-headed student was who was sitting in that clumsy fashion and reading aloud. He was informed that it was Mahadev—that was the name by which Sir Alexander called him—and when the learned Principal saw that one of the students was running to tell Ranade about it, he checked him and said: "Don't interfere. Let him go on with his study." That habit of reading aloud stuck to Ranade throghnout his life, and I believe he was able to comprehend readily what he read when he read it aloud to himself. I used often to wonder whether he felt embarrassed on account of that habit when pleaders arguing before him cited to him cases he could not read them aloud to himself as he had another Judge sitting with him on the Bench. That he was not able to follow the cases cited under those circumstances became clear to those who practised before him. When he would retire into his chambers or to his house he would read, or have them read aloud, and once so read, he could get to the very heart of the cases. There is an advantage in this habit of reading aloud—it is not only the mind, but also the ears take in what you read, and the impression caused by the reading aloud is strengthened.

SYSTEMATIC STUDY.

Another intellectual habit of Ranade's was the systematic manner in which he made summaries of many of the books which, after, once reading, he considered valuable. It is that habit, I be-

lieve, which enabled him when he was on the High Court Bench to carry into his head the facts of the cases—a dozen or so—with which he had to deal almost every day. It was in important murder cases that his ready and powerful grasp of intricate facts showed itself at its best. A learned colleague of his on the High Court Bench, who retired some years ago, and who had sat for some years with Ranade and heard a large number of criminal appeals, wrote to me after Ranade's death that the latter has been of great assistance to him in dealing with several complicated murder cases. Another English friend, I remember, asked me how Ranade was able to carry into his head the facts of the cases he daily had argued before him. The fact is Ranade had trained his naturally talented mind by constant reading and systematic summarising to take in facts and arrange them in his head in their proper proportion and order. Mere talent cannot alone help a man to do that unless it is disciplined. There are men naturally talented, who, relying on their natural powers, give themselves to desultory reading. Like Falstaff, who thought that reading and writing came by nature, they suppose good thinking also comes by nature. Nature helps those who help themselves, and not unless we learn to discipline our minds, however powerful in her school. Ranade was naturally gifted, but he did more for his mind than Nature had done for him.

A PASSION FOR WORK.

His industry was prodigious—there was not a minute lost until it became a habit which he could not shake off. As he himself put it once to a friend who complimented him on his habit of industry, it had gone beyond a habit—it had, he said, become a vice and he could not contest it. He had trained himself to become a reader and thinker until reading and thinking became the sole passion of his life, and he felt it was injuring his health. That this passion for work did injure his health and weaken his naturally strong constitution and shorten his life must be admitted by all who knew him. He knew no recreation—reading or writing or thinking was his relaxation, if relaxation it could be called. He used to take long walks when he was in good health. I often met him on his long walks, but those were the walks of a musing, meditative man impervious to the delights of nature and natural scenery. The strong, stout body moved, but the mind within was engaged elsewhere—it communed with the soul within, whereas it

ought to have put itself easy during the walk, and moved in sympathy with the body. Two instances of this habit of his soul-communication now occur to me—I was once walking with him at Lanauli, in May, 1894, when, in the course of conversation, he referred to a telegram which had appeared in the papers about that time, and which stated that a number of villages had been destroyed by inundation. “How are we to explain this on the theory of Providence?” he asked. “What beneficent purpose are they meant to serve?” He stopped, and during the rest of the walk until his return to his residence he was silent, and apparently the question had so absorbed his mind that one could only look on and be silent in his company. Similar experience had another friend just two years ago. He and Ranade were walking together, when the latter said to the former —“The great poet Ramdas says in one place: ‘Preserve the religion of the Marathas.’ What could he have meant by the religion of the Marathas? What different religion have they from that of other Hindoos? Have you been able to understand what Ramdas meant?” His friend said: “No, I have not. I should like to know what you have understood by it.” The friend repeated his enquiry, but Ranade had fallen evidently into his meditative mood, and his companion had to give up the question which Ranade had himself started. Neither noise, nor bustle, nor company interfered with his industry. It is a common saying that he was accessible to all—anybody could go to him at any time. Anybody could go, but his work in hand went on all the same, whether the persons who came to see him were worth talking to, or bores. If they were of the former class, the work in hand would be laid aside, and he would talk; if the latter, he would go on with his work, but he would never tell them he had no time for them. He had only one way of getting rid of bores—if anything could be made of them, he would give them some work to do, and they would not see him again.

POWER OF CONCENTRATION.

I am not quite sure this habit of working in the midst of bustle and interruption is commendable. For good intellectual work the physical organism, especially the nervous system, must be in tone; but you cannot keep the nerves in good form while your mind is working amidst distraction. Ranade's power of concentration was great, and he could do his work whether he was alone or surrounded by visitors. His physique was also good, and he

could endure hard work with a long walk in the morning or evening to relieve him. But nature cannot be long trifled with, and he had to pay heavily before his time for the worry of his hard work. For one thing, that habit of easy accessibility, which in this country means that you must let every man choose his own time to see you, whether he has business or not with you, and that you must sit and gossip with him, talking with him his own time, is hardly favourable to sustained power of mental exertion. The mind must have its own solitary moments, and the mental worker has to work rigidly on the plan that a man is never less alone than when he is alone. We in this country have to know it and realise it. That, I think, was the one defect of Ranade's habit of hard work. It was not hard work which killed him—I think there is a great deal of truth in what eminent doctors have said—that hard work never kills. It is the worry of hard work that kills, and I am not surprised that Ranade did feel, after a day's hard work, worried when he had allowed himself to be interrupted daily in the midst of work and had failed to cultivate the habit of forgetting that he had an intellect during some portion of the day. The constant habit of meditation and the perpetual round of work done in the midst of distraction told on his physique, strong as it was—it exhausted the nervous system, and he died before his time. I wish to emphasise this point, because I have found many of our best men are yet children, who, I am afraid, have yet to learn in this respect. But a few years ago I visited at his house a distinguished Hindu, who occupied a very high office. He is still living—may he live long! If this catches his eye, he will, I am sure identify himself as the person of whom I am speaking. I visited him one day in the morning by appointment and he was then busy with his office work. I visited him again by appointment at seven in the evening, and I found him with a volume of Leslie Stephens in his hand, just getting ready to read it, with his children and servants making a noise all round. I saw his face—it bore marks of worry. As soon as I entered, he complained that he had been working the whole day and had just left his office business. "And now you are getting through that volume of Leslie Stephens?" I asked. "Yes, just to relieve my mind," was the answer. "And you are going to relieve your mind by reading that book which, I see, contains philosophical essays, when you are in the midst of your children and your servants who are moving all about and making a noise." "That can't be helped" he said; and

this great man sank into his chair as if he could not help these little things, though he was helping more mighty things—the business of a State. When some years after that I met him, he assured me he had improved his habit.

HIS GENTLENESS.

To return to Ranade, we all need to acquire his habit of ardent industry minus the defect which I have pointed out. To his industry was added the gentleness of his soul. Some, I know, have thought that he was too simple to discern character, and hence tolerated all whether they were good or bad. But it was not want of discernment, but the spirit of toleration, that led him to put up with boredom and fussiness at times. The little that was left him of his left eye saw more than we with two eyes could see—it could pierce into the depths of another man's soul and search and find. But he had a large heart, and sighed rather than fretted when he was in sight of weak, erring humanity, led astray. The fact is he had a historic imagination, which lived in as it were, and loved humanity at large, and men in units did not interest him so largely. That habit of his contributed a good deal to his popularity and influence, but it had its weak side. His spirit of toleration led him at times to make weak compromises which jeopardised principle. For instance, during the Consent Bill agitation, when the reactionaries howled, he wrote a letter to Mr. Justice Telang and Rao Bahadur Nulkar to put an end to the whole controversy by inducing Lord Lansdowne's Government to accept the period of consummation as the limit of law. That acceptance would have sacrificed the whole principle of the Bill, and both Telang and Nulkar refused to yield. The fact is Ranade carried the principle of expediency a little too far at times—the idea of displeasing anybody was too much for him, and he wanted all to unite and work together. That is an admirable quality in a leader, but there are occasions when that quality becomes a weakness if it is adhered to. The word has to be spoken, even if it displeases—one has to take one's stand on the firm ground of principle, yielding when the principle is not violated. Ranade, however, shared in that respect what is the weakness of us all in this country. But if he erred, he erred because his soul was gentle, his heart charitable. Such little defects as I have referred to make him all the dearer to us—it is they which he shared with us, but in every other respect—whether in his work or his virtue—he

stood head and shoulders above us all. And it is the character of the man—unspotted, pure, simple—that adorned his intellect—it gave beauty to his soul—not to his soul only, but to his face. I have heard some say it was not a prepossessing face. But I venture to think that those who say so have no sense of true beauty. The soul within animated the face without—when he was quiet you read contemplation in the face—when he rose to speak on some subject dear to his heart, you saw “the man’s soul spring to his face”—and then, yes then, no face could be more beautiful. And what life there was on the face even after death! It bore then the mark of gentleness. Death had done its work, but it could not take away his Faith, Charity and Love, which brightened it even when the corpse was laid on the funeral pyre. Purity shone on him, gave life and beauty to his face, even after death, because the soul within had before death—throughout his life—been pure. It was the character within that gave beauty to the face without. And it was character, added to intellect, that made the man mighty among us and enabled him to live a life of well-doing. I must now bring these discursive remarks to a close. Ranade has left millions of admirers in this country. But the question remains—how many has he left as his followers? I dare not answer that question.

IDEALS OF WOMANHOOD.

(27th March, 1904.)

[A lecture in connection with the Bombay Ladies' Branch of the National Indian Association was delivered on Thursday, at Mr. Narotumdas Morarji's Shanti Bhavan, Peddar Road by Mr. N. G. Chandavarkar on the subject of "The Ideals of Womanhood as represented by the Poets.]

Mr. Justice Chandavarkar said :—The subject 'of ideals of womanhood' according to some poets on which it is proposed to offer some remarks is not intended to be dealt with here exhaustively. The object is only to make the remarks suggestive in the hope that they may form an incentive to study and action. In his Essay on Shakespeare De Quency says :—"To have been the mother of Shakespeare—how august a title to the reverence of infinite generations and of centuries beyond the vision of prophecy," and then he refers to what he calls "a plausible hypothesis" started in his days that "the facial structure and the intellectual conformation may be deduced more frequently from the corresponding characteristics in the mother than in the father." "In the most eminent men," he says, "when we had the means of pursuing the investigation, the mother has been more frequently repeated and reproduced than the father and where the mother has furnished all the intellect and the father all the moral sensibility." Scientifically, how far this theory can be proved it is difficult to say ; but it is significant that all great and good biographers love to tell how their great men had great mothers and how much they inherited from and owed to the latter. It is also remarkable that there are numbers of celebrities who have acknowledged that they owed a great deal more to their mothers than to their fathers, for instance, Goethe, Schiller, the Schlegels, Victor Hugo, Canning, Brougham, George Selwyn, Curran. The last of these Curran, is in fact complimentary to his mother at the expense of his father. He says :—"The only inheritance that I could boast of from my poor father was the scanty one of an unattractive face and person like his own ; and if the world has never attributed to me some-

thing more valuable than face or person or than early wealth, it was that another and dearer parent gave her child a fortune from the treasure of her own mind." It may be that the opinions of these great men were prejudiced or in that case it was an accident that the mother had all the talent and the father none to give out of it to the child. But if the theory which De Quinecy speaks as a "plausible hypothesis," is a fiction, it must be owned that it is a pious fiction which represents the mistaken image of a great truth, and that truth has found its best expression in the Writings of some of the well-known writers of the present times on Political Economy that the real and substantial wealth of a country is its 'motherhood or rather womanhood.' Every country that has become great or is great has its ideals which inspire it; and we have the authority of the Bible that the ideals germinate, perhaps unseen in woman. That I think, is the depth of meaning contained in that passage in the Bible—a passage which on a hurried reading we were apt to pass by as rhetorical and no more, which says:—"The daughter shall prophesy; the young men shall see visions." If 'womanhood is wealth,' if on it rests the greatness or smallness of a people, it is important to know its highest ideal, in other words, the best function or service it is capable of performing to the people. Now, to get at that ideal, we must go to the real 'Idealist,' who are the poets. For what is poetry? It is not so much, as Matthew Arnold said, the criticism of a life as a revelation of life. "Let me have the writing of the people's songs and I care not who have the making of their laws" was said of old and said truly. To the ancient Hindoo, poetry was the first expression of the Divine in the shape of the Vedas; to the Jew it was the yearning for the land of promise; to the Englishman it was liberty; to the ancient Roman, poetry was the embodiment of his ideal—justice, glory, and valour; to the ancient Greek it was the enjoyment and end of life itself; poetry is the spirit of Christ's teaching and the prophets of the Old Testament were all poets. According to Carlyle the Poet as Hero comes after God and the Prophet as Hero.

THE POETIC SPIRIT—ITS VISIONS.

If it is true, according to Bhagavat Gita or the Divine Song of Shri Krishna, that the self-restrained man sees light where ordinary men see darkness and that the sage regards that as night which average men call day, it is the poetic spirit of the self-rest

trained man and the sage which enables them to penetrate into the mystery of life, to discover its hidden realities and reveal to us the law of all laws, that a "Power is with us in the night, that made the darkness and the light, and dwells not in the light alone." The poet sees visions and those visions are our life. To the thoughtless his visions are "airy things" but the fact that "dumb yearnings, hidden appetites are ours, and they must have their food," and that those whom "a philosophy" is apt to call "dreamers," "forgers of daring tales, imposters, drivellers, and dotards" have roused man to heroism, and pleaded with success the cause of right, shows that it is the Poet who more than any one else lets us into the secret of life and awakens man to the Divine side of things, teaching us to bear witness to the beauty that clothes the outer world. It is the Poet who saw a world in a grain of sand and heaven in a wild flower before science discovered that the Poet was right. And what has the Poet seen in 'woman'? The modern idea of political economists like Mr. Marshall that 'motherhood' or 'womanhood' is the best wealth of a country is not modern—it is as old as Shakespeare at least. Our commentator of Shakespeare says that "if Shakespeare ventured upon any generalization, it was perhaps this—that the natures of women are usually made up of fewer elements than those of men, but those elements are ordinarily in juster poise, more fully organised, more coherent and compact; and that consequently prompt and efficient action is more a woman's gift than a man's." But it is not mere promptitude and efficiency in action that Shakespeare delights to portray in his woman character. To him

WOMAN IS A HERO—NOT A MAN.

This has led Ruskin to remark that "Shakespeare has no heroes; he has only heroines. The catastrophe of every play is caused always by the folly or fault of a man; the redemption, if there be any is by the virtue and wisdom of a woman; failing that there is none." How is it with Scott? For Scott had very much Shakespeare before him as his model in the delineation of his characters. According to Ruskin, it is the same with Scott—as with Shakespeare; so, with also him where men touch the ideal of heroism the ideal fails by reason of "an uncultivated or mistakenly applied intellectual power," while in the case of woman we have the angel who watches over, teaches and guides the man. The only difference between Shakespeare's ideal of wo-

manhood and Scott's is that the former represented types of woman, the latter only persons. But all the same the ideal of heroism exerted generally in the cause of right. The ideal of Shakespeare's fades when we come to Milton, whose "majesty" was of the austere Puritan type and rose no higher in the respect of woman than that she was more for the kitchen than for the growth, moral and spiritual, of man. That Milton, the apostle of Liberty, high-souled, high-minded, should have failed to rise to the height of Shakespeare in his perception of ideal womanhood seems strange and seems to justify Johnson's cynical remark of him that those who clamour for liberty are the least to give it. But Milton wrote of the fall of Adam through Eve; his own domestic experiences were not of the best; and, as has been said, he is one of the few English poets who have sung of Love. As a critic justly observes, he knew human nature only in the gross; Heaven, Hell and the Earth were his themes; and while Heaven and Hell formed an Oriental despotism, the Earth was divided in two halves of the human race—one half of which consisting of females, is an allusion to which the other half, the males, are subject. Hence, Milton's ideal of womanhood is—Man for God only, Woman for God in Man. Eve is made to say to Adam—"God is thy law; though mine. To know no more is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise."

THE POET'S IDEAL.

We must get some of the modern poets for an insight into Shakespeare's ideal of womanhood. It finds its happiest expression in Wordsworth. There is only one passage if I am right, where the poet speaks of his wife, but it is soul-inspiring—where he says of her "She came, no more a phantom to adorn. A moment but an inmate of the heart, and yet a spirit, therefore so enshrined, to penetrate to the lofty and the low, even as one essence of pervading light, shines in the brightest of ten thousand stars." But we must go to Wordsworth's references to his sister to get an exact idea of his ideal of womanhood. The poet to whom Nature was everything, and man was something only because of Nature, whose ideals were all borrowed from Nature's scenery, and who mourned—rather unjustly as Mr. John Morley has pointed out—over "what man has made of man," was, however, able to see that woman was Mother Nature's ally—the guide to let man into the beauties of nature. In man the bodily eye in every stage of life, is

the most despotic of his senses, preventing him from seeing by the mind's eye the spiritual beauties and lessons of nature; not so in woman. In her case, her eye is not the mistress of her heart; her very presence breathes such a sweetness that "flowers and trees, and even the silent hills" delight to meet her. The ideal woman then according to Wordsworth, is one whose "common thoughts are piety; her life is gratitude." Tennyson strikes a similar note—the ideal man is he, according to him, who has "faith in womankind" and "trust in all things high comes easy to him and though he trip and fall, he shall not bind his soul with clay." And the ideal woman is she who, though not learned, is full of "gracious household ways"—who, though not perfect, is "full of tender wants"—though no angel is yet "a dearer being, all dipt in angel instincts, breathing paradise, Interpreter between the Gods and men." This delineation, whether in Wordsworth or Tennyson, does not perhaps make for the heroic in women. In Browning we see the heroic in woman, of which, according to Ruskin, Shakespeare is full, idealised. There in Browning, woman where she is good is all that Wordsworth and Tennyson represent, and something more—she is the propagator of life, the emblem of eternity, and man's immortality, a dynamic force, a saviour of men. When Pompilia's husband, who had maltreated her and cruelly wronged her, is about to be led to the execution, the very wife whom he had maltreated stands before his eye as the one whom he should cry for deliverance. He appeals to God, appeals to Christ, appeals to Mary, but finding no response appeals to Pompilia. To sum up, according to the poets I have spoken of woman is the genius presiding not only over the domesticities but also the humanities of life. To her is given the faculty to do the good and see the better; to see the better and to achieve it; to achieve it by worship, the worship consisting in constant action, and the action consisting in ceaseless aspiration. Say not, this is a mere dream—an exaggeration. The 19th century alone, to say nothing of other period, has witnessed the marvels of womanhood. To give but two examples that come easy, Miss Florence Nightingale—the heroine of the 19th century—our Queen-Empress Victoria—what a power they exercised over the human mind—what souls of goodness and greatness have they been. Truly did the Hindu law-giver in his best of moods—the poetic, not the lawyer's mood say. "Where the women are honoured, the gods are satisfied,"

GREATNESS OF SMALL MEN.

1905.

The following is the text of an address delivered by Mr. Justice Chandavarkar in connection with the 38th Anniversary of the Prarthana Samaj :—

SISTERS AND BRETHREN,—Since the last celebration of the Prarthana Samaj Anniversary two events of a mournful character have happened and caused profound regret not only among the theists of India but even among those who are outside the circle of the movement known in Calcutta as the Brahma Samaj and on this side as the Prarthana Samaj. The death of Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore is one which has caused an irreparable loss to the country in that it has deprived us of a life that was unique in its exhibition of saintliness, of devotion and purity of character, which I believe has not been excelled in the 19th century, at least so far as this country is concerned. Coming from a rich and respectable family in Bengal, well-known there for its position and its wealth, Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore devoted the whole of his life to the cause of religion and lived, so to say, a life of holiness and saintliness. He was in the world and yet he was out of the world. Devoting himself every morning, day and night, to pious and religious meditations, he lived in his house alone as it were with God, and yet, the purity of his example, the sacredness of his teachings and the earnestness of his devotion left an indelible mark not only upon those who used to meet him every day, not only upon those by whom he was surrounded, not only upon his followers but even upon thousands of his country-men who knew him only by name. He lived to an age which in this country or in any other country is rare. And what was marvellous about him was that, old though he was, still to the last he carried about him that strength, that moral earnestness, that faith in God which only saintliness and pure character can at all times command. His words were always words of wisdom. Never did anything petty, anything mean, cross his mind, or if it crossed his mind at all, no expression was given to it. (Hear, hear.) Among the trammels of life Maharshi Devendra Nath, of all men, seemed as it were to

stand in the midst of his countrymen distinguished for his piety and leading them by his example to live a life of purity and forget disputes and conflicts in silence and in strong devotion to God. And when you saw him you felt that here was one of the oldest of our men devoting himself to the cause of God, always living on a high plane of thought, sacrificing himself to all that was good and holy. (Cheers.) Who was there that did not feel that here was one man to whom we could point out with pride as one of our Maharshis, that in this materialistic age of ours God had spared one man to remind us that the age of the Rishis was not extinct? (Hear, hear.) The age in which such a man lived cannot be said to be degenerate after all. I had the privilege of seeing him in the Christmas of 1901. He was then bordering on nearly 90. Feeble, with his sight dim, physically infirm and almost deaf, there was still about him the irradiation of a noble presence—light shone in his eyes and his face as if God resided there. He received me with a sweetness that was impressive; it showed how piety is meek and affectionate. And he spoke words of wisdom that I shall never forget. In his presence, I could not but feel that I was in the presence of one who lived with God. He was not a great speaker. He never appeared on public platforms. But with him it was as the poet says, "The deepest power is usually silent." He was not a mere philosopher. It may be that his character and his piety have not yet gone home to the bosoms of all of us. The feeling of general regret at his loss I consider a healthy sign for the future of this country, that though the spirit of godliness which distinguished the Rishis of old is obscured among us yet it has not died out.

After Devendra Nath Tagore, has departed another man whose name will be remembered by this generation with respect. Bhai Pratap Chunder Muzumdar was also a religious man. He was a missionary of the Brahma Samaj, but he was cast in a different mould from that of Maharshi Devendra Nath. Devendra Nath was a man who spoke to us by the very depth of his meditation, while Pratap Chunder appeared before the public, as a missionary, who went here, there and everywhere. Though not as learned as Devendra Nath so deeply in the Hindoo Shastras, yet he had imbibed their spirit to be able to live on a high plane of thought. His lectures were always edifying, and by discipline he had developed into a saintly character. He suffered much in his

later days and he falt, I believe, a disappointment and discomfiture at times, but in spite of that, he, to the last, possessed the patient hope and the spirit of a missionary and to the last he clung to his convictions. The name of the country was dear to him, the name of Brahma Samaj was dearer to him but the name of God was dearest of all. And when we speak of these great men and think of their disappearance from amongst us, a spirit of despondency is apt to come over us. During the last decade, the Theistic movement like many other movements whether social, political, or religious, has been deprived of the services, guidance and light of several men whom we should have looked to as our lights had they been spared to us. I have been counting the names of those who are lost on this side of India. These names are not more than a dozen. Yet when I think of the high ideals by which they were inspired, I feel as if the right arm of this country and especially of this Presidency has been taken away. And one cannot but feel despondent at the thought that God has taken away from us those very men who led us, who guided us, and surely, if they had been spared would have led and guided us, the more so by their experience and purity of character which would have been of the highest value to their countrymen. (Cheers.) But a little more reflection—and we feel that, after all, it is not right to feel despondent. Is it right to complain that God has been so unjust and ungenerous in that he has deprived us of these greatmen? When I think of those men and especially of those with whom I was brought into immediate contact, speaking for myself, I feel as if everything has lost its charm. The company of those men which I used to seek is gone, and I ask : who are there to whom I can go and by whom can I be inspired ? The feeling is natural and to some extent just. But it is not just altogether and rightly considered what seems a loss presents itself as a lesson for our own discipline. Great men are produced by God when he wants them to live amongst us. When we complain that God has taken so many from amongst us and deprived us of their leading, let us remember that the great man if he was of great help is apt to become at times an encumbrance, a hindrance, if we did not rightly understand his mission as also ours. Always have a great man to guide, with his purity exoelling yours, with his thoughts higher than your own, and you are apt to be dependent upon him. If you look upon

him as your leader and you as his follower, you are apt to suppose that after all your business is, not to think of the greatness that is in you, but to think of the greatness that is among the great men about you. You think great men have come into the world for you and think that great ideas are for those great men. You are made to rise equal to the occasion, to be inspired by great thoughts only when those thoughts come from great men. Or when you are always led by a great man you are likely to lose sight of the fact, that small as you are, though your greatness may not be visible, there is the germ of greatness in you, as a great man has his own. It is true that he stands on a plane higher than your own. At the same time let us not forget when we are worshipping a great man that we have, each of us, also a soul of greatness and goodness about him, if he will only look into himself. (Hear, hear.) This world can go on by us, by you and me. We are the bulk of the world and God has not been so ungenerous as to leave us entirely at the mercy of the great man. The world has to be carried on by average men. But we live in an age when the sight of things external to ourselves is apt to distract our minds; with the result that, while we are for reforms, political, social, religious and industrial, we have become so much environed by words, names, interests and parties that we think of the cause of our country, of movements, and all the while we forget ourselves. We think of our country we want to improve, we think of the religion we want to patronize and in the midst of this din of names, causes, and creeds, we are apt to forget that after all the man who thinks of his cause, of his country, of so many movements is lost to himself, lost to the consciousness of all greatness, which if developed will perforce bring about the progress of all movements and of all causes. I have already said that the laws by which a great man is born and made are not our own. He moves on a higher plane. But we do not know why a great man is taken away and the world left barren. It is we who have to carry on its business. Let us see that we get planted in us those powers by the development of which we can do what lies in our power in order to make the world move onwards, and towards the goal which we have all at heart. It is the fashion among us in this country to neglect the individual. We look at masses and say that strength of numbers can advance a cause. We forget what can be done by even an average individual. We for-

get that after all progress must move from the centre to the circumference and the centre is the average individual. We speak of the individual as unit, as a small thing. All great things are discerned by means of small. Or as Aristotle, says, "the greatness of great things is seen by its smallest portions."

Those of us who have read Plato's dialogues, must have been struck with the way in which he draws his illustrations of great principles from commonplace or trifling things. Socrates is made to illustrate his arguments by means of frogs, butchers, fishmongers, soup-ladles &c. For instance, discussing the question of beauty with one of his friends, Socrates first instanced the example of a fair virgin, then a fine horse, and lastly a glazed pot. There is a depth of meaning in such commonplace illustrations. Things in themselves trifling, contain the germs of greatness and from them by patient investigation of their nature we can learn the universality of principles and laws. Look at the ant spoken of by Shakespeare as a little thing with a mighty heart, an example and lesson to us all of industry, thrift, of patience and perseverance under difficulties. If it is so in the natural world, how much more should it be in the world of human life? Every individual has his soul of greatness and also of goodness if he will only discern and realise it. A great man, as we understand him, is born according to the laws of genius, but we, small men too, have our share of greatness. Wherein does that greatness consist? First in what may be termed the power of aspiration. In ordinary parlance it goes in the case of each of us by the name of the desire to "Get on." Is there a single man who has not this power of aspiration? Every one of us wishes to get on. Life means aspiration. This power of aspiration is supplemented by the power of achievement. The desire is to realize it as far as possible. And when what we aspire after has been realised, we are not contented. "Man never is but always to be blest," says the Poet. He sets his heart upon a thing, he works for it and when he has got what he worked for, he is not happy but he hopes for more. What is the meaning of this natural yearning for more—this longing for more than we have achieved? Why is this spirit of hopefulness implanted in man? "We are saved," says St. Paul "by hope; but hope that is seen is not hope; for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for?" Religious men have drawn from this power of hope the lesson that the human spirit is immortal—that the race of life is

run with a longing for something which draws us higher and higher. This is a wonderful power which we all possess and the value of which becomes manifest, according as we try to use it for beneficent and noble purposes. That is not all. When we read a fine passage from Shakespeare or from Milton, or when we listen to one of the grand passages in which Christ discourses on life and love, or when we read one of the edifying passages in the Bhagwatgita or a hymn of Tukaram, we feel elevated into a being of sublimity. It has been said that the man who does not know the charm of music is dead to the spirit of humanity. Is there a man who does not feel lifted up into a higher being when a passage, grand, attractive and full of magnificent thoughts is read before him? When we hear such a passage do we not feel as if the smallness in us is banished? When Tukaram or Milton is cited before us, we swell as it were to the gigantic proportions of Tukaram or Milton. It is said that when Gladstone delivered one of his speeches at Liverpool on the Reform Bill in 1866 thousands of people who had gathered to hear him rose to a man and applauded. Why do men dance on the lips of great orators? Even more marked and striking is the effect when the hymn of a saint or the character of a saint is described to us. We feel elevated, we lose all consciousness of our physical being. Whence this power? Why is it implanted in you and me. Why does it lift us up? O call it human weakness if you like, but that will not explain it away. There it is, more solid than your body, more solid than the food you eat. Noble thoughts nobly expressed inspire us in spite of our weakness, and the world that you see is not enough to contain your feelings. You feel as if you are in the presence of some higher being the depth of which you cannot realise. We may not be able to write dramas like Shakespeare, poems like Milton, hymns like Tukaram, but we have in us a great thing, viz. the power to be inspired. There is yet another power. When we are tired and jaded by over-work or anxiety, we go into the open air and we feel refreshed. We inhale nature's balm and the feeling of ennui disappears. In that mood of mind when under the canopy of nature we are refreshed, if we examine the scenery around us, we drink in more delight. Look at the sky and the clouds fleeting before you, you see how mother Nature is alive, and the clouds in the sky before you are now white, now dark, now blue. Scenes flit before your eyes, as if all these are being

worked by Mother Nature for your delight. The poet calls this the feeling of beauty. But if you go on looking at Nature in this way then you have in you not merely the feeling of beauty but you ask yourself this question—why is it? What is it? Why is Nature performing all these tricks of beauty before you? The question is necessarily followed by the answer, that is so because there is something in you which draws all this to you and that between the world outside you and the heart inside you there is a feeling of correspondence. It is as if the natural world outside speaks to you in a language of symbols and as if your heart responds to it. Your heart and the human heart in the world outside are two parts of the same nature and although your own nature and the nature of the world outside appear to be different yet at the bottom of it all there is one spirit, one power which goes by the name of "the unity of existence." All things work together—the human heart and the world before it. Every human being then, however humble and small, with no pretensions to greatness, has then these five powers implanted in him—the power to aspire, to achieve, to hope, to be inspired and the power to realise the sense of Unity. And these are great, not small powers. Developed properly, they are fitted to bring out of each of us the germ of greatness and goodness that is in us all. We remain small, pass through life ignobly or uselessly and make a failure or wreck of existence because, though we all have these powers, we do not take care to develop them as they should be developed, to give them the right direction and enable them to regulate our lives. The question therefore is how are these powers to be developed? And in answering it, let me draw your attention to a few simple truths at the outset which can let us into the secret of the proper development of the powers I have mentioned. It is common to divide men, roughly speaking, into two classes—the selfish man and the unselfish. The selfish man is, it is said, actuated by his self. But it is forgotten that properly speaking there is no such thing as self by which we are actuated. Take a miser who will not part with his money. He feels happy by always looking at his treasure. He will starve rather than spend. Do you think that he is selfish? Take a drunkard who has completely given himself to drink. He does not live for himself. Whether it is the miser or the vicious man, both stand on one pedestal. The miser has surrendered his self to his money, the vicious man to his vice,

the virtuous man to his virtue. To live is to go out of ourselves and give ourselves up to something outside of us. Life is thus a paradox. In other words, the way of life is by, what Emerson calls, "abandonment." There is some object, some ruling passion which engrosses us and by means of which in spite of ourselves we are ruled. And so it may be said that life in all of us, great or small, is ruled by the principle of abandonment or *Bhakti*. With a drunkard who seeks his elevation in a wine glass, the principle of life is his abandonment to wine; with the vicious man to vice, with the virtuous man, virtue. All of us are ruled then in life not by the *self*, but by this principle of surrender. If that is so, then to make life great so far as we can make it, to make it useful, we must abandon ourselves to the best and the highest ideal we can think of and cherish. Hence our saints preached the doctrine of *Bhakti*. Hence did Christ say, in order to find your life, you must lose it. Surrender yourself to God, who is the highest and the best we can think of, and by means of that regulate your power of aspiration, achievement, hope, inspiration and beauty and then you can find how great and good you can be. When Christ says, "Come unto me, oh heavy-laden, for my burden is light;" when Shri Krishna says, "Those who come unto me find their salvation," we feel as if it has a spell which we cannot grasp, but after all it embodies in itself the substance of the real philosophy of life, nay, it contains all life. You must surrender yourself to God. Takaram speaks of this as *समर्पण* and *समर्पण* is really the law of life. It plays its part whether we will or not. Every man, good or bad goes *समर्पण* to something. But real *समर्पण* consists in surrendering ourselves to the *Highest*. Even science has now made the discovery that this is a potent truth. In his interesting and instructive work on "The Varieties of Religious Experiences," Prof. James, the eminent American psychologist, dwells upon the hygienic value of this self-surrender to God of which I am speaking. He calls it "The religion of healthy-mindedness" and quotes letters from a number of his correspondents in support of the theory that in "Just the degree in which you realise your oneness with the infinite spirit you will exchange disease for ease, inharmony for harmony, suffering and pain for abounding health and strength." Of numerous testimonies he has, he refers to that of a lady who was suffering from nervous prostration, who had tried many doctors but had fail-

ed to benefit from their cures. She was at last advised by a friend to surrender herself to the Providence of God and put implicit trust in His omnipotence. She followed the advice and not long after she found herself transformed as it were into a new being ! Such was the power of faith so splendid the results which self-surrender achieved. Dr. Schofield who has written on "Nerves in order" and "Nerves in disorder" maintains the same, and recently he drew attention to the hygienic value of prayer. One of his correspondents cited by Prof. James speaking of the change from disease and nervous prostration to health and strength which a life of self-surrender to God had wrought in her, says — "I have come to disregard the meaning of this attitude for bodily health *as such* because that comes of itself as an incidental result" And Prof. James concluded — "Every man owns indefeasibly this inlet into the divine," and "the great point in the conduct of life is to get the heavenly forces on one's side by opening one's own mind to their influx." Devote yourself to God, forget yourself, so to say, in trust in Him and you will see difficulties and troubles lose all fearful aspect and your powers, however small you are, lead you on. "A man," said Oliver Cromwell, "never rises so high as when he knows not whether he is going." It is a common and well-known truth that if we wish to become efficient in anything, we must concentrate all our energies upon it. That is only another way of saying that we must surrender ourselves to it. The student who wishes to master a book or subject, the worker who wishes to rise high in his work must, to attain the desired end, devote himself to his object with single-heartedness. He must make it, so to say, the object of his being. So also as to life. If in life we are to become great and good, we must forget ourselves and run the race by resigning ourselves to God. Then the world brings to us a high meaning, our powers of aspiration, achievement, proper inspiration and unity take their due from God because He is the highest, and mentally, physically and morally we rise to divinity which is strength. Duty then becomes more than a mere name and word; and we are able to acquit ourselves nobly in the discharge of it. The great mistake we are apt to commit is to narrow our grooves of thought and circumscribe the limit of our inner lives. We begin by making some *particular* our ideal and train ourselves to look at every thing in life from the point of view of that particular. But national

greatness and goodness require high ideals and a noble pursuit of them; and all high ideals are included in the Highest and it is by means of trust in that, surrender to it, that we can realise all high ideals.

INDIA OF THE FUTURE.

TRUE NATIONALITY.

(*The Times of India, Monday, Novem. 2, 1908.*)

The resolution recently issued by the Government of Bombay on the subject of discipline in our schools has indeed been subjected to criticism in the Press, but it has not received that close attention and consideration which the importance of the subject demands. That want of proper discipline in our schools and colleges has become a crying evil of the day seems to be conceded in almost all quarters; that the evil calls for the application of a remedy would appear to be the opinion of all who have bestowed serious thought on the question. But even those who admit all this and are inclined to regard the Government resolution with sympathy are sceptical as to any practical good likely to come out of it. On the other hand there are some who look upon the resolution with suspicion as part of what they call a studied policy of repression which they suppose the Government is pursuing and which, in their view, will have no other effect than turning the young men attending schools into so many slaves.

I need hardly say that neither of these attitudes is commendable, and the question with which the resolution deals is too important to be brushed aside with mere negative or superficial criticism.

The most important point which at the outset attracts notice in the resolution is the mode of and the emphasis laid upon the relations which in times of old existed between the "Guru" (teacher) and his pupil. The pupil was taught to look upon his teacher with the same reverence and love that was due to his parents, and implicit obedience was required on the part of the pupil as the first essential condition of the existence and continuance of those relations. The spirit of obedience, however, was roused not by fear of the teacher so much as by love and that love was awakened by the idea incessantly installed into the mind of the pupil that he and his teacher formed a kind of partnership in which the teacher was

indeed the predominant partner, but with the interests more or less identical, and requiring therefore, in the intercourse between the two, mutual good feeling. It was to emphasise this point and keep the idea growing out of it ever before the eyes of both that they were required to chant together daily a hymn, invoking God to protect them both, to give them both to enjoy, to enable them both to attain efficiency and to make their study, not the study of the pupil singled out—effective. And that hymn concluded with the prayer : “Hate may we not (each other) at all ”

THE EARLY EDUCATIONISTS

I call attention at the outset to this because when in the thirties of the last century the East India Company took in hand the subject of education in this Presidency and organised a Board of Education. one of the first questions to which the Board applied itself was the education of a number of young men who could, on finishing it, be efficient schoolmasters. One of the first fruits of the Board's work was Prof. Bal Shastri Jambhekar, who, after he had finished his career in the Elphinstone Institution, was appointed Assistant Professor of Mathematics, History, and English Literature and also entrusted with the task of bringing up a number of young men who could be sent out into the mofussil to take up the work of school-masters. Bal Shastri, as the records of that period testify, was a highly talented man. He was an able English scholar ; he was an excellent mathematician ; he was a devoted student of Sanskrit, he knew Latin very well and the earlier records of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society show that he loved and contributed to antiquarian research. But, above all, he was a born teacher of young men. He got the Board of Education to establish a Normal School in Bombay in 1845 ; and he himself selected and brought to Bombay about 40 students for the school from the different parts of the Presidency, Gujarathis, Deccanis and Kanarese. He lived with them and superintended their education in the house hired in Kalbadevi. I have it on the authority of some of those who were his pupils that, himself versed in the Shastras, his ideal of education was the Hindu ideal which I have sketched above and to which the Government resolution under notice has briefly called attention. He strove both by example and precept to instil that ideal into the minds of those whom he was commissioned to prepare for the profession of school-master. Bal Shastri, however, died at the comparatively young age of 35 ;

and with him the fulfilment of the ideal lost ground. As the Board pointed out some years after his death in one of their reports, schoolmasters were selected without any regard to their qualifications for teaching, and the idea prevailed that anybody could be a school-master. To quote the words of the Board "it became every year more apparent that if our system was to prove beneficial by developing the intellectual faculties, by disciplining the moral powers, and by cultivating a sound judgment—without which education is scarcely worth the name—minds better disciplined and better stored than those of many of our existing teachers must be brought to bear upon our schools."

THE REAL "GURUS."

It was not long, however, before this want was supplied. Several of the young men trained under such Professors as Harkness, Patton, and Reid in the Elphinstone Institution, and Major Candy in the Poona College, adopted the educational branch; and they were men of grit, learned and disciplined, who loved the profession of teaching. It was a distinct gain to the Educational Department that our high schools were manned in those days by such men, as for instance, Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, and the late Mr. Vaman Abaji Modak, and that our Anglo-vernacular schools had as headmasters men of the stamp of the late Mr. Vinayak Janardan Kirtane, his cousin Mr. Trimbak Narayan Kirtane, and the late Mr. Sivaram Bhikaji Jathar. These names I select as merely typical of the class of masters we had then. The credit of attracting such men by means of good pay and prospects to the Department was due to Mr. Howard, who was then Director of Public Instruction. And these men, both by their learning and character raised the profession of teachers in the mofussil to the dignity that was its due; they were stern and unbending in enforcing discipline among the young men entrusted to their care. They were real "Gurus" and public opinion regarded and respected them as such. In fact the headmaster of a school whether High or Anglo-vernacular, was looked upon in the mofussil by the public in those days with an importance greater than that of any Indian district officer. The reason was that Subordinate Judges, Mamlatdars, and the ploaders of those days were not men of general education and culture, so the headmaster of a school by his learning and his good life came to be invested in the popular mind with a certain amount of sanctity and exercised wholesome

influence not only over his pupils but also over his social surroundings. No parent of any pupil would venture to meddle if the head-master exercised rigorous control over the conduct of the pupil. Training under such men meant a discipline of the whole life—mind and morals.

THE EDUCATIONISTS' DECLINE.

This state of things did not last long. The old men without education and culture who had served Government as Subordinate Judges or Mamlatdars, or in other Departments were fast disappearing, and both the Judicial and the Revenue Service was being put on a new basis so as to attract educated Indians to them. The pleader's profession was also rising in importance and proving day by day more profitable owing to the steady increase of litigation and courts. It was not long before the two Services and the pleader's line began to prove attractive to most of our graduates. The Educational Department soon became more or less a perching place for many of them. They entered it and served there until they could pass the L.L.B. examination and become either Subordinate Judges or pleaders, or until they could get into the Revenue line as Mamlatdars or Deputy Collectors. This change in the aims and aspirations of our graduates could not but have an unfortunate effect, so far as the Educational Department was concerned. Neither the men who adhered to it after entrance into the Service, nor those who joined it temporarily with their ultimate aim directed towards other Service better in point of pay and prospects, could be expected to take a living interest in teaching, much less in discipline. The former envied the latter and felt disappointed; and what beneficial results could be expected of a service which came to consist of disappointed men on the one hand and birds of passage on the other? The school-master's work, no longer attracting, became a mere matter of dull routine; and our schools sunk into so many seminaries, established to drill young men in cram for the purpose of examinations, but with little or no attention paid to the regulation of their conduct and the disciplining of their lives. The true ideal of education, viz. that it means the building up of the whole character of a young man, physical, intellectual and moral, by subjecting him in the school to rules of order, obedience, and self-restraint, was more or less lost sight of; and instruction in schools came to mean what Mephistopheles in Goethe's Faust said

in his sarcastic way to the perplexed student who sought his advice, "It ought to be—the learning of words, not the idea."

GROWTH OF LATITUDINARIANISM.

This change which, I think, dates from about the year 1869 or 1870, was perhaps under the circumstances inevitable, and laxity of discipline in our schools of which we now complain so much may be said to have then begun. There were other circumstances which contributed to the laxity. The graduates who had previously entered the educational line and stuck to it because they loved the work had been men of some religious faith and spiritual aspirations; at any rate during the period of their own education they had not heard much of the new doctrines and principles of science and moral philosophy which began to unsettle many old but familiar notions of life and society just about the period I am now referring to. Ideas borrowed from Darwin, whose *Origin of Species* taught that man was descended from ape, and from Mill's utilitarian philosophy, which questioned the existence of God, were then in the air. Most of our graduates deduced from them—wrongly of course—views of life and life's problems more or less latitudinarian in their nature; and those were views which, in their practical application, were not calculated to prove favourable to a life of strict morals and discipline. No wonder that it was about this period that a writer in a Bombay paper, calling attention to the dead level to which instruction in our schools was about this time reduced, condemned it on the ground that "the business of the Educational Department had become formal teaching". The school master, generally speaking, rarely interested himself in how his pupils spent their time or how they behaved outside the class-room and beyond school-hours. It was a matter of no concern to him what ideas they imbibed or what habits they contracted, or what they read for the purpose of influencing the others.

Left thus more or less to himself, with no restraining influence in school or home to regulate his conduct or guide his taste, the young man of the period I am writing of fell gradually under the influence of oratory on the one hand and newspaper reading on the other.

ADVENT OF THE ORATOR.

Oratory in this Presidency was, I believe, an unknown art, until the great Brahmo leader, the late Bāhu Keshub Chunder

Son, whose power of magnificent eloquence is well-known, visited Bombay on his religious mission in 1867, and delivered lectures in the Town Hall which attracted crowded audiences, both European and Indian. That gave a stimulus to students in schools and colleges whose one great ambition was to learn to perorate. Passages from Macaulay and Bright, from Bolingbroke and Junius used to be committed to memory and recited in debating societies. Now, the art of public speaking has its uses and the orator has always been a force, beneficent or otherwise, to reckon with; and "in these days," the late Lord Salisbury remarked some years ago, "whether we like it or not, power is with the tongue. power is with those who can speak." But it is a power which must, like all powers, be carefully cultivated or else its uncontrolled cultivation cannot but have a demoralising influence on a young man, making a mere wind-bag of him, living on the breath of popular applause, caring more for wordy rhetoric than depth of thought and solidity of convictions. Of the period of which I am writing this was the case I passed as pupil through more than one school, both in Bombay and the mofussil, during that period, and I know it as a fact that young men took to oratory and newspaper-reading with much zest but without guidance or control. Those were times when the Times of India and the Bombay Gazette were the two leading daily papers of the day for this Presidency. The editorial columns of the former had passed just then from the hands of Mr. Robert Knight into those of Mr. Martin Wood, whose writings were models of calmness and dignity.

THE VITUPERATIVE JOURNALIST.

But to us young men calmness and dignity did not prove attractive. Young as we were, we wanted something "spicy" and sensational and personal. It was the Bombay Gazette which in those days received the attention and commanded the admiration of young students, because of the brilliant style of its leading articles in which vituperation, ridicule and raillery of opponents figured prominently. Mr. J. M. Maclean was both proprietor and editor of the Bombay Gazette then. He was an opponent of the aspirations and the rights claimed by the educated Indians; and he took delight from time to time in representing them as "a brood of vipers" and representing our College Professors as men paid liberal salaries by an unwise Government to spend six months of the year

in rearing "sedition-mongers" and the rest in doing nothing but idling away their time in long vacations. Known though he was as an enemy of Indians in general and educated Indians in particular his vituperative style gave a wide circulation to his paper, and young students read it with great interest. Mr. Maclean spared no one not even the highest Government officials, when he was opposed to them on some public question. The spirit of irreverence in which he wrote on some occasions of two of the Governors of his time—I mean Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Philip Wodehouse—almost bordered on rancour. The style of writing has become now, in the dailies of the day in this city, a thing of the past; but in old days it attracted and Mr. Maclean exercised a silent and unconscious influence over young students by his style of writing. To write like Mr. Maclean became their ambition—to talk and speak of everybody, whatever his position, in a vituperative style and with irreverence, became the hall-mark of independence. We are now talking of and deeply and justly regretting the licence of the Native press and its wild writings but, confining myself to this Presidency, I think it is no exaggeration to say that this wild writing is due to the training, so to say, in the school of some of the Englishmen who edited newspapers in the past. At any rate, I can vouch for this that Mr. Maclean's style supplied the model for the Native Editor by first catching the minds of our young students and teaching them, in a way, to go and write likewise.

THE SCHOOL OF IRREVERENCE.

This was the state of things then as regards our students—teachers with little or no love for the work of teaching and no settled ideas of discipline, instruction more in words than ideas and that for the purposes of examination, students left to shift for themselves as regards conduct, and devotees of wordy eloquence on the one hand and of Mr. Maclean's vituperative style of writing on the other, in which irreverence more or less played a prominent part. The soil was, as it were, favourable for a school preaching the gospel, if one may so call it, of irreverence, and such a school, born of the circumstances I have described, appeared on the scene in this Presidency in about the year 1878. I am now coming to deal with a period in the history of school discipline, which is replete with controversial topics and these I am anxious to avoid. But it is doing no injustice to the talented author

of the Nibandha Mala—the late Mr. Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar to say that he ranks in history as the founder of the cult which both by precept and example preached the so-called independence of spirit to young men and ridiculed notions of reverence on their part towards their elders. The learned Shastri possessed a fascinating Marathi style and I have always thought that so far as I could judge, it was Mr. Maclean's Bombay Gazette that must have inspired its formation. The critic's scorn, ridicule, and railery were there enough and to spare. No leader of the community of his time, great or small, escaped it. He delighted in denouncing them and the style caught, because of the strong element of personality and ridicule in it and also because his principles had an air of plausibility which appeared, to young and inexperienced minds in particular as equal to first principles. The Shastri had followers who on his death continued his mission through their leading organs in the Press. That school, as Dr. Mackichan once remarked by the way in the Senate of our University, came into being with "a message of its own." It formed and gave impetus to a certain style of writing in Marathi, which has been generally imitated. And one part of the message of that school was a protest against the subjection of young men in schools and colleges to discipline and their training in ideas of order and obedience. The leader of the school more than once took pleasure in proclaiming that the Hon'ble Mr. Selby, who was then Principal of the Deccan College, had no right to be called the Guru of his pupils and that these were entitled to set him at naught and disobey him. The teachers of the New English School and the Professors of the Fergusson College can tell better how the preaching of the cult of this school of irreverence has hampered their work.

MEN, NOT MEASURES.

This is how and where we stand on this subject of discipline in our schools and colleges. The evil is not of a few days' or years' growth, but has been brought about by a number of causes; and it is not a day too soon that the Government has taken the question in hand with a view to correct the mischief. The rules laid down in the resolution for the guidance of teachers must, generally speaking, be approved by all right-thinking men as sound. But this question of discipline is, of all questions, not so much of measures as of men. To maintain discipline of the right kind in our schools means that the masters who are to maintain it

must be themselves men of disciplined training—that is, not men who have somehow got into the school-master's profession because they could not get into any other, but men who have taken to it because they love it. I have no doubt that there are several such men at present amongst our school-masters. What is required to be emphasised is that care should always be taken to employ those only as teachers who have a special qualification for the work of teaching and disciplining young boys. The hostel system should be encouraged and supported, in every school, as far as possible, so as to enable the teachers and the taught to come in contact with each other outside the school-hours and foster a feeling of reverence and good feeling on the part of pupils towards teachers.

HEALTHY LOVE OF COUNTRY.

But, above all, and this is a point of special importance, every care should be taken to make it clear that in taking steps to enforce discipline in schools, Government are actuated not so much by motives of what some represent as self-interest—*viz.* the putting down of the spirit of sedition and the taming down of our young men into tools of blind submission—as by the object of fostering among our young men a spirit of healthy love of country and its institutions, a becoming, not wild, but self-respecting and reverent independence. Undoubtedly much of the spirit of what passes for patriotism among our young men is what Mr. Robert Buchannan some years ago in criticising Mr. Rudyard Kipling described as the “Hooligan spirit of patriotism.” But in condemning our young men and the grown-up men who have helped to foster that spirit let us not forget to ask ourselves whether the “Hooligan spirit of patriotism” which prevails in some countries and among some people in Europe, and which the late Lord Hobhouse denounced once as selfish because it had for its watch-word, “My country, right or wrong,” is not to some extent responsible for the similar spirit observed in India. “We are all members of one another,” said the great Apostle Paul and it is natural that with narrow and selfish ideas of patriotism which are in the air in European and other civilised countries caught on India and found conscious or unconscious imitators. That there is a growing love for the country and its institutions among our young men is a matter for congratulation rather than for blame. It shows the new spirit of regeneration which England's rule has awakened among us; and that could not but be. It should not and indeed it cannot be checked. This is

recognised by British statesmen. But the matter for deep regret and condemnation is that the spirit has taken a wrong—nay, mischievous form, and if not directed properly must prove suicidal. Our young men, with all their faults and their short-comings, have many a good point, prominent among which is their responsiveness to sincere interest in their welfare. I have heard this often acknowledged by two such eminent educationists as Dr. Selby and Dr. Mackichan. And yet if these young men have gone wrong, whose fault is it?

THE TRUE PATRIOTISM.

One main reason of the false and mischievous turn which this spirit of patriotism, good in itself but bad in its tendencies, has taken is that the doctrine has been in season and out of season dinned into their ears that patriotism or rather love of one's own country means hatred of other countries or rather foreigners. This has been said in so many words by some of the leading apostles of the cult of irreverence to which I have referred above. Young minds are impressionable and have readily swallowed that teaching as if it was sound in theory, necessary for the best interests of the country in practice, and historically true. These false notions of patriotism attracted the notice some fifteen years ago of several eminent educationists and publicists, chief among whom were Dr. William Wordsworth and the late Mr. Justice Telang. One way of meeting the mischief, they thought, was to diffuse correct notions of history and historical teaching. It was with that object that they got the Senate of our University to make history a compulsory subject in the examination for the degree of B. A.; their opinion was that in the present circumstances of the country and having regard to the transition period through which our society is passing and must pass with old notions and customs of the past struggling with the new spirit of the West—a sound and correct knowledge of history and historical teaching was absolutely necessary in the case of every young man. Before taking part in the University Senate in the discussion on the change which he and others who shared his view wished to introduce, Mr Telang had a long conversation with me and he drew my attention to what John Stuart Mill had said in his Essay on Coleridge on the teachings of history on the subject of nationality. The first of them is, "a system of education, beginning with infancy and continued through life, of which,

whatever else it might include, one main and necessary ingredient was restraining discipline"; the second condition of permanent political society has been found to be, says Mill, "the existence, in some form or other, of the feeling of allegiance or loyalty" that is "in all political societies, which have had a durable existence, there has been some fixed point, which wherever freedom of discussion was a recognised principle, it was of course lawful to contest in theory, but which no one could either fear or hope to see shaken in practice". This second condition, applied to India requires that we must accept the British Government as an accomplished fact, as the centre, or rather, to use Mill's word, the one "fundamental principle" of progress, which should not be shaken, because it forms the basis of all our hopes and aspirations. The third condition is that true nationality consists "in a principle of sympathy, not of hostility; of union, not of separation"—"a feeling of common interest among those who live under the same government and are contained within the same natural or historical boundaries." Enlarging upon this, Mill tells us that the true teaching of history is that it is a vulgar use of the term "nationality" to suppose that it consists in "a senseless antipathy to foreigners"; a cherishing of bad peculiarities because they are national; or a refusal to adopt what has been found good by other countries. There is no people in the world who, if the voice of history teaches us aright, has built itself up as a nation by practising the principle of hate rather than love. It is not my purpose here to enlarge upon this theme, but what I wish to point out is that if our young men are to be disabused of wrong and misdirected ideas of patriotism they should be thoroughly wellgrounded in the teachings and lessons of history. The teaching of it in our schools, and may I say, in our Colleges, has not been, I am afraid, what it ought to be. And H. E. Sir George Clarke will add to the valuable services he is rendering to the cause of education if he examines into this question of the teaching of history in our schools and Colleges and takes steps to make it what it ought to be. Not otherwise will it be easy to wean young minds from the unhealthy ideas of which they have been more or less victims during the last quarter of a century.

ADDRESS AT THE LAW SCHOOL, BOMBAY.

—'o'—

(2nd September, 1907.)

It has been a long standing complaint with regard to the Law School, the students of which I have now the honour of addressing, that nearly all of those who attend it, do so not for the purpose of closely following the lectures delivered by the Professors and benefiting from them but only with the object of putting in the terms required by the University for enabling them to appear for the examination for the degree of Bachelor of Laws. On the part of the students, on the other hand, it was till some years ago, at any rate, a standing grievance that generally speaking and barring certain exceptions the law lectures delivered in the School were dry and not sufficiently attractive and instructive. Whether there is truth or not in all this, the subject is one with which I do not propose to deal on the present occasion, especially because a Committee, appointed by Government, is just now considering whether any and what reforms are necessary to promote the efficiency of the Law School. I may permit myself to say this, however, that the Law School has now for its Principal a lawyer who takes keen interest in your studies and is himself a devoted student of Law. Now whatever reforms as to the School are ultimately adopted, the stimulus to a proper and careful study of Law must come for the greater part from the student himself. The Professors can and should only guide him in that study, arouse his real interest in the principles of the different branches of Law; but here as elsewhere it stands true that the student must get his inspiration for the study from his own efforts.

My purpose to-day is to give you a few hints for such inspiration in the study of Law. And first, let me draw your attention to the fact that according to the rules of the University no man can be admitted to the examination for the degree of Bachelor of Laws unless he has taken his degree of B. A. in Arts. The reason of that rule is that, generally speaking, no one can be an efficient lawyer unless he has what is called a sound general culture or liberal education. There are indeed instances of men who have won

success in the lawyer's profession without such culture or education ; but these are exceptions, not the rule. Now, this general culture is of great value to the lawyer, whether he is practising at the Bar or presiding at the Bench ; and it may be laid down as a sound maxim illustrated by general experience that no one can be an efficient lawyer whose light is derived from Law and Law alone. Hence is it that Samuel Taylor Coleridge advises a student of Law to be as close a student of Logic and Moral Philosophy as he is of Law. At nearly every step the lawyer has to deal with the law of evidence , and here in British India we have, thanks to Sir James Fitz-James Stephen, the Evidence Act, which has been admired as a Code on the subject, in all civilised countries. But I do not think that any one can master the principles underlying that Code unless one has at the same time mastered a book like, for instance Mill's "Logic" or the late Prof. Jevon's "Principles of Science." It is just 31 years since Mr. John Morley in a lecture on Popular Culture recommended as a necessary part of general education the study of one of these books side by side with an abridged edition of Smith's Leading Cases to cure laymen, who are not lawyers, of "bad mental habits," and the suggestion was taken up by the "Economist," which in accordance with it, pleaded for the establishment of a class where students, not meant for the profession of Law, might be instructed "in the principles on which evidence should be estimated, and the special errors to which, in common life, average minds are most liable."

SIDE-LIGHTS ON LAW.

If the layman stands in need of Law to help him to precision of thought, the law-student stands in equal need of light from subjects other than Law itself. Side-light is as valuable sometimes as direct light. In the intellectual field it is even more so. "The astronomer," it is said, "in search of a missing star, looks away from the field in which it lies, and by side-light it steals into his eye." And I do not wonder that a great lawyer like Sir Alexander Cockburn once Chief Justice of England, or Abraham Lincoln during the period of his practice at the Bar, spent his spare moments in the solution of problems in geometry. And striking testimony to the same effect comes from the late Lord Acton. In one of his letters recently published he observes, "Bentham acknowledged that he learned less from his own profession than from writers like Lennœus and Cullen ; and Brougham advised the stu-

dent of Law to begin with Dante. Liebeg described his Organic Chemistry as an application of ideas found in Mill's Logic, and a distinguished physician, not to be named lest he should overhear me read three books to enlarge his mind—Gibbon, Grote, and Mill." Perhaps the best illustration of what I am trying to impress upon your minds is to be found in Lord Macaulay and the Indian Penal Code, which is mainly his handiwork.

I have often thought that a study of that Code under a trained lawyer, whose heart is in his work and who has retained his hold on literature, might be made as interesting and amusing as the reading of a novel. I have heard some old graduates of the Madras University say that when Mr. J. D. Mayne lectured on the Code in the Law School, even the most careless student felt drawn and fascinated. But to be able to make the study of each section of the Penal Code attractive you must have a vivid imagination and a wide culture. Macaulay would not have been able to draft the Sections and append the illustrations to them if he had not a literary talent and a wide and vivid imagination which comes of it. Take, for instance, the definition of criminal force in Section 350 of the Code; and read illustration (a) to it. It is said that the illustration was suggested to Macaulay by some joke played upon him "while a studious undergraduate by the banks of the 'Cam.'" In the Penal Code as it was drafted by Macaulay there was an illustration to the section defining the offence of fabricating false evidence (Section 192) which has been omitted by the Legislature. It ran as follows.—

"A, after wounding a person with a knife, goes into the room where Z is sleeping, smears Z's clothes with blood, and lays the knife under Z's pillow, intending not only that suspicion may thereby be turned away from himself but also that Z may be convicted of voluntarily causing grievous hurt. A is liable to punishment as a fabricator of false evidence."

Those who have read Shakespeare's play of Macbeth will easily discern in this illustration the case of Lady Macbeth and the grooms. Take, again, the following illustration in the Penal Code of Section 299 which defines "culpable homicide". "A lays sticks and turf over a pit, with the intention of thereby causing death, or with the knowledge that death is likely thereby to be caused. Z believing the ground to be firm, treads on it, falls in, and is killed

A has committed the offence of voluntary culpable homicide." The illustration was borrowed by Macaulay from the story of "our old favourite, Jack the Giant Killer." Other illustrations to the like effect might be multiplied from the Code; but those given ought to be sufficient for the purpose I have in view here. That purpose is to impress upon your minds this that general culture is a valuable adjunct to legal training and that side by side with the study and practice of Law there ought to be the study of some object outside it to refresh and invigorate the mind. The legal habit has its disadvantages as it has advantages. For sound thinking, close reasoning, precision of thought, no study is so good as that of Law; but the lawyer's is a life of contention, and such a life is apt to narrow the mind if it is not corrected or rather guided and inspired by a higher life. We may not be able to agree with much of what Cardinal Newman tells us in his "Grammar of Assent"—a keenly analytical book that might have been written by an acutely legal mind; but I think there is truth in this at least which he says—that "objections and difficulties tell upon the mind; it may lose its elasticity and be unable to throw them off." It is true that by considering objections we often learn; but if we are not on our guard and cultivate the habit of considering them without a habit of decisiveness—of certitude as Cardinal Newman calls it—we shall fall into the error of the Judge, whose mind had been so accustomed to objections, that very often when he had to find on an issue of fact raised before him, he would record his finding, in these terms.—"I cannot decide one way or the other. My finding on the issue, therefore, is neither in the affirmative nor negative." And he had to be told by a Higher Court that he must find one way or the other.

Turning now to the study of Law itself there is a complaint coming from certain quarters that our Bachelors of Law are deficient in the knowledge of our Codes and Acts. I had a letter the other day from a highly valued friend of mine—an able lawyer himself. He writes: "The Mofussil Bar is not what it should be. I had once before me a will which had been drafted by an L.L. B. He had made a mess of it and the result was unnecessary litigation." And he gives other little instances. He complains that our L.L.B.s know more of English "legal estates," "equitable estates," "estates in fee simple" than of the provisions of our Watan Act, or Revenue Jurisdiction Act. And he goes on:—"There

are very few pleaders who are good cross-examiners. There is generally a lack of proportion observable in their arguments. They do not patiently and carefully study their case or even question their clients and sometimes there is a ludicrous discrepancy between the pleader's statements and the evidence of his client." I would not go so far as this. I know several, if not many, pleaders in the mofussil who are quite up to the mark, argue their cases and conduct cross-examination admirably. But if the rest are not like them, it cannot be because the legal talent is wanting. Some years ago when the distinguished scientist, Prof. Ramsay visited this country at the invitation of the late lamented Mr. J. N. Tata to advise the latter in the matter of his project of a Research Institute, one of his first enquiries was whether educated Indians had made successful Lawyers on the Bench, and having satisfied himself that they had, he said that in that case there was hope for the cause of Research in this country. The talent there is but must be properly developed and disciplined. Law must be learnt not crammed for the examinations. It is only by well-ordered drudgery that we can in any profession achieve success worth the name.

LAW IS A SCIENCE.

Remember at the outset that Law is a science, and like all science it comes to those only who work at it and for it methodically. The first thing a student of Law beginning his study has to do is to get his general point of view and to well and truly lay the foundation of a methodical, systematic habit of mind. And I know of no better way of doing it than, for instance, after you have passed your first L.L.B. examination in Jurisprudence and when you commence your course for the LL.B, to take up that excellent book of Broom's on Common Law and to read it through the first time twice so as to get a general idea of it; and then the third time to study it "with pen in hand." This study must be not merely of the book but of some, if not all, of the cases given as foot-notes. For every principle of Law given in the book read at least one case given in the foot notes. Do not merely read the decision in the case! Study also the arguments and the pleadings. See how the pleadings there were drawn. Carefully note what was alleged by one party; what was traversed by the other; what was found proved; and how on the facts established the Court founded its decision.

Do not merely read ; but make abstracts of what you read—of the pleadings, of the arguments, and of the decision. That, in my opinion, is the best way of studying the leading principles of Law and their application to facts. That is the way to get into the habit, so essential to a lawyer, of first ascertaining the facts and then finding the legal principle to be applied to. This method of work will be felt to be tedious at the beginning; at first you may not see the wisdom and advantage of it; but persevere in it if only for 6 months. The habit will become so natural that thereafter whatever subject of Law you take up to study you will be able to master it with greater ease. Industry and study of this kind pursued methodically if only for six months in a good Law Library is sure to lay the foundation of the systematic habit of mind I am speaking of. Having done that during the first six months, you may then take up the different subjects in Law to be studied for the examination.

But even then I would advise you not to neglect your Broom. When you are going through your L. L. B. course, an excellent plan is to set apart at least half an hour every day to his "Legal Maxims." Many good books on legal principles have been written since Broom's time; but I am orthodox and conservative enough to think that none are so simple, fascinating, and inspiring a study as his. It has often been a wonder to me that we do not study Broom's Legal Maxims so carefully as we ought to. Every leading principle of Law—in fact every principle of Law worth knowing—is there "imprisoned in a formula and packed into a nutshell," and I would advise you to make that book your constant companion in the study of Law. Before you start your day's legal studies, make it a rule to give half an hour to that book. Never mind whether you read out a few lines of it a day. The end to be aimed at is—learning Law so as to find a legal principle in the facts and ascertaining the facts so as to lead to a legal principle. That must become the habit of a lawyer's mind, and it can come of closely adhering to one master as our guide—of being in his company for at least half an hour every day.

PLAGUE OF MANUALS.

If our study of law is not pursued in some such methodical manner as I have indicated we are bound to fail to bring into our work as lawyers the truly legal habit of mind, when facts are pre-

sented. We are sure to get confused and not to know how to reduce chaos into order. The result is a habit of mental indolence which pursues us in our profession. Recently complaints have reached me from various quarters that certain so-called "manuals" on the different subjects of law, prepared and published by some gentlemen whose commercial enterprise I commend more than their sense or ability, are having a large sale among our students of Law and they are cramming them. Some, it is said, have managed to pass the L.L. B. Examination by a study of these manuals. This plague of "manuals" is your worst enemy. Avoid it; shun these manuals. They are as bad and deleterious as the remedies of quacks in Medicine.

I would specially warn you against what I call the indolent way of studying the Hindoo law. A student preparing for the L.L. B. degree must at present get most of his Hindu law from Mr. Mayne's "Hindu law and Usages" and that is a most admirable book. For clearness of language and arrangement of subject there is no other book that I am aware of which can be compared with it except the book on Hindu law by Mr Ghose of Calcutta, which I observe, has gone through a second edition. There is the excellent digest of Hindu law by Sir Raymond West and the late Dr. Buhler; but it is more a work of reference than study. To those of you who study for the examination no better books can be recommended than those of Mr. Mayne and of Mr Ghose. But to get to the heart of the subject, you must go to the original commentators or "Nibandhakars" as they are called, for, there it is that you get an insight into the leading principles of Hindu law. But what happens now is that having been fed so to say on Mayne's Hindu Law and the decided cases, we rely too much upon them and do not take the trouble to look into the "Nibhandakars" to help us in the solution of a new problem of Hindu law when it arises for adjudication. The most that is done is to turn to Colebrook's translation of a portion of the section on "Judicature," or either Boradale's or Rao Sahib Mandlik's translation of the Mayukha.

A new problem in Hindu law is not satisfactorily solved in that way. We are apt to think that what is called Hindu law is a bundle of texts, having none of those large coherent principles which are a sure index to details. So, given a new problem for

solution, we search for a text ; and if we find there is none, we conclude that the Hindu law is silent on the subject ; and we then turn to the last refuge of our Courts—the principles of English law applied to the problem according to justice, equity and good conscience. Of this let me give one or two illustrations. Some time ago the question came up for decision in one of our High Courts whether the birth of a posthumous son to a Hindu after the making of a will disposing of all his self-acquired properties has the effect of revoking the will. Both the learned Judges were agreed on one point—*viz*, that there was no provision of the Hindu law to guide them to a decision on it. And the ground of that view was that the ancient Hindu law-givers and their commentators did not recognise wills and that the testamentary power exercised by a Hindu now is the result of the decisions of British Courts in India. Accordingly one of the Judges decided that the will was revoked by the birth of a posthumous son to the Hindu and he based his conclusion on the principles of the Roman Law, and the certain dicta of Pothier and other French jurists. The other Judge decided that the will was not revoked and that for the reason that there was nothing in the Hindu law to revoke it.

Now, which of these two conclusions is correct I am not here concerned to say. But is it correct to say that the Hindu law is silent on the subject ? It is true that the testamentary power was not recognised by our ancient law-givers and their authoritative commentators. Not that they had no conception of such a power or of such a thing as a will. They did not recognise the power of a man to bequeath his property by a will, because they adhered to one of their first principles that a “dead man has no property,” that the moment a man dies, his property is gone, and it vests in his heir. Such a description as “the property of A deceased represented by B his son and heir” would have startled a Hindu jurist of the old times as a legal absurdity. According to him, a gift of one's property to another to take effect after the donor's death was no gift at all, because “at the time the gift takes effect,” neither before nor after the mind of the donor and the mind of the donee must concur, the donor must say either expressly or by implication. “This property is not mine ; it is yours,” and the donee must say “It is mine not yours.” In other words the act of giving and the act of receiving must be “physical, mental and verbal.” Such a thing is impossible when the donor is dead.

POWER OF WILL-MAKING.

Hence the Hindu law-givers excluded from their jurisprudence all idea of wills. But the Privy Council have recognised the power. And it is now established that the power of bequeathing property by a will is co-extensive with the power of giving it away in one's own lifetime. In other words, a Hindu can dispose of that by will which he can dispose of by way of gift. If that is so, the law of gifts must be applied in testing the validity of the exercise of the testamentary power by a Hindu. And both our Smriti writers and their commentators say in so many words that no Hindu can give away all his property if "he has issue" because, says Narada, "it is the duty of a man to beget sons, to perform the necessary ceremonies in their case and start them in life." This doctrine escapes our notice because it is not to be found in the portions of the *Mitakshara* published by Colebrooke, it is in the Chapter on Resumption of Gifts which is rarely read. Take, again, another case that may come before any of our Courts at any time. A Hindu father leaves his self-acquired property to his minor son and appoints a guardian by a will. Is such appointment valid under the Hindu law? If you confine your research to those portions of our commentators which are translated into English, you will conclude that the Hindu law is silent on the subject, but it is not silent. In the portion of the *Mitakshara* on Debts, which is not studied and referred to as often as it ought to be, we find a text cited, according to which a minor who has no parents is "independent." The question in such a case would be how far the text is operative, having regard to the current law of our courts as to a Hindu's testamentary power.

For obvious reasons I must refrain from pursuing the question further and committing myself to any view on it. But I am putting a hypothetical case before you to illustrate my point that to understand the Hindu law properly, to get an insight into the spirit for the purposes of practice at the Bar or adjudication on the Bench it is necessary that those of us who can know Sanskrit should read the whole of a Commentator's work, not merely the portions on "judicature" as it is called to which we generally confine ourselves. Such a work as the *Mitakshara*, for instance, is a most valuable and I will even say fascinating study—especially when it is supplemented by a perusal of the chaste and charming commentary of Madhavacharya on the Paravara's

Smriti. The latter commentary is written in such simple and yet lucid style that there should be no difficulty in the case of an ordinary student of Sanskrit to understand it ; and I have found it a valuable source of light in construing the *Mitakshara* or the *Mayukha*. For one thing, if you make up your mind to sit at the feet of Vijnaneshvara and learn your Hindu law, you will find how the mind of the Hindu jurist and of the English jurist are after all cast, generally speaking, in the same mould ; and how can one appreciate the other and say "East 'is' West and West 'is' East."

COURSE FOR THE STUDENT.

I am aware that when you are preparing for the LL.B. examination you cannot be expected to study the *Mitakshara* or the *Mayukha* in the original. But those of you who have studied Sanskrit ought not to neglect the advantage you have. And at least after you have passed your examination you ought to make a study of the whole work. Questions of Hindu law are discussed now in our Courts, discussed in a more or less fragmentary and discursive manner. The tendency is to lean too much on decided cases ; and I am not surprised that now and then decisions on Hindu law strike one as unsatisfactory. Here is a striking instance which came under my notice the other day. The question was whether, when a Hindu dies leaving two widows, who inherit his property as heirs, one of them is entitled to have her share partitioned off. The case came before a Subordinate Judge, a Hindu graduate who had taken Sanskrit for his B. A. degree. He decided that such a claim could not lie in this Presidency, which is governed by the *Mitakshara* law though it might lie according to the Bengal school of Hindu law, and he relied in support of his conclusion on a number of decisions of the Privy Council, all misapplied. The District Judge, an Englishman, naturally upheld him, apparently because the original decision was that of a Hindu Judge. Now, if the Subordinate Judge had only opened the *Mitakshara*, he would have found that in one short sentence Vijnaneshvara had in unmistakable and simple language answered the question and said that such a claim could lie. While on this point it has seemed to me that one essential reform to be effected in our Law School is the appointment of a competent "Shastri" to teach the *Mitakshara* and the *Mayukha*.

The race of "Shastris" who made the study of the "Dharma Shastra" their speciality and to whom one could turn for light on

any problem of Hindu law is, I am afraid, fast disappearing for want of encouragement : and we who ought to take their place and do better because of our culture and knowledge of general jurisprudence are neglecting the sources of Hindu Law. Such a state of things is very much to be deplored and very much to our discredit. Often I trouble to think what would have been the fate of the administration of Hindu Law in this Presidency if two of the best Judges that our High Court has known—Sir Michael Westropp and Sir Raymond West—had not conceived almost a passion for Hindu Law and taken pleasure in solving some of its most knotty problems. To them we owe it that we in this Presidency have been saved from the leaning of the Privy Council in the old days in favour of the doctrines of the Bengal school. And this healthy tradition originating from Sir Michael Westropp is now well and worthily sustained among us by our present Chief Justice, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, from whom the stimulus to approach and study the Hindu law in the right spirit and earnestly has come to not a few among us whether at the Bar or on the Bench. The Maratha school of Hindu law, headed by Vijnaneshwara and Nilakantha, the author of the *Vyavahara Mayukha*, is acknowledged by those competent to judge to be more liberal and virile than the school of Jimuta Vahana, and it is our duty to cultivate the *Mitakshara* and the *Mayukha* with care and make them the ground-work of our law, order and progress.

Finally bear in mind what a responsible and noble profession that of Law is. You are reading Law either to become practising lawyers or judges. In either case, you must have before you a high ideal of your duties. To such of you as learn Law to practise at the Bar I cannot give better advice than is contained in a judgment of Lord Blackburn, an honoured name among English Judges. There he says : " Mr. Kinealey has ventured to suggest that the retainer of Counsel in a cause simply implies the exercise of his power of argument and eloquence. But Counsel have far higher attributes, *viz.* the exercise of judgment and discretion on emergencies arising in the conduct of a case and a client is guided in the selection of his Counsel by his reputation for honor, skill, and discretion. Few Counsel, I hope, would accept a brief on the unworthy terms that he is simply to be the mouth-piece of his client." And such of you as aspire to the Bench, I would ask to bear in mind these words of Lord Hobart : " I commend the

Judge that seems fine and ingenious, so as to tend to right and equity; and I condemn them that either out of pleasure to show a subtle wit will destroy or out of incuriousness or negligence will not labour to support the act of the Law." But, above all, whether you are aiming at the Bar or the Bench, one absolute requisite is you must love "Law." Put your heart into it; for there is on more miserable and useless creature on earth than he who loves not his "wife" and his "work."

THE LEGAL HABIT OF MIND.

AT THE LAW SCHOOL, BOMBAY.

(Address delivered on 2nd September, 1909.)

Two years ago I had the honour of meeting you on an occasion similar to this and delivering an address on the study of Law. At the request of your learned Principal, Mr. Mulla, I had promised to address you last year but unforeseen difficulties came in the way. Mr. Mulla has urged me to redeem the promise this year, because it is his earnest wish that every year before you break up for the autumn vacation you ought to have an address which may enable you to look at the study of Law in its different branches, in which you are engaged, in its true perspective so as to form a proper conception of the dignity and duties of the legal profession for which you are preparing. I quite sympathise with Mr. Mulla's object and I appreciate it all the more because of the zealous interest which he takes in his work and the high standard of efficiency to which he has raised the Law School by his lectures. I believe I am right in saying that no ground for the complaint which we used to hear years ago about the lectures in the school now exists and that it was never so well manned in point of its professional staff as it is now. But after all in the study of Law what the professors can do for you must be little compared to what you ought to do for yourselves, if the study is to be of practical use after you have passed your examination for the degree of Bachelor of Laws and entered on the duties of the profession. When you are studying, your attention is engrossed in your preparation for the examination. Now, let me tell you at the outset that I am not one of those who are given to discounting unduly the value of examinations. Provided they are not too many, they afford the only practicable and therefore sensible means of testing the acquisition of knowledge and also character. In the two most interesting volumes of our late Queen Victoria's letters, I find Mr. Gladstone testified to the value of examinations in these words:—"Experi-

ence at the Universities and public schools of this country has shown that in a large majority of cases the test of open examination is also an effectual test of character, as, except in very remarkable cases, the previous industry and self-denial, which proficiency evinces, are rarely separated from general habits of virtue." But mark the words, industry and self-denial are necessary. Students in this country are found in the majority of cases to have this defect in the preparation for an examination that they idle away during the greater portion of the year and work at high pressure when the period of examination is fast approaching. Examinations, it is said encourage cram. But there again we must take care to understand what "cram" means. A certain amount of cram is necessary for the acquisition and assimilation of knowledge. You cannot do without it. But if by cram is meant mere memory work, the learning of a subject without understanding it thoroughly and without the effort of honest, downright thinking, then I am not sure that examinations necessarily encourage it. That would depend on the examiner. If he is worthy of his work, he ought to be able to distinguish between honest and dishonest preparation on the part of the candidates he is examining. An honest study of Law consists not merely in mastering the principles of the different branches of Law prescribed for your examination but also acquiring the true as distinguished from the false legal habit of mind.

NOT MERE CLEVERNESS.

The legal habit of mind I am speaking of is something different from mere cleverness in handling legal problems; and if the study of Law is not so regulated as to enable you to acquire that habit, your study will not fit you to rise to the dignity and true responsibilities of the profession. The first thing in dealing with a case which a lawyer has to handle, whether as judge or advocate is to get to its very heart or kernel, to master its facts in such a way as to get at the main point or points in controversy; and then having got at them, to direct the evidence to them. For this purpose the lawyer has to learn from the scientist on the one hand and the literary artist on the other; and not without the talent of either combined can any one become a truly legal-minded man.

Abraham Lincoln has said somewhere that, in the course of his practice at the Bar, constantly coming across the word "demonstrate" he thought at first he understood its meaning but soon

became dissatisfied that he did not. He consulted Webster's Dictionary. That told him of "certain proof beyond the probability of doubt" but he could form no idea of what sort of proof that was. He consulted all the books of reference he could find but with no better results. He thought he might as well have defined blue to a blind man. At last he said to himself: "Lincoln, you can never make a lawyer if you do not know what 'demonstrate' means;" and so he worked until he could give any proposition of the six books of Euclid at sight. "I then found out," he says, "what 'demonstrate' meant." His biographer tells us that this study was performed by Lincoln "at odd intervals while he was engaged in trial work on the circuit;" and that it was discipline of this quality, carried on at night after a hard day's work in the Courts, which led to his growth as a lawyer as a natural result. Here you have a lawyer taking his cue from the science of abstraction. The legal habit is at the outset the habit of analysis and abstraction. Truth is or rather must be the lawyer's object and he must in his search for it get rid of all pre-conceptions and prejudices, because these are not proof. "The first thing," says Turgot, "is to invent a system; the second is to be disgusted with it." That is, in an inquiry, frame a theory first then subject it to the most jealous scrutiny as if you hated and distrusted it, examine it from every possible point of view; and then only is there any chance of your succeeding in finding out whether it is true or false. That means - a passion for truth at the outset; which, again requires an open mind until demonstration is clear beyond doubt. Of this scientific temper you cannot have a better example than Darwin's "Origin of Species." You will not find in it a single general proposition but every statement closely and carefully correlated with every other and with the particular end to which the writer is leading the reader.

INTENSE LOVE OF TRUTH.

The lawyer has need at the very outset of this scientific temper. But the scientific temper has its strong points as well its weak. The man of science wants to know the truth and the whole truth; his demand is of exact knowledge; and his business is analysis for the purpose of classification. These are his strong points, the weakness of which is that it is apt to lead him to believe in none but specialists and experts and to doubt unless his ideal of exact knowledge is realised. The manifold relations of human life, are,

however, not so arranged as to admit of the application of this high standard of judgment in practice. Then the scientist's ideal of evidence is higher than life demands for other purposes than those of science. For the purposes of practical life we have often to work on a lower plane—on the plane of moral certainty and probability—which is rightly termed the guide of life. Then the weak point of science is the narrowing influence of specialism which it fosters. The poet Wordsworth has written that it makes scientific men "the minds of their own eyes"—and that because the scientific habit of thought is apt to push logic to dry and desolate conclusions. In the sphere of science, the law is that of the survival of the fittest; in literature which deals with the spiritual world "it is a primary law that the strong shall take upon themselves the burden of the weak, arrest the natural results of infirmity." And the law courts are intended for the purpose of protecting the weak against the strong.

While then the lawyer cannot do without the scientist's intense love of truth, his exactitude of knowledge, power of analysis, abstraction, and classification, he must, for the practical purposes of Law and its administration, look to literature for a wider grasp of human life and its relations with which he has to deal. The laws of literature are indeed in many respects the same as those of scientific investigation; where they are not the same, they are at least analogous. But there is one essential difference between the scientific and the literary habit of mind. It is a false view of literature and literary power that the test of supremacy in letters is profusion of sonorous words, and tricks of rhetoric. The true test of it is careful choice of words, close-knit argument, and a steady, controlled movement of thought in every phrase and sentence towards the purpose in view. You will find a brilliant instance of this in the writings of Cardinal Newman, and of John Stuart Mill. In Law, you have an example of the literary power in the judgments, for instance, of Lord Mansfield, of whom Emerson tells us that they "have the ment of common-sense," because each decision "contains a level sentence or two, which hit the mark" and show that "they come from and go to the sound of human understanding." That is true literary power. It consists not in knowing all (which is the business of science) but knowing to the purpose, and a careful discrimination of what should be expressed and what should be unexpressed. You have, I dare say,

heard the saying : "By what he has omitted show me the master of style." That is a work of true literary power in which we find the author controlling his thoughts and knowledge instead of letting them go ; he is frugal of words and thoughts, because he is suggestive rather than expressive. Which are the literary works which we admire most ? They are works which, when you once read, so sink deep into your hearts that when you have read them through you feel the author had not finished but had gone on. They are like the woman depicted as a model of her kind by Jeremy Taylor : "Loved while living, desired when dead." So the literary artist is he whose work engrosses your interest while you are reading it—you fall in love with it—and when you have come to the end of it, you desire more for it and feel sad—the pleasure of sadness—that the author has not said more. The essential difference, then, between the scientific and the literary habit of mind lies in this. Science discovers ; literature humanises. The former says : "Know all that you can and do know and say it." The latter, on the other hand, has restraint and reticence for its law and tells you : "Know all that you can know but say only what is strictly to the purpose." The watchword of the scientist is "the truth, the whole truth ;" that of literature is mental economy or "intellectual temperance" both in the investigation and the expression of truth.

The legal habit of mind has need of both the scientific method and the literary art. That is a legal-minded man who has complemented the former by the latter. The lawyer's business is proof, that is the ascertainment of truth but it is proof restrained by the principles of common sense for the wise governance of society and the well-being of a State. "The problem of judicial investigation," said Sir Henry Sumner Maine in one of his addresses, "is in great part the problem of relevancy." And he might have added that the problem of relevancy is to a great extent the problem of restraint and reticence. The lawyer, whether he be judge or advocate, has to carry on his investigation or advocacy, as the case may be, within the limits assigned to him for the purposes of proof by the law of evidence of which it has been said that it "is largely one of exclusions," and I do not think that a student of Law who wishes to acquire the legal habit of mind I am speaking of can do better than to discipline himself by a close and careful study of the Indian Evidence Act, which is the work of an eminent English lawyer—

the late Sir James Fitz James Stephen, who has supplemented it by a lucid introduction to its study where he has shown how in the Act are illustrated some of the rules of logic, and how and why logical relevancy is, in some cases, the same as, and in other, different from legal relevancy. The laws of causation and effect, of which works on logic tell so much are here given in a concentrated form. The rules of relevancy serve, again, to illustrate the laws which John Stuart Mill has designated in his work on logic as the Method of Agreement and the Method of Difference. So when you are studying the Evidence Act, you are studying the rules of logic as applied to human affairs, rules which have been found by the experience of ages to be necessary as standards of judgment.

LAW OF EVIDENCE.

I would ask you, therefore, to make the study of the law of evidence, especially of the Indian Evidence Act, your particular care. More than any other branch of Law, indeed alone among all the branches of Law, it has this merit that it trains the mind in scientific methods of investigation and the literary power of mental economy. No lawyer can acquire the legal habit of mind and claim to be a legally minded man unless he has mastered the law of evidence and formed the habit of thinking and inferring wisely and well. We live in an age of criticism, much of which, we complain and that justly, is crude, personal, and misdirected. Some twenty years ago in a most learned address, which the distinguished Orientalist, Dr. Bhandarkar, delivered at the Wilson College Literary Society under the presidency of Sir Raymond West, he pointed out how even scholars assumed and presumed facts without evidence or on evidence so called without proper claim to the name, led by preconceived theories or old prejudices. Whether we are lawyers or laymen, we have to perform the operation of thinking and inferring in the daily walk of life, that means we have to weigh evidence ; and in our ignorance or out of conceit we weigh it badly with the result that often we misjudge persons and assume that to be a fact which is evolved out of our imagination. Not for the lawyer only but for the layman too—for every person claiming to be educated or cultured, an acquaintance with the provisions of our Evidence Act would not be a bad mental and moral equipment. But for the lawyer it ought to be his “vade mecum.”

And yet there is, I am afraid, no branch of Law more sadly neglected than the law of evidence. We study it for our examina-

tion and after that we rarely dip into it. It is not uncommon to find legal practitioners rising to object to questions put to witnesses and when asked to cite the section of the Evidence Act fumbling and wandering through all the sections in search of what is wanted. In the Mofussil Courts evidence is often allowed to go in which ought not to be admitted and that without objection. It was this lamentable neglect of the Evidence Act which led the Chief Justice and Judges of our High Court to send a special message to the University that at the test for the L.L.B degree special attention should be paid to questioning candidates about the examination, cross-examination and re-examination of witnesses. The reason of the neglect is that we are apt to think that the law of evidence is a law of common sense and that every one imagines he has it and can use it without the help of a law and its artificial rules. But we forget that he who trusts most to common sense degenerates into a man of specialised ignorance; and that when we speak of the law of evidence as a law of common sense what is meant is that it is the applied common sense not of one man but the combined experience and wisdom of many ages and many men.

POTENTIALITY FOR GOOD.

In ordinary life, by poets, prophets and preachers alike, we are instructed to regulate our intercourse in life with others on the principle which a great writer has crystallised in these words.—“Never believe anything bad about anybody in the absence of positive evidence.” In that most soul-stirring Chapter in Corinthians St Paul, discoursing on Charity, uses a pregnant expression, where he says Charity “believeth all things”—that is, it does not assume any human being to be bad unless it has convincing proof; and even where it has, the great Apostle says “Charity hopeth all things.” Every human soul has its potentialities of goodness, which have only to be brought out and developed. I almost feel tempted to say that these sayings might well serve as texts summing up the law of evidence, for what is its purpose but to start with a presumption in favour of the good intentions and honesty of man, to believe in his testimony unless it is proved clearly to be false and to avoid in your investigations all matters of prejudice.

It is good for us lawyers to remember this because the outside world has somehow come from ancient times to look upon the lawyer as a narrow-minded, hard-hearted being, who makes money

at the expense of his fellow creatures grows rich on the quarrels and miseries of men, and wastes his manhood in making the worse appear the better cause. You have heard of the barbarian of the North of Europe who, not satisfied with cutting out a lawyer's tongue, sewed up his mouth in order that the viper might no longer hiss. Of Peter the Great we are told that when he was informed that there were some thousands of lawyers at Westminster, he remarked that there had been only two in his own dominions and he had hung one of them. The layman cannot do without the lawyer and yet in a way either fears him or hates him. The legal habit of mind has come to be identified not with honest thinking but over-technicality and over-subtlety ; and the charge against the legal profession is that it has no consideration for the poor. I am not sure that all this is not prejudice and that what are called the inherent sins of our profession might not be proved to apply equally to all other avocations more or less. But there can be no doubt that the temptations to hard-heartedness, want of charity, over-technicality, and over-subtlety are greater in our profession than in any other. Ours is a life of contention and wrangling and that is apt to breed hard-heartedness and dry the springs of a liberal and loving heart. " Law without technicality is impossible " said a great English Judge (Mr. Justice Wills) and because we cannot do without it we are apt to take it as the soul of law and miss the substance in our search for form. We cannot do without argument and that is a temptation to oversubtlety. There is another and a worse temptation to which we are exposed. In almost every dispute we have to deal with, testimony is contradicted by testimony—witnesses on one side telling a story quite opposed to that told by witnesses on the other. Life in the midst of this ever-recurring scene of oath against oath is apt to lose its human flavour by breeding a spirit of scepticism or pessimism and making cynics of us, devoid of human sympathy and full of doubt and distrust. And a mind trained to doubt cannot be at peace with itself.

LARGENESS OF FAITH.

The only way to fortify ourselves against this danger of degeneration is to have largeness of faith and trust in humanity. Remember that if witnesses lie, the responsibility sometimes, if not often, rests with lawyers. Let the judge be good and godly or let the practitioner be sympathetic and honest—I can say for my

countrymen at any rate to whom the vice of perjury is so often ascribed that they would not for anything mislead him by false testimony. This is no exaggeration. We had years ago in Ratnagiri a District Judge—Mr. Izon was his name—whose memory still survives there. A good and godly man he was—on the judgment seat to the poor in particular he was god in human form. And nearly every witness before him felt that he must tell the truth. That was his reputation in his time—that is the tradition about him even now. We had a Subordinate-Judge 25 years ago whom people called the “Deva Munsiff” and he was regarded as another Izon. Trust creates trust. The author of *Festus* read human nature rightly when he wrote :—

“ Men might be better if we better deemed
Of them. The worst way to improve the world
Is to condemn it ”

Over-subtlety and over-technicality caused by our prejudices and preconceived notions of colour, race or creed or caste are not the true legal habit of mind. They do not constitute the legally minded man. A lawyer, who is over-subtle and over-technical and regardless of truth may be a clever lawyer but, as Sir Henry Sumner Maine has said, a clever lawyer is but a poor third-rate lawyer. He may flourish but his prosperity means the poverty of the profession. He may prey upon his kind and suffer no loss but he may even, as he does often, prosper ; but the profession and through it the community of which it is a part cannot. “ It is only in fiction that the villain comes to an end : in real life he not seldom dies in the odour of sanctity ; but for the sins of society the day of vengeance never fails to come.” The lawyer is meant to help society in protecting its rights and redressing its wrongs. The lawyer’s profession is a noble one—divine in its dignity and its duty. When you are engaged in the study of law, bear this in mind and learn to acquire the scientist’s love of truth and the literary artist’s “ intellectual temperance ”—his habit of restraint and reticence—and from the saint the spirit of charity and the study of law will be a power for good. A high ideal, some will say ! Yes, it is high but fall below it, a lawyer becomes a lie—not a protector of rights and redresser of wrongs but a canker and curse of society.

DARKNESS OR DAWN?

[*Address on the occasion of the anniversary of the Prarthana Samaj, Bombay, 1909.*]

There is a striking resemblance between the circumstances under which the theistic movement known as the Brahmo Samaj in Bengal was started in the earlier part of the last century, and the circumstances under which the Prarthana Samaj movement was inaugurated in this city in the year 1867. Since both these events, much water has flown under the bridge and yet having regard to the times in which we are living, and the circumstances which are engaging our attention in the present critical times, it may not be out of place if I draw your attention to the circumstances to which I have referred at the beginning of these remarks.

On the 15th of May 1815, there was a meeting held in the house of Raja Rammohan Roy for the purpose of considering what measures should be undertaken in order to elevate and enlighten the natives of this country and free them from the bondage of superstition, priest-craft and caste. A large number of the leading Hindoos in Calcutta were present at the meeting, and one of the Europeans present was a gentleman whose name is well known in Bengal, David Hare. Ram Mohan and David Hare were a contrast to each other. Ram Mohan, a man full of religious feeling, had studied all the leading religions of his time, believed in one God, and regarded that the cause of India, her progress and her future, lay in reforming the religion of the country, and restoring her to the path of one God, one caste and one humanity. David Hare, on the other hand, was a man of little or no education, with little or no eloquence, but a man dominated by the one idea that the salvation of the country, its enlightenment and its elevation depended upon secular education imparted to the people freely and liberally. At the meeting of which I have spoken, held on the 15th of May 1815, Raja Rammohan was for the establishment of a Sabha to be held weekly where religious discourses could be delivered, religious services could be held, where the Vedas and the Upanishads could

be expounded, and which might be made the vehicle for the diffusion of pure religious thought, so that the country might be once more brought back to the cause of pure monotheism. David Hare, on the other hand, differed from Raja Rammohan Roy, and insisted that there ought to be a College established where secular education ought to be imparted, and he said, "if you really wish to see India elevated, you must get rid of that which has brought down India into the path of degeneracy, you must get rid of religion, get rid of your God, get rid of priests, get rid of caste; educate the people, have a College, and then India will be what she ought to be." There was considerable discussion at the meeting with the result that the members present arrived at no agreement. They dispersed, but Raja Rammohan Roy and David Hare were men of strong minds, of indomitable resolution, and each wanted to work in his own way. Raja Rammohan Roy established the *Bramha Sabha* for the purposes of religious service, where he discoursed on Religion, expounded the Upanishads and the Vedas. David Hare, on the other hand, won the sympathy and support of Sir Edward Hyde East, then Chief Justice in Calcutta, issued a circular to the leading Hindus of the day, collected a large amount of money, a College was established, and higher education was imparted within its walls. That College had as one of its teachers a gentleman whose name will always stand identified in the pages of the history of Bengal with not only the cause of Education, but also with the cause of Social Reform. That one was an East Indian by name Derozio. Derozio, like David Hare, was also a man who cared very little for religion, who was rather agnostic in his tendencies and who had great influence with the students. A large number of them gathered round him, loved him, and were always ready to act up to his instructions and directions; and with Derozio the gospel was, "down with your priests, down with your idols." So that a large number of young men banded themselves around him and made it a point to denounce caste and in order to give practical proof of their protest against the superstitions of the day, they used to meet in Derozio's house, dine at his table, and these gentlemen were becoming more and more violent in their denunciations of heterodoxy. One day under the leadership of one of them, Mr. K. M. Banerjee, who afterwards became a Christian Missionary, they assembled in a house, partook of forbidden food, *i. e.* beef, and after they had finished their meal, every young man ran into the

streets with beef-steaks in his hands, and threw them into the house of one of the most bigoted of Hindus then living. They brought matters to a crisis, led to a great deal of indignation, to persecution and prosecution, and the result was that a large majority of these young men had their ardour cooled, and they shrank into oblivion. All their ideas of reforms abated. But there was a remnant—some of them became Christians, one of them was Mr. K. M. Banerjee; others joined the Brahma Sabha established by Raja Ram Mohan. The first idea which lay at the root of the reform which these young men wished to inaugurate was that caste ought to be got rid of, that India had depended too much upon Religion, and the first thing to get rid of was the religious ideas of the people, and not only religious ideas but also ideas about God and humanity.

Now let us come to Bombay. Our story here too is almost similar, runs almost on parallel lines, the same ideas are at the bottom of its history, showing that we started also with secular ideas on the question of national reform. Some of you may have heard of the late Mr. Dadoba Pandurang. A good many young men who were brought up in our Colleges and schools gathered round him, admired him, and he had a great deal of influence with the young men in the forties of the last century, because he was Inspector of Government schools. He had been in the mofussil; he then came to Bombay. The one dominating idea of Mr. Dadoba Pandurang was to get rid of caste, and he gathered round him a number of young men and started what was called the Paramahansa, an Eclectic Society. The object of it was slowly but surely to destroy caste. The young men felt that India had suffered on account of the divisions of caste which prevailed amongst the people, and that no reform could succeed, and that India could not rise in the scale of nations unless caste was done away with. This Paramahansa admitted members on condition that each member should take a pledge not to observe caste, and the practical proof to be given by every member of it was, on admission to eat a slice of bread prepared by a Christian baker, and to drink a little of water out of the hands of a Mahomedan. The Paramahansa Association wanted a building where they could assemble and debate in secret, because, after all, these young men had not the courage of their conviction to give up caste publicly. They started some-what on masonic principles, the whole

thing was to be kept secret, caste was to be denounced, caste was to be got rid of, but the time they thought had not yet come when they should do it publicly, boldly, and courageously, and therefore they wanted a place where they could assemble in secrecy, and utilise the Christian baker and the Mahomedan water-giver. They hired a place, the owner of it readily let it to them, but there was a tenant in occupation who seemed to be rather unwilling to vacate. Some information about the heterodox opinions of these young men got abroad, but people did not exactly know what these young men were about. On one occasion when the tenant had gone out locking the rooms of the house, and especially his idols, these young men broke open the lock and key, threw into the streets his idols, and took possession of the house.

It went on for some years until at last it met the fate which all secret bodies with no bottom, with no real foundation for their ideas and ideals share,—some member stole the account books and the list of members of the Paramahansa. The word went round ; everybody began to fear that he was going to be exposed, and at last the Paramahansa collapsed. A good many, a large majority of those who had looked forward to the time when they would be able to put caste out of the country, demolish it, and raise India in the scale of nations, gave up thinking of caste and reform. A few enlightened and elevated with ideals of the right kind, felt that the way to reform the country was not by merely denouncing caste and that it was not by getting indignant at priests that one could reform the country. A new life meant a new spirit, a new spirit meant acting up to the ideals which holy men have handed down to us both by their lives and and by their works, and that the only way to regonorate the country was to regenerate its heart, to purify it by means of God, humanity and religion

In 1864 Keshub Chandra Sen came for the first time to Bombay, but Bombay then was in the midst of a commercial crisis. Everybody wanted to become rich, and no religious preacher could gain the ear of the citizens of this island. Keshub Chandra Sen came and went away disappointed. But soon after 1864, there came a crisis which ended in a crash ; men who had hungered for money found at last what it was to run after the deceitfulness of riches ; rich men had become poor and humble, and in 1867 when Keshub Chandra Sen came, he was able to deliver in the Town Hall

an address which will always linger in the minds of those that heard it. It was then that the Prarthana Samaj was started. It was started with the same object with which in 1815 Raja Ram Mohan Roy had started the Brahma Sabha. Those who founded this institution felt that until we realised the oneness of God and the oneness of man, until we expanded our ideas of Brotherhood so as to feel that we are all creatures of the same God, India must be what she has been, low in the scale of nations, divided against herself, and without the ability to hold her own with the most enlightened races of the world. Oh ! What a glorious thing it was in those years after 1867 to be a young man ! To be a young man ! To be young, I may tell you, was then very heaven. I witnessed those times ; I attended most of the lectures ; young as I then was, I followed the activities and movements of the day. Keshab Chander Sen in the year 1870 visited England at the invitation of an ex-Viceroy--the late Lord Lawrence. He addressed ten thousands of English gentlemen in one of the largest halls in England, and it was said that, when rising to the height of his charming eloquence that great man reminded Englishmen and English ladies, that England had come and knocked at the doors of her sister and said to India "rise sister, thou hast slept too long." Every soul that had come there to listen to him rose and felt that the mission of England in India was one of the grandest that could be conceived of in the annals of history ; that the contact between the two countries was of a providential character, and that this ancient land of ancient civilization had come to be subject to the sway of a remote island, because Providence intended that it was by means of England that India should once more recover her lost path to progress, and that the Indians should become again a vitalised and vitalising nation in the world. We all felt the influences of that time. We were at school or at College. Conscious as we were of the fact that the religions of the country were a dark enigma, conscious as we were of the fact that the country was divided into castes and creeds, we felt in the presence of the great enlightened and leading men that then were working, that we were face to face with a future that, if then there was darkness that darkness would within some years be followed by a dawn, and that the sun was already on the morning hills, giving forth promises of a bright future for the country, which made even those of us who were at the College feel inspired,

ambitions to take our part in the activities for the cause of our country ; we felt that this institution, proclaiming the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, small and neglected in those days it may be, was the seed out of which would germinate institutions which would make every one of us feel, forgetting all divisions of caste, that we were one in sentiment, one in action, and all working for the good of our own country and for the good of the country which had been sent by Providence to reform, enlighten and elevate us. Over thirty years have elapsed since that vision dazzled those of us who were then young. Look at the picture then and look at the picture now. How do we stand ? If we examine the conditions which are now prevailing, if I ask myself the question if my vision has been realised, at first a spirit of disappointment comes upon me. And I begin to feel that all that I felt 30 or 35 years ago was a mere creation of the fancy. That instead of priest-craft, superstition and caste going down, they are now showing a sign of renewed activity and life making one feel that after all this education, this contact with the West, this spirit of enlightenment, with the school-master, the missionary, the reformer abroad, with political Associations with nationality for their watchwords, we are not only where we were 40 years ago, but perhaps we have gone even further backward, and the signs of the times are such as to make one feel despondent about the future of this country.

Lord Morley gives us reforms, and the first sign by which it is followed in the country is that the Mahomedans come forward and say that they must have separate representation. Controversies follow with the result that Hindu Sabhas are established, and now we have organisations which on the one hand, profess to protect the interests of the Hindus, on the other hand, profess to protect the interests of the Mahomedans. Thirty-five, or forty years ago, true, the Hindu and Mahomedan were in a way divided but the schism was not so pointed as it has now become, and here you have sectarianism, division in its most pointed form. And the question suggests itself to us, is it darkening or is it dawning ? And it is not to the Mahomedans alone the Mahomedans versus Hindus, if I may say so, that this separation is confined, but if you turn to the Hindus themselves, they are a divided house. Instead of feeling that they are one, every community, every caste is arrayed against the front and irritating the Mahomedans and says that it shall meet

have separate representation. The Lingayats who have been hitherto recognised as a portion of the Hindu community, of which even the Judicial Courts have said that they are an integral portion they are no longer willing to be recognised as such; they say that they must have a power of representation which will completely differentiate them from the Hindu community. The Jains again have come forward; and one might go on repeating such tales. To those of you who have been following the events of the day, the story is as well-known as it is to me, and it might be stated in one sentence, *viz.*, if there is one thing which is prominently forcing itself on our attention it is the fact that this sectarianism seems to be the order of the day. If a man becomes a J. P. then the community to which he belongs will meet and congratulate him, if any one becomes an L. L. B. then that caste will meet and congratulate him. You find it not merely in large movements, but in all movements, great or small, this spirit of caste, this spirit of sectarianism, has been asserting itself in a manner which at first sight causes us despair. You go to the Back Bay shore. You have the Parsee Gymkhana, you have the Hindu Gymkhana, the Mahomedan Gymkhana. And one always asks what is our education, our enlightenment, what is our nationality, what is it leading to if in the most ordinary things of play we cannot mix with one another? And even there we must not only have separate movements, but when we are together we must be prepared to break our heads, and prove ourselves quite unworthy of all the boasted education that we have received!

Well, gentlemen, I have portrayed to you a gloomy picture. If we are superficial students of history, if we are given merely to look at the outside aspect of things, no doubt, there is a good deal in what is happening amongst us to damp our spirits, to make us feel disappointed and to think that, after all is said and done, it is not progress, but it is retrogression that seems to be staring us in the face. Sectarianism of which I have already spoken is no doubt a mark of retrogression. It is no doubt a sign that we are not moving forwards, but that we are moving backwards. But, as a humble student of history, as one who draws his faith from God, from humanity and from his faith in progress being the order of the day in the kingdom of providence, I believe that the signs, which we are witnessing, so far from being depressing signs, are themselves a sign that we are on the path of progress. But while the

events that are happening before us seem to be rather signs of darkness, still it is the darkness before the dawn ; but whether it will be darkness, darkness continued or whether it will be the dawn that follows darkness, it depends upon you, it depends on me, and it depends upon the efforts which we put forward in the right direction.

Yes, the Mohammedans are seeking for a separate representation, true, the Lāṅgayats are also asking for votes on their own account as distinguished from the other Hindus. Each community will work, and I take it to be a very good sign, it is a hopeful sign. For it shows that while the life of self-denial practised to an extreme degree had till but a few years ago stunted the growth, and placed a barrier before the hopes and the aspirations of all the communities existing in India, this new spirit of the West, the influences of the government under which we live, our education, and all other tendencies have created a new life, have given a direction to a new hope ; from the life of self-denial we have now come to the life of self-assertion. The Hindu religion and other religions living in contact with it in India had made man a creature rather given to condemning the world, to look upon life as a thing not to be coveted, not to be loved in an active manner, but in a spirit of what is called passive resistance. Their message was : "Try as far as possible to run away from this life. It is full of evil, it is full of disappointments. The great work and the real thing that you have to do is, as far as possible, to cut down your necessities and regard life as a burden to be borne in a spirit of despair."

A life of self-denial cannot conduce to either individual nobility of character or national greatness, if self-denial means indifference to the world and a sense of fatalism. Self-denial practised without those ideals which make for active godliness is apt to make us inactive. Western education has revived in us a true ideal of life, and we have come to believe, unconsciously it may be, in Huxley's maxim that self-assertion is the law of all cosmic process. The fact that every sect is coming forward and asking for representation on its own account, is not indeed a healthy sign by itself, because it shows that we are wanting in that breadth of feeling which constitutes the essence of patriotism ; that each community is pursuing sectarian lines ; also shows that each sect

1. The first part of the document is a title page. It contains the title "THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" and the author "BY JAMES M. SMITH".

2. The second part of the document is a table of contents. It lists the chapters and their corresponding page numbers.

3. The third part of the document is the first chapter, titled "THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA". It describes the early exploration of the continent by Christopher Columbus and other European navigators.

4. The fourth part of the document is the second chapter, titled "THE SETTLEMENT OF AMERICA". It discusses the early colonial settlements and the challenges faced by the settlers.

5. The fifth part of the document is the third chapter, titled "THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR". It covers the events leading up to the war and the battle of independence.

6. The sixth part of the document is the fourth chapter, titled "THE CONSTITUTION". It explains the formation of the United States Constitution and its principles.

7. The seventh part of the document is the fifth chapter, titled "THE WESTERN EXPANSION". It describes the westward movement of the American population and the acquisition of new territories.

8. The eighth part of the document is the sixth chapter, titled "THE CIVIL WAR". It details the conflict between the Union and the Confederacy and its impact on the nation.

9. The ninth part of the document is the seventh chapter, titled "THE RECONSTRUCTION". It discusses the period following the Civil War and the efforts to rebuild the South.

10. The tenth part of the document is the eighth chapter, titled "THE MODERN UNITED STATES". It provides an overview of the current state of the nation and its future prospects.

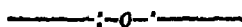
as a spirit. "The Kingdom of God is within us." You have that fine expression of St. Paul's "In Him we live, move, and have our being." But it is the great distinguishing feature of Hinduism that it teaches with greater emphasis than any other religion the immanence of God,—call it higher Pantheism as Tennyson said, call it any thing you like,—but it is the idea that God is here, there and everywhere. Europe is now trying to lay emphasis on the doctrine of the immanence of God; all European philosophers, all great religionists, all great teachers are now realising more than ever the one fact that God is everywhere, in our hearts and in ourselves. To the people of this country this belief is not new; but it must be not a mere belief, it must be a conviction entering into the whole purpose of our lives. Otherwise the spirit of self-assertion which is conspicuous just now in all the movements, in our social, political, industrial reforms and other activities, will kill us and will land us in darkness. While we are in a way by means of our great books teaching Europe this idea of the immanence of God we have to learn from the West another idea, which is a dominating feature of Christianity; while we are giving to Christians this idea of the immanence of God, Christians have given to us, the idea of the doctrine of love on which Christ has founded the religion He preached. This idea of brotherhood of man—you find also in Hindu religious books, the Mahabharat, the Bhagwadgita, and Buddha proclaimed it with great emphasis. On account of the inherent defects of Hinduism, arising from caste, the spirit of love, the spirit of charity, as Christ and Buddha understood it has not formed its predominant feature. While we are talking of nationality, there is no oneness of spirit, because love has not formed the distinguishing mark of present-day Hindu religion. We have therefore to borrow from the Christian Religion and from Buddhism the spirit of love. If we will only realise the fact that this spirit of love ought to be the guiding principle of every one of us, if we will go to all the religions and draw from them this spirit of charity and bring to bear upon all our activities and our doings, this darkness which is facing us just now will become the dawn of an ampler day.

The Prarthana Samaj was founded for this purpose. It is sometimes called an eclectic religion. It is said that the Prarthana Samaj has no religion of its own; that it borrows one idea from this religion, and another from that religion. But the more cultivated

minds are now beginning to feel that every religion has something to contribute to the progress of man ; that it is not by means of Christianity or Hinduism or Buddhism alone, but by bringing together into one field all the grand doctrines of different religions that a new religion must be formed which will suit the aspirations of the human heart. God had manifested Himself in all countries and ages. His prophets, his saints are the bond of humanity. He had one law for all—the law of love. Not by hatred, but by love can nations live and endure. This is the need of the present age. A new spirit is abroad. Our minds are awakened—thanks to the enlightening and enlivening influences of the British rule.

But our hearts have to be expanded. We require “the expulsive power of a new affection”—It is that alone which can direct aright the spirit of self-assertion that is now apparent in our movements. We cannot indeed say and we do not know where this current of this self-assertion is going and how long it would run as a force of sectarianism. But let us have a faith in God and those of us who find anchor in the quiet backwater of the wisdom of the ages refuse to be swept along by this turbulent current of caste and sect. Let us toil and trust for love. Whether the Prarthana Samaj succeeds or not, this Church will always stand as an example to all as a protest against sectarianism, as a declaration of the faith that ought to be in every one of us if progress is to be of the right character, and this Church although it may not bring within its fold a large number of members, its spirit will go on permeating unconsciously it may be, the heart of every Indian, whether he is a Christian, Hindu or Mahomedan ; making all feel that in spite of all that we say in defence of the existing institutions, the great duty imposed upon us all is to love God and to love man, and to act in the consciousness of the conviction of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man

SIR NARAYAN CHANDAVARKAR ON OLD ELPHINSTONIANS.



Mr. Principal Overton, Professors of Elphinstone College, and
Sister and Brother Elphinstonians,

At the out-set I desire most sincerely to make my acknowledgments to my young friends, the present students of the College, for bringing us together here within the walls of an institution, to which I have owed not a little for the mental and moral influences my connection with it in the past has exercised over me. To be young, it is said, is very heaven, and if an old man like myself cannot be young again, I have known how the freshness of youth, its exuberance and joyousness of life return to me with all their golden gleam when I am in the midst of young men and am privileged to mix with and move freely amongst them on terms of equality and brotherhood. (Cheers). Twenty-five years ago, when I was in England, I happened to spend a few days in Cambridge, visiting its Colleges, and, at one of them I met on a Saturday afternoon one of the Cabinet Ministers of the time, moving among its students in its Library Room. That was Sir George Otto Trevelyan, nephew of Lord Macaulay and author of that very instructive and interesting book, *Life and Letters of Macaulay*. Having been introduced to him on that occasion, I took the liberty of asking him how, while the General Elections were going on and the country was one scene of political excitement, he had found time to be there. He told me that often when he wished to forget the worries of parliamentary life and political warfare, it was his practice to run up to his old College, revive old memories, and seek mental repose by friendly converse with its young students. "It is a good thing to do for a busy man; it makes life look so fresh, does it not?" he said. Unfortunately for us in this country the opportunities of association of the old and the young students of the College are very rare indeed, and I must confess with a feeling of shame that, on this occasion, the attendance of the past students of the College is not so large at this gathering as we had a right to ex-

pect. But let us not be disheartened. You, my young friends have set us old men an example. Yours is the credit of bringing us together here under the auspices of your beloved Principal and Professors, whose presence on the occasion lends to it all the grace of your *Gurus* or teachers. And as I look upon this pleasant scene, feeling myself transformed, as it were, for the time being at any rate, by the contagious sympathy of your buoyancy of spirits, my mind goes back to the evening, when in the year 1878, Dr. Wordsworth (loud cheers), then Principal of this College, presided at the opening ceremony of the Elphinstone College Union and delivered a learned address, in the course of which he counselled the past students of the institution to keep themselves in touch with its present students and by constant interest in and contact with them to strive to raise the intellectual and moral tone of the College. The Union, however, had a short life, and is an illustration, I am afraid, among others, of how little of earnest and steady effort there is among us for the promotion of interests which do not immediately pay in the shape of material comfort. I am not here, however, to indulge in a tale of woes, rather my faith is robust, and as my eye runs over the beaming faces of enthusiastic youth which I see before me, I feel spurred on to step back to the shadows of the past age and trace out, within the short time at my command the history of the rich traditions, that have gathered round this College since its commencement, the noble memories and sanctifying influences which have hallowed its name, and made it more than a name, an inspiration, for me and you, for all of us, whether past, present or future students of this College (Cheers). You have heard it asked, "What is in a name?" ; but in the case of this dear Mother of ours, here is a name to conjure with, to be proud of, and to call for all that is best of and in our manhood—and you, my lady friends here, your womanhood (Loud Cheers). The College consecrates the memory of a life and bears the name of a man, who in the several spheres of duty to which he was called by his Queen and his country, proved one of the most cultured, hardworking, high minded Britons that gave of their best for India's good and England's glory (Loud cheers)

Mountstuart Elphinstone (loud cheers), after whom this College is called, was a cultured man, a man of thought and of action, a soldier, statesman, scholar, and student. There was not a day of his life without its hours of study and its hours of close

and conscientious application to the duties of his office as an administrator employed in the service of his Queen. He loved to spend some time every day among the master-pieces of ancient and modern literature and from the hour daily spent with those immortals, he drew inspiration for his work. There is one incident of his life narrated in his biography, which ought to stimulate you, my young friends. It is said that on the evening before the battle of the first Afghan War he was found in his tent deeply poring over one of the ancient classics. Here is a model of a man for us to follow. Starting with the halo of his name, which our College bears in consecration of the memory of his life and virtues, we have next the names of such men as Sir Alexander Grant and Dr. William Wordsworth (loud cheers) identified with the past history of this institution. Their portraits adorn its walls, but, more than the portraits, their work, their scholarship and high sense of duty have left behind fragrant memories which cannot fade. Having had the good fortune myself of learning in this institution during the period when Dr. Wordsworth was its Principal, I am able to say what an inspiring influence his was. It is a truism to say that a student in a College hourly imbibes impressions, which, whether consciously or unconsciously, go to form his opinions and constitute his character. But there are sometimes chance incidents in College which even more than the repeated routine of college-life sink into the heart and shed a new light on life and work. One such chance incident occurred in my own case while I was a student of this College in the time of Dr. Wordsworth. He was one day explaining a passage of poetry and as he came to the lines which speak of

“ The grandeur which invests
The mariner who sails the roaring sea
Through storm and darkness,”

and pointing to the wide expanse of the ocean, bounded by the horizon, visible from the window of his lecture-room in the college, he spoke with fervour of man's capacity to fight evil, endure difficulties, and develop in himself qualities divine, it seemed as if his grandfather, the poet, shone in his face. As he went on for nearly half an hour decanting on the depth of meaning there was in the lines, I felt as if a cubit or two was added to my own stature, mental and moral. The College then, within whose walls

under such a teacher I with my fellow-students was receiving such instruction, stood revealed to me in a new light and did I not on that occasion, uplifted, as it were, above all my own unworthiness by my Principal's exposition silently say to my College · "To-day I have seen an Angel in thy face!" That occasion, those lines, my Principal's beaming expression, poetic and prophetic alike as it seemed then to my youthful eyes,—the solemnity of it all which impressed my mind and heart is even unto this day alive to me and from it I have sought on many an occasion the impulse to do good and be good. It is such passages in the path of one's life which enable one to maintain the freshness of youth as one gets old. And when we think of this dear old College of ours, and of the distinguished *alumni* whom it has produced, what noble memories crowd about our minds! First, we have Bal Gangadhar Shastri Jambhekar of whom perhaps many of you have not heard, because that is ancient history and he died in 1846. But he ranks as the first outstanding star of Elphinstone College, known in his time as the Elphinstone Institution. Educated in it, he was for a time one of its tutors or Assistant Professors. He was a scholar, and his papers on antiquarian subjects contributed to the pages of the journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society mark the greatness of his scholarship. His "remarkable facility and elegance in English composition," and "his simple unostentatious deportment," his studious habits, and above all, the purity of his character will be found acknowledged in some of the official records of the time. And if Mr. Principal Covernton were to seek for words to inscribe on the portals of this College to serve as monitors to his pupils, he could not, I think, choose better than the following, penned by one of the wisest and best of Britons that lived in Bombay and served this Presidency, I mean Sir Erskine Perry, then President of the Board of Education in Bombay. They were written in an obituary notice of Bal Shastri's career :—

"The zeal and industry with which he devoted the greater part of each 24 hours to the best interests of his countrymen with no other regard to self than is involved in the love of praise from those whose praise is worth acquiring secured for him an influence as extensive in range as it was beneficial in character."

What deserves particular mention is that Bal Shastri was above all narrowness of creed or caste or sect. To him, Hindus,

Parsis, Mahomedans and Christians were all alike. And I have heard from several Parsi pupils of his, such as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji (loud cheers) and the late Mr. Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengalee (cheers) that he loved them as if they were his own children. Next in order of time after him comes our second star—Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji, and it is a happy coincidence that this gathering is held on his 86th birthday (prolonged cheers), when he is receiving congratulations from all parts of the country. In him you have an example of a spotless life of unselfishness, dedicated to the service of his country, a life of strenuous toil and methodical industry, and human sympathy unwarped by narrow ideas of sect or creed (Hear, hear, cheers). Then we have Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, the foremost of our Oriental scholars with a European reputation, whose life of righteousness and piety ought to be an example to all of us (Cheers). Then comes the late Mr. Justice Ranade, whose brilliant ability, untiring industry, and unsparing devotion to duty have made his name familiar throughout the land. We have Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, whose great talents, public spirit and independence of character have made him a power among us, and the late Mr. Justice Kashinath Trimbak Telang, whose versatile capacities, lovable disposition and purity of life no less than his scholarship are well-known. These have become celebrities among us; but this list of the most distinguished *alumni* of this institution must, in my humble opinion, be incomplete, if I omitted to mention a name that is not generally known but is deserving of a tribute to its sacred memory on an occasion like this. Very few have probably heard of Narayan Mahadeo Parmanand, an Elphinstonian himself. He was a most quiet worker, hence he avoided publicity. I had the privilege of familiar intercourse with him and was able to own him as my guide for nearly fifteen years and I am able to say that by reason of his saintly character, his broad sympathies, and sound judgment as well as his culture, he exercised great influence over and commanded the admiration and secured the love of such distinguished Elphinstonians as Ranade, Telang, Dr. Bhandarkar and the late Mr. Sorabjee Shapoorjee Bengalee. He edited a weekly paper in English in the sixties of the last century, and its sanity, sobriety, polished and sententious English and breadth of view gave it a wide circulation and I find it recorded in a periodical of the time that it was the first paper with attracted the appreciative notice of Sir Bartle Frere, then Governor of Bom-

bay, and received his support. I have now completed my list of the ideal Elphinstonians that have been ; here then, my young friends, you have your seven stars of Elphinstone College (loud cheers); or rather, I prefer to call them, in the language familiar to us Hindus, these are our *Sapta Rishis*. (Hear, hear; loud cheers). And this gathering which has brought us together to revive old memories and realise to ourselves the bond of union between us, would be an empty show if we did not call back from the past the best that the history of this College has to teach us for our own conduct in life from the lesson to be learnt from the lives of the great men whom I have enumerated. The lesson is simple ; let it sink into our hearts. These men lived up to their lights ; they sought knowledge for its own sake and lived among the great masters of literature and science not as dilettante readers but because they sought from those masters guidance for their conduct. Life to them was a trust, and not a mere pastime. Not mere money making, or reputation and sensuous enjoyment. Their outlook on life was broad ; it was a life of wholeness emphasised by conscience ; there was no narrowness of caste, creed or sect (Hear, hear). And they lived and worked for their country strenuously. They were idealists but their idealism was not of the revolutionary, wild and wayward. It was regulated by due respect for authority and law, by judicious reverence for the past and love of public good. In these days of sectional movements and gatherings, caste organisations and narrow views of duty and country, it is refreshing to turn our minds to the broad-minded Elphinstonians whom I have mentioned and enshrine in our hearts the rich lessons of their noble lives. It is such lives that bring honour to and redeem the character of a people (Cheers). Let us strive to copy their example. Let us rise superior to narrow views of caste and creed ; and acquire the virtues of broad sympathy and a cultured heart and intellect. Just now it may be that what I am emphasising looks like the ideas of a visionary. But it is the vision of true manhood. I have the robustness of faith to discriminate between the passing shadows and permanent elements of a people's progress , and though it seems as if sectional gatherings and caste jealousies are dominant just now, yet it is a passing phase. Progress never moves in a straight line. It is marked by action and reaction. And my faith assures me that what the distinguished men whom I have named, loved and worked for—England's glory and India's greatness—is bound to

assert itself. (Loud cheers.) Only let us prove worthy of them and of this college by earnestly striving to maintain in our own lives—both in thought and in deed—a high standard of life's duty. That is the call to you and me of our dear Mother, Elphinstone College. (Prolonged cheers).

THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

THE WOMAN-SOUL.

(24th March, 1911.)

[*Before the Bombay Branch of the National Indian Association, Sir Narayanrao Chandanikar delivered an address on the "Woman-Soul" of which the following is a summary*]

Valmiki's Ramayana, one of our well known epics, has to some extent woven itself into the being, so to say, of the Hindu people. The Hindu ideal of manhood is Rama, the hero of the epic. The Hindu ideal of womanhood is Sita, its heroine. Rama stands for the Hindu as the very soul of honour, purity, truthfulness and devotion to duty and valour. Sita is the embodiment of chastity, meekness and love.

The story, as we read it in the pages of Ramayana, may be briefly told. In a moment of weakness Dasharatha, much against his will and with a most sorrowing and heavy heart, yields to the demand of his second wife Kaikeyee, Rama's step-mother that Rama should be sent into exile. Rama and Sita go into exile, live a life of suffering and Rama vanquishes the demon Ravana of Lanka. Before the subjugation of Ravana, Sita had been stolen by him and confined as a close prisoner within the walls of his palace at Lanka. Rama, leading his army of monkey-gods, went to Lanka and conquered Ravana and rescued his wife. After this victory Rama and Sita returned to Ayodhya, were crowned King and Queen respectively and lived in the height of happiness. Valmiki's story might have ended here. So far the happy end of it enchants us. But Valmiki knew that life is more of a tragedy than a comedy. Readers of Sir Walter Scott's novels will remember that when he was giving his story of Ivanhoe by instalments, numerous readers, who followed his story with interest, were so taken up by the novelist's delineation of the character of the Jewess Rebecca that many of them wrote to Sir Walter and begged of him to give her a happy end by uniting her, rather than the other female character in the story, Rowena, in marriage with Ivanhoe. But the great novelist refused. He knew life in its re-

ality and he wanted his picture to be a faithful portrait of life with its many joys and more sorrows. He also knew that suffering, disappointment, misery and sorrow have a sanctity in the kingdom of God which is the true kingdom of man, a sanctity which is denied to joy and happiness. Perhaps some such feeling dominated Valmiki, when he wrote the latter part of his epic. According to Valmiki after Rama had returned to Ayodhya, after he had been crowned King and while he was living with his wife ruling his people wisely and well and enjoying the highest state of conjugal bliss with his wife Sita whom he most dearly loved and who adorned him with all the ardour of woman's love, news reached Rama's ears one day that his subjects were whispering to themselves and wondering that so good and great a king had taken back a wife who had been stolen away by a demon. That his subjects whose welfare was the first object of his heart, should thus speak of him was to Rama a matter of great grief. To please his subjects was his ideal of kingly duty ; and devoted though he was to his wife he made up his mind amidst much sorrow to separate himself from her and so Sita was discarded.

This tragic denouement of the story did not apparently commend itself to one of our later poets Bhavbhuti. He dramatised that part of it into a play called the *Uttarramcharita*, which is full of pathos, picturesque delineation of character and scenery. Bhavbhuti's play gives a happy termination to the married life of Rama and Sita. He follows Valmiki up to a certain point. But he does not end where Valmiki ended or as Valmiki ended his story. The play of Bhavbhuti must be read by those who wish to appreciate its beauty ; and, as we follow the dramatist from page to page drinking in the sweets of his description and delicate touches, we ask ourselves : What is the moral which Bhavbhuti teaches us by means of his drama ? Was it his object merely to point out that adorable characters like those of Rama and Sita must have in this world a happy end ? Such a view would be but superficial. Bhavbhuti was a genius and geniuses penetrate into the mysteries of life in a manner and for an object, of which we are able to form just conceptions only when we study their works with close attention and loving obedience. I presume that Bhavbhuti's object was to depict by means of his drama the woman-soul and bring out its inmost quality, which differentiates it, generally speaking, from the man-soul. Three characters in the play of Bhavbhuti arrest

our attention and engage our sympathy. They are the hero Rama, the heroine Sita and her dear companion Vasanti. After Rama had left his wife and become separated from her for the sake of his people and his subjects, he becomes a distracted man. He wanders about, curses himself for having treated his wife in a cruel manner by discarding her and wherever he goes, whatever he sees, he thinks of nothing but Sita. Vasanti meets him and with righteous indignation rates him for his cruel treatment of his wife. In effect she says :—" You Rama dote on Sita, call her your love, your sweet-heart, the light of your life, the joy of your joys, weep and mourn for her and go about like a child sorrowing because you have parted from her. You are a king and you wish to please your subjects and to please your subjects you have discarded your wife, the very perfection of wifehood and yet you cry for her. Is not that hypocrisy ? Who will believe you, a popularity-hunter that you have become ? " In words such as these Vasanti, the friend of Sita, points her shafts of anger at Rama's heart. Rama drawn by regard for his subjects on the one hand and love for his wife on the other, stands helpless and we have, in the scenes described in this situation by Bhavbhuti, a picture of the woman-soul of Vasanti making confusion of the man-soul of Rama. That picture is inadequate. The climax is reached when the dramatist's genius presents to our view the woman-soul of Sita. She bears her separation from her husband with meekness. She is all patience and self-annihilation. Not a word of anger or disappointment escapes from her lips ; her love for her lord is as devoted as ever, nay more devoted on account of the separation. To her, Rama, her lord, is still the adored and the adorable ; and as the character of Sita emerges from the story as told in Bhavbhuta's pages the patient suffering, the quiet strength of inward faith, the pathos of her love, all stand before us and as we come to the close and we lay down the book, we feel so uplifted that the words of burning eloquence, in which St Paul drew his picture of charity in the 14th chapter of the first Corinthians, come back to our minds and hearts in all their vividness and we say to ourselves : " Charity, thy name is woman-soul. Thou art woman, for, has not St. Paul begun his description of charity in that eloquent chapter in these words, 'to suffer long and be kind.' "

Mark Rutherford was right when he said in his "Deliverance" that it is the divine disposition of woman to take on herself the

achieved nothing, that life would have been to him a desert, society a vast prison-house, were it not for the inspiration of his favourite wife.

Turn we now to the woman-soul as presented to our view in the Bible, Christ's ideal of womanhood. Of all the scenes of the Master's ministry, all of them full of lessons for our edification, none seem to me so soul-stirring as his conversation with women. Take for instance the scene in the synagogue where, as the Master was sitting in the pulpit, calm, meditative and prayerful, the Pharisees, to test him, brought before him a woman caught in the very act of adultery and arraigned her before him. How did the Master deal with them and her! With words that burnt like sockets into the hearts of the woman's arraigners, he said: "He, who is the first amongst you, cast your stone at her, as much as to say, 'Who is there amongst you who is guiltless? If there is any let him come forward and condemn this woman.'" The Pharisees thus exposed quietly walked out and the Master was left with the guilty woman alone standing before him. Slowly raising his head, he looked at her and asked: "Have they condemned thee?" "No," she answered. Then in words of both judgment and mercy he addressed her as follows: "Nor do I condemn thee. Go and sin no more." Here was a quiet rebuke paid to the woman-soul. Woman, when she falls, falls because of men. Her purity is instinctive and trusted, respected, treated with sympathy, she must be the object of our regard even when she falls. Let our trust in her serve her revival. That is the Master's teaching. But for an adequate conception of the woman-soul we must turn to the scene where Christ is presented to our view as sitting in the homes of the two sisters Martha and Mary; Mary sitting at the feet of the Master, looking with the concentrated devotion of worship on the light of his countenance and intent upon the beauty of his holiness, which it presented; Martha, on the other hand, moving about the house looking after her house-hold work engrossed in worldly cares. Martha complains to the Master that her sister Mary spends all her time in mere contemplation and does not assist her in the discharge of household duties. The Master replies "Martha, thou art careful and troubled much about worldly things. But Mary has chosen the good part which shall not be taken away from her." Here we have the woman-soul presented in Mary, as the woman of con-

temptation and devotion and Martha, as the woman of action and affection. Martha is what we would call, a fug of the world. We know of women, who are always full of household cares, hustling, bustling, anxious to set things right in the home, but more they try to do that, the more are they worried. Martha stands for these. So in the world, as Martineau points out, there are two classes of people, the godless lover of gain and the gainless lover of God ; and we must win the world, conquer life by a harmony of being, which consists in making God the centre of all our thoughts, the inspirer of all our notions. God first and gain afterwards, rather gain by means of God and words "Mary has chosen the good part" which preached the very essence of life, were addressed by Christ to a woman because the woman stands by her quiet contemplative ways nearer to God than does man.

So far I have drawn my illustrations from what the teachers and founders of Religion have said about the woman-soul. In our every-day life how many women do we meet, who are examples to us of long suffering and kindness, of patience, of courage and meekness. Get an adequate conception of the woman-soul. Turn to the lives of the mothers and wives of some of the great men who adorn the pages of history. Blake, the artist and poet, saw the eternal in his wife's face. Bushnell saw the angel in his wife's countenance. The historian Green, whose life was one of suffering and sickness, had his life prolonged by two years, because he could not brook the idea of separation from his wife. The philosopher Green was once asked who had influenced his life and character. He replied that it was the humble wife of a poor clergyman, living not far from his house. Lord Roberts dedicated his book "Forty-one years in India" to the country to which he had the honour of belonging, the army whom he had faithfully served and to his wife, whose loving help, he says in the dedication, made his forty-one years in India happy. The lawyer Austin, whose lectures on Jurisprudence are studied by every one who wants to have a good hold on law, was comparatively speaking unknown until his death. He delivered lectures on Law but these were poorly attended. He tried to practise Law in the courts but he got no briefs. But what kept up his heart and enabled him to work until his death was the inspiring love and hope of his wife. He talked to her about Law, she encouraged him and though when he died, he died without having made any reputation as a jurist, she col-

lected all his notes, published his lectures and from that moment the world knew Austin, as a jurist. Who made that reputation for him? As some one has said a woman's deed and yet one who knew her has said that she was the most womanly of women. No gift of genius or high talent but she had the talent of endurance and kindness which made her a light unto her husband.

Such is the woman-soul. Give it room and it will flourish and make all about her flourish. The cementing bond of society and state is the home. What the home-life of the people is, that will be its social, industrial and political life. The pure home, a good home, a great home means a pure society, a great society; a pure state and a great state. And the presiding genius of home is the woman. Dean Milman, the historian of Latin Christianity, said years ago that the true basis of society and state are money and matrimony. There was a time when Political Economists, Ricardo, Adam Smith, Mill and others made political economy the science of money. Ruskin was laughed at when he said that it was not money but matrimony or rather good womanhood which constitutes the real wealth of the country, and now one of our best political economists, Prof. Marshall, teaches us that the real capital of a country consists of its mothers. So it is not money so much as matrimony. Revere the woman-soul, awaken, enlighten, elevate its power of love, endurance and kindness and every thing else by way of national greatness and grandeur will follow. That is what we need to learn in India. Bombay just now shows an awakening amongst women. The seed which Lady Reay and Mrs. Peechy-Phipson sowed twenty-five years ago, which later on Lady Northcote carefully tried to tend, is beginning to yield its rich harvest; and if the woman-soul amongst us will work by the light of that which is her own, her divine disposition, to suffer long and be kind, beautiful Bombay will assuredly go on becoming more and more noble. The times are propitious. We have at the head of society a lady, whose quiet ways, and genial and kindly disposition, shed bliss wherever she goes. May we not all wish that under Lady Clarke's guidance the woman-soul of Bombay will be a light and guide to us all.

WORDSWORTH'S "PRELUDE."

I

[*This and the following are summaries of a series of lectures delivered by the Hon. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar to the Sunday Classes of the Students' Brotherhood, Bombay*]

At the outset of this session, when I have undertaken to read with you once a fortnight Wordsworth's "Prelude," I ought to explain briefly my object in choosing that book of poetry for exposition. It is, as the poet himself tells us, his autobiography, written as a prelude to some greater work of poetry dealing with the destinies of man and some of the problems of human life. It describes the growth of the poet's being, the development of his soul from his childhood onwards, and tells us what vicissitudes of mind and life he passed through, what were the things which influenced him especially in the days of his childhood and youth, what were his tastes, and how he was saved from mental chaos and moral despair. In this respect the "Prelude" carefully studied, ought to school a young man in the real discipline of life. The reading of the biographies of great men is a most valuable aid to us in this respect. Such books as Smiles' "Self-Help" and "Duty" are acknowledged to have made the lives of many young men in England who read them; and a few days spent in the perusal of such works as Stanley's *Life of Thomas Arnold* (Head Master of Rugby), and Trevelyan's *Life and Letters of Macaulay* or Lord Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, ought to have an inspiring effect on a young man. But more instructive than biography is autobiography sometimes, for there we have the life described by the man who led it and who, more than others, is able to tell us from his own experiences what is to be learnt from his life. And my reading of some of the best autobiographies that have become, so to say, classical, is that they illustrate the force and truth of an opinion which the late Professor Seeley maintained in one of his lectures, viz, that all great writers, especially poets, teach but one moral, which is their favourite. Each of them, says Professor Seeley, has "one air with infinite variations." For instance, to

take the very illustrations of his theory given by the Professor, Coleridge's political writings have but one lesson to convey—the hollowness of hand-to-mouth statesmanship; Ruskin's, that art is an index of national well-being; Carlyle's, that national well-being depends on elemental human energy. If you read the autobiography of John Stuart Mill, you will find in it the inspiring *motif* of his life, and the one main lesson of his writings. That was happiness secured by the performance of duty, that duty consisting in service to others, in making others happy. We get to a knowledge of this from a passage in the autobiography where Mill describes that stage in his life, when he passed through a severe mental crisis and after considerable struggle with his doubts and despair about happiness and duty, came to the conclusion, to which he stuck through life as the panacea for all worry and vexation—the conclusion that we are happy when we serve others to make them happy. And is not this the one thing more than any other which may be said to be the refrain of Mill's writings? Take, again, Cardinal Newman's *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*. It is an autobiography—there he tells you in his own words how he was converted to the Church of Rome, how his acute and analytical mind tried to probe the mystery of life, of the Everlasting Yea or Nay, and to escape from extinction he sought shelter in the Church as the only dispeller of his doubts. We gather from it one lesson, and Cardinal Newman's writings ring changes on that more than any other—doubt has its pleasures but also pains, and life is not made for the man who wavers, but it is for him who faces his doubt, struggles hard, and surrenders to that which for him stands as the symbol of God on Earth. When you have read a book or have spoken to a man, the first question you ought to ask yourself is—what have I learnt, what has the book taught me? And you must seek for one great lesson to be learnt. That is a good discipline and preparation for life. It must do you good, it will enervate you, ennoble you; and serve as a mental and moral tonic in all your pursuits. Take this very "Prelude" of Wordsworth, which we propose reviving together. What precious gift of our lesson for life's conduct will it give us? What will it surely make of us, if we pursue it faithfully? It has become a commonplace to say that Wordsworth is a poet and prophet of Nature. So the "Prelude" will teach us to love natural scenery. Yet that is true, but that is not the whole truth. What is gained in life by

loving natural scenery ? I look at the blue skies above, the stars overhead, the flowers and trees on earth—and admire. But what comes of the admiration ? Wordsworth gives you the answer. Nature is life just as you and I are life ; and her life is linked to ours, each is made to act on the other ; and we are linked together by the golden chain of love. Love, therefore, is the ruling principle, the law of life.

“ By love subsists

All lasting grandeur, by pervading love,
That gone, we are as dust. ”

This is the teaching of Wordsworth—the refrain of his song, his one air with infinite variations. And here notice one thing. That is also the lesson of Tennyson’s poetry ; it is that which Browning too preaches. But each of these poets takes his own route, as it were, to arrive at the same goal. Wordsworth learnt the law of love, of the brotherhood of man. from nature, Tennyson from his sorrow for the loss of his dear departed friend, Hallam ; Browning from Man not Nature or any particular individual life. And from a study of Tennyson’s *In Memoriam*, which we read together here some years ago, you will find that the process through which he went before he reached his goal of Love as the one ruling law of life was nearly the same as that through which Wordsworth’s mind went in arriving at the same goal. In the “Prelude” there is a line where Wordsworth speaks of “Sorrow which is not sorrow but delight” Now, take that as your text and follow Tennyson’s moods of mind as they are gradually developed through the different stages of his sorrow for the death of his friend Hallam, and you will see the meaning of Wordsworth’s line—how sorrow which in our weak moments we dread as misery, becomes a gain, a joy, when nursed nobly, and braces us up to do our duty in life with courage, faith, and obedience. Hallam’s death when it occurred, caused bitterness of soul to Tennyson—he wept and he felt desolate. The world became a desert. His soul was left void and became a blank. But Nature abhors a vacuum. Tennyson lingered over the loveable qualities of Hallam, and gradually saw Hallam everywhere and in everything This persistency of picture made everything reflect Hallam’s loveable qualities ; and everything manifested love and drew unto it Tennyson’s heart. That bred faith in the Universe ; and in Men as

part of it, until Hallam's picture retired into the back-ground. The universal picture of Love as the sustaining power loomed large, and through Hallam as "a noble type," the poet realised that there was

" One God, one law, one element,
And one far-off divine event
To which the whole creation moves."

So he came from darkness to light; from selfish sorrow to unselfish love: sorrow to peace: doubt to faith. And trace now Wordsworth's progress in his "Prelude." His guide was not sorrow but Nature. He was born and bred in the midst of hills and vales, amidst mountain recesses and simple farmers. The stern aspects of Nature influenced him first more than her gentler moods and scenes. He went to College, then to London, then to France during the French Revolution. Despair was about to overtake him and swallow up his being. But he loved Nature, lingered over her sights, caught her inspiration, worshipped her, loved her—and he saw in her the type of love. And that love diffused itself on Man—and the poet, "a meditative, oft-suffering man" grasped from Nature, his guide, the golden chain of love. And this is the one lesson of all lessons we need to learn for life's conduct or else we cease to be men and are worse than brutes. And the whole moral of the "Prelude," on the study of which you and I are entering may be summed in the beautiful words of Whittier in his poem, "My Psalm":—

" All the jarring notes of life
Seem blending in a psalm,
And all the angles of its strife,
Slow-rounding into calm."

Young men, learn that—and try to live that, and you will be God's children, worthy of all that constitutes manhood.

WORDSWORTH'S PRELUDE.

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No. II.^a

WORDSWORTH'S BASIC PRINCIPLE OF LIFE.

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"The Child is Father of the Man."

In my first exposition I called your attention to what I conceived to be the moral taught by Wordsworth in his "Prelude." I said that, from my point of view, the moral was that love was the law of life. Love implies the person loving and the object loved ; and it means that the object loved takes hold of the person loving so much so that he forgets himself. The person loving is merged, so to say, in the object loved. Let us take an example from the case of a student. You take a book to study. It is plain that you cannot study it to purpose, assimilate its ideas and digest its contents unless you have given your whole mind to it and brooded over its thoughts page by page, chapter by chapter, till you have made it your own. That is study, but it requires close application, which means concentration of mind. You have, I dare say, heard the story of the late Mr. Gladstone. He was once asked by a lady how he managed to get through a great deal of hard work every day. He answered: "Concentration, Madam, concentration." That means that you must forget yourself when you have work in hand, and apply yourself to it with undivided attention till you have done it. The same principle applies to life. Those of you who have read Addison's *Spectator* will remember his essay on the Valetudinarian, who used all his time in weighing himself and his food, and in asking himself the question whether he was healthy, with the result that he ended in losing his health. Psychologists tell us that no man is happy who always thinks of himself and his happiness ; that to be happy yourself you must seek the happiness of others. Hence the sacred saying, "he who loses his life shall gain it." The secret of a happy life is self-forgetfulness and the service of others. You must go out of your-

^a This is a summary of three expositions.

self and identify your being with something beyond your narrow self to make your own life worth living. You must, in short, become an artist. What makes a true artist? Self-annihilation. If you look at the masterpieces of Raphael, or Michael Angelo, or Turner, you will find that what enabled them to be faithful portrayals of that which they drew was their capacity to enter into the life of the latter. It has been said by an artist that in order to draw a tree he lived the life of a tree. Self-forgetfulness is then the first essential condition of love, of a life well and nobly lived. In his "Prelude" Wordsworth tells us that the education of the young to be effective must aim at teaching the youth to "forget himself." In so educating him you are guiding him to the acquisition of

"Knowledge, rightly honoured with that name,
Knowledge not purchased with the loss of power."

To understand clearly this position of Wordsworth we must first get to the meaning of one of his sayings which have passed into familiar proverbs and household words: "The child is Father of the Man." I call that the basic principle of Wordsworth's teaching. The same idea is developed by him in his "Ode on the Intimations of Immortality." Our manhood, to be worthy, must be based on the virtue of our childhood; we must improve upon and grow with the good qualities natural to us as children. Now, what are those qualities? First, there is the child's habit of concentration. Whatever it does, whether it plays, eats, or cries, its mind is devoted to it with undivided attention, with no distraction; that is *the* thing for it for the time being. It forgets itself in the act it is doing. A second characteristic of the child is its sensitiveness to the beauties and wonders of the Universe. A baby begins to look about as if it was perpetually asking itself the question: "What is all this world about me?" Children are, as a rule, very inquisitive, and want to know the why and wherefore of all they see and hear about. You have heard it said that the child cries for the moon. It wants all it sees because it aspires to be at one with the Universe outside. It is sensitive not merely to sights but also to sounds. Hence Thoreau: "A child loves to strike on a tin-pan or other ringing vessel with a stick, because its ears being fresh, attentive, and percipient, it detects the finest music in the sound at which all nature assists." In

other words, the child is all curiosity, or, as Wordsworth would call it, "all eye and all ear." Then the child is trustful—it has the light of spontaneity. Watch a child when it is learning to walk. It declines to be led by the hand, as if it scorned to be taught and wanted to learn for itself. It trusts itself and wishes to rely on its own power. If it is running after something it plays with, such as a ball, it does not care where the ball has gone; it will run on, minding no danger, because its object is the ball and it must have the ball. Above all, the child is happy, because it does not strive for happiness. It loses itself in its occupation and therefore is happy.

The sense of beauty, spontaneity, curiosity, happiness, and trust marks our childhood. That sense is, or rather must be, the basis of our manhood. "We live by admiration, hope, and love;" and these are the mental and moral equipment of our childhood, the props of our manhood. This is Wordsworth's teaching. And he illustrates it by the experiences of his own life in the "Prelude." Born at Cockermouth, situated at the junction of two rivers, Cocker and Derwent, he, in his childhood, drank in the music of his "nurse's song" blended with the "murmurs" of the river, so much so that he found "a voice that flowed along" his "dreams." The river, even when he was a babe in arms, made "ceaseless music that composed" his "thoughts to more than infant softness," giving him among the fretful dwellings of mankind a foretaste, a dim earnest of

" the calm

That Nature breathes among the hills and groves."

He played during his childhood and boyhood among the sights and scenes of nature, "fostered alike by beauty and by fear," in the vale of Esthwaite; among solitary hills; he stole the eggs of birds and the act of theft made his child's conscience work so that "when the deed was done" he "heard among the solitary hills low breathings coming after" him as if conscience had made a coward of him for the theft. He ascended "high places" where the mother-bird had built her lodge, he "hung above the raven's nest" and heard there "the strange utterance of the loud dry wind." The sky then "seemed not a sky of earth, and with what motion moved the clouds." He rowed a boat along a river and the sudden sight

of "a huge peak" uplifting its head as the boat rose upon the stroke filled him with fear. It seemed like a ghost. He came home and the memory of the sight lived, filling his mind with the sensation of "huge and mighty forms." It was this sense of beauty, of fear, and of majesty which taught him to see not prospects but presences in Nature, not sight but visions, not silence but souls in lonely places. It was not mere play and pastime but enjoyment, education, growth, because he learnt from all his amusements of childhood in the midst of nature's scenes to fix his mind on what he saw, to regard it as full of life like himself and fill his mind with "triumph and delight." He saw beauty everywhere, and, "the perception of beauty," says Thoreau "is a moral test." Nature spoke to Wordsworth "rememberable things." And why? Because he lived the life of a child—playing and enjoying with all his mind, heart, and soul. According to Wordsworth, every child is born with this poetic gift—this capacity to perceive beauty and life in inanimate objects. But in most it is abated or suppressed because as we grow we neglect the gift and become sensuous.

Why does a child love fiction and tales of adventure? Why do children ask their mothers and nurses to tell them stories? Because there is something in man which is more than man.

*"Dumb yearnings, hidden appetites are ours
And they must have their food."*

Man is finite with the aspiration for infinity in him. He finds he is too small for his environment. Hence children love to read the Arabian Nights, Robinson Crusoe, anything romantic and adventurous. Hence,

*"Our childhood sits
Our simple childhood, sits upon a throne
That hath more power than all the elements."*

And, such is the privilege of our childhood, that its natural joys and pains, its plays and pastimes, have "a renovating virtue"

*"A virtue by which pleasure is enhanced
That penetrates, enables us to mount,
When high, more high, and lifts us up when fallen."*

Because the child, enjoying all it gets from play or the reading of tales, learns to look at something behind and beyond "outward

sense" and becomes "a creative soul," and when he grows to manhood, he grows "a memory to himself." That is personality.

The simple childhood of a man, then, is the basis of his greatness, says Wordsworth. Develop rightly the qualities natural to a child by fostering his spirit of self-forgetfulness, his love of play amidst the scenes of Nature, his keen perception of beauty, his curiosity, his self-reliance and spontaneity, instead of making a hot-house plant of him, and you will make a true man of him. The child mourns because the world is too small for him—he is meek, he is forgiving and forgetful of injury, he is pure, he is buoyant. And these are the qualities to be developed for true manhood. Go forward, then, with the growth of these virtues. Be childlike, and you will be godlike.

And this was the teaching of Christ Jesus. "Suffer little children and forbid them not to come unto me, for of such is the kingdom of heaven." And Tukaram the saint also prayed to God "Give me the spirit of childhood." Modern education, says Wordsworth, has become artificial; children are taught to learn more from books than from Nature, and turned into "chattering popinjays." This is also a complaint of Rousseau, who looked upon reading as the plague of childhood. The success of "Emile" in which he propounded his theory of education and preached his doctrine of "Back to Nature" led to the birth of a new literature for children, such as Berquin's *Children's Friend* in France and Thomas Day's *Sandford and Merton* in England. Wordsworth cared not for this new literature. He says if he had read these books, they might have dried up his soul and body. He was an advocate of "artless and diverting fables which make the child forget himself," and of letting children play and romp and enjoy amidst the sights and beauties of Nature. His ideal of a boy is he who went amongst the cliffs and islands of Winander many a time at evening, who would stand alone beneath the trees, gazing on the stars,

" And there, with fingers interwoven, both hands
Pressed closely palm to palm and to his mouth
Uplifted, he, as through an instrument,
Blew mimic hootings to the silent hills
That they might answer him."

These views on education are indeed one-sided. Rousseau preached his doctrine but practised and ended it by sending his

child to a foundling home because he did not know how to educate a child. Wordsworth's doctrine is more robust and practical; but his view is not free from exaggeration. But I am not at present asking you to criticise Wordsworth's theory. What I want to impress upon you is that, according to our poet, true manhood is fostered by the qualities so natural to childhood. We must be self-forgetful, buoyant, hopeful, trustful, seeking, and enjoying life amidst the sights and sounds of Nature, and carry ourselves like children before and with her as the Agent of God appointed to teach us by signs and symbols, and to elevate us by means of "faith, admiration, and love." But alas! says Wordsworth, our senses deceive us; as we grow, we lose more or less these qualities of childhood: and worldly ambition, the hunt for pleasure and profit, ease and comfort, reputation and honour, seize us, and we become the slaves of our senses, living to get and to spend, and to enjoy. Hence social, moral and national decay, revolutions, strikes, insolvencies, and caucuses. This thought you will find developed in a masterly way by James Martineau in his "Hours of Thought" Says he: "The trustful spirit that feels in the beauty and goodness of things resistless reason to believe them real, accepts too soon the bribe of disappointment, goes over to the rise of sceptic shrewdness, demands inordinate security ere it will confide in man or God, and dwells in the Universe as if it were a pedlar's hall." Is not this true of most of us? "Our competitions grow noisy," because "our manhood" ceasing to be childlike in its trust and humility, "grows too stiff to bow the head." And that is Wordsworth's warning too. Let us, he says, bask in the sunshine of the child's virtue, have youth's golden gleam; believe the world to be good; and work and enjoy like children. To sum up; Man to be good and great, must be loving, for love is the law of life. That love is fostered when manhood grows by the cultivation of the sanctities of childhood as its basis. "The Child is father of the Man." True education consists in the training of youth amidst the beauties and forms of Nature and in encouraging among young men not bookishness but "strong-book-mindedness"—the quiet, meditative study, not the hasty reading of inspiring books—books immortal that create thirst for knowledge, that excite curiosity, and develop thought for our conduct in life as trustful, helpful, and hopeful men—books which make us aspire to be godlike. In a word, as-

according to Wordsworth, love is fostered and life is well-lived when we have so educated ourselves as to be what he calls

“All eye and all ear,”

that is, when we use our eyes and our ears so as to arouse the mind's eye and the soul's music, and make our lives magical and musical with the help and in the school of Mother Nature.

What is the upshot of this teaching for you, young men? It is this: Be pure, be sincere. Believe the world is good and beautiful. Enjoy the sights of Nature like children. Read books with the ardour of a learner. Be not childish—fretful, jealous, thoughtless, and idle—but be childlike—faithful, loving, and learning, for these latter are the basis of manhood. This World—the Universe outside you—is the garment of God. It is a whispering gallery. Drink in its beauty; *see*, that is, study its majesty; and *hear* its music; and become beautiful, majestic and musical in body, mind, and heart yourselves, because the germs, the beauty, majesty and music that you see in the world outside, are within you. “Be all eye and all ear, like a child.” Be a child of God, obedient, trustful and loving—and you will be a man in the proper sense of the word. That is Wordsworth's gospel of childhood and manhood.

WORDSWORTH'S PRELUDE.

· III.

"ALL EYE AND ALL EAR"

OR

WORDSWORTH'S IDEAL OF EDUCATION.

From Wordsworth's basic principle of life, with which I dealt in my previous discourses, taking for my text his famous line: "the child is father of the man," we pass on to his ideal of education. What we have endeavoured to study from his *Prelude* up to this point has, I hope, made it clear to you that, in his opinion, the development of manhood, the cultivation of those virtues which make us honest citizens, and good neighbours, good patriots and brave men, beloved of God and man, must come by means of the development of the graces which are the inherent virtues of our child nature. What those graces are I have already told you. Wordsworth's direction for this cultivation is contained in one phrase which sums up his theory of education. He says: "Be now all eye and now all ear." (*The Prelude* Bk. XII, lines 99 and 100). In other words, follow the child, and like it, cultivate your powers of observation by means of your eyes and your ears; become seers and hearers of the doctrine of truth in nature and you will become its doers. Man has to think and act; all education aims at the cultivation of our thinking faculty, and our power of action. In either case, we are called upon to become what Wordsworth calls "creative souls". For instance. Shakespeare read Plutarch's Lives, and by the force of his own thought turned them into creations of his own intellect. Carlyle read 500 volumes, including "the reports of officers, generals, statesmen, spies, heroes, villains"; then he journeyed to Scotland; and there in solitude he thought quietly, digested, brooded over all he had read, all the mass of details he had collected, with the result that he "created" his "French Revolution." Balzac in his "Comé-

die Humaine" with its 80 and more volumes "created" a world after "looking into the depths of human life and breathing a soul on it". Gladstone gathered figures, dry and dull, and by force of his mind put them together, gave them a soul in a speech which was listened to with rapt attention by the House of Commons in 1853, because the figures were made interesting by means of side-lights from history, philosophy, poetry and human life in its moral and material aspects. This is in the field of thought or intellect. The same holds good in the field of action. The biographies of great men, the histories of nations show how they created a new society, a new world, by the impulse of their thought and action.

What is true of great men or geniuses is true also, though to a lesser degree, of all other men. All, whether great or small, are endowed with the power to think, and to act—all are fitted to be "creative souls", each in his own way, it is true, but in one way for all. It is Wordsworth's theory that every human being is born a poet,

"The inner frame is good.

And graciously composed."

(The Prelude, Bk. XIII, lines 281 and 282).

The common idea is that poets are mere dreamers; mere theorists with no practical grasp of the world. But, as Browning truly said, it is not the poets who dream; it is we "prose-folk" who do. Every one of us is endowed, more or less, with the power of insight, the power of making "all things tributary to self-expression":

"The seeds of God like power are in us still,

Gods are we, bards, saints, if we will."

So wrote Matthew Arnold.

And that represents not only his but also Wordsworth's view. But this power of "creativity" which each of us possesses more or less is in many or most stifled, because it is not properly cultivated or used. We do not go the right way to learn *how to think* and *how to act*; whether we are at school or college, or in the great world of life, many or most become *crammers*, idlers, cynics, caring for the pleasures of the body and the enjoyment of the self. We live in and for the moment—the present burdens us with its weight of care and comfort, and we pride ourselves on being

practical men, men of common sense, forgetting that what we enjoy in point of peace, order in state and society, is due to men who were "all eye and all ear," that the material comforts of life on which modern civilization feeds itself we owe to the men who toiled and trusted, sacrificed themselves and were regarded as dreamers by the men of their times who passed as men of sense. And, therefore, we do not become "creative souls."

To be a "creative soul", says Wordsworth, you must be "a sensitive being." (The Prelude . Bk. XII, line 207). "A sensitive being" is one who is "all eye and all ear", who is wisely observant. All the difference between one man and another lies in how each uses his eyes and ears. A Russian proverb says: "He goes through the forest and sees no fire-wood." Having eyes to see, we do not see, and we are blind. "Some men," said Dr. Johnson, "will learn more in the Hampstead stage than others in the tour of Europe." Wordsworth's view will be best understood by a study of his lines on "Peter Bell", of whom he says that "nature could never find the way into his heart", and that "he never felt the witchery of the soft blue sky." Accordingly, in that poem (Peter Bell) Wordsworth introduces us to men, whose minds are merely *sensuous*, they cannot, because they have not trained themselves to see beneath the surface of things. Such was Peter Bell.

"A primrose by the river's brim
A yellow primrose was to him,
And it was nothing more "

But it is not the *sensuous* only who are the sinners in point of faulty education. Following Wordsworth's suggestive line of thought, *Punch* years ago divided the Peter Bells of mankind into four classes. The *first* consists of the *Sensuous* typified by Wordsworth in his character of Peter Bell. The *second* class consists of *crammers*, those who do not see or think for themselves but live on second-hand information. Of these *Punch* said :—

"A primrose by a river's brim
A dicotyledon was to him
And it was nothing more."

That is to say, a primrose has, these men have learnt, a bota-

nical name, but what that means and signifies they have not taken the pains to find out.

You see this class in our Schools and Colleges.

To the *third* class belong men to whom what they see is meaningless; they are the blind and the careless; and of them according to *Punch*

“A primrose by the river’s brim
A *rhododendron* was to him
And it was nothing more.”

That is, a primrose is an *abracadabra*—a mere word or name—carrying no meaning.

But there is a *fourth* class. *Punch’s* lines from which I have been quoting were intended to be mainly directed against them, because this last class, in *Punch’s* opinion, is to be seen in politics, religion, nearly every department of life, and it demoralises the State and society. This class, according to *Punch*, consists of men who measure everything by the narrow tests of party, sect, caste, clique, or caucus, or their own petty selves. Of these narrow-minded men, *Punch* said :—

“A primrose by a river’s brim
A party emblem was to him
And it was nothing more.”

These wear the primrose as a sign of their party view in politics; the flower is an emblem of a loving heart but it is made to stand for a party, a sect or creed. But as Manu said, a badge is not necessarily the true mark of a man’s mind and life. (न किञ्च धर्मकारणम्.)

According to Wordsworth the cure for all this faulty education is the right training of the eye and the ear, in our youth, and their right use in the state of our manhood.

In what consists that right training? Do we get it from books or do we get it from life, the life of Nature and of Man around and before us?

This controversy of books versus Nature and Life is brought out by Wordsworth in his two poems, one called “Exposition and Reply” and the other “The Tables Turned.” In

the former the poet is represented as sitting alone for the length of half a day on an old grey stone, a friend observing him expostulated with him on idling away his time and forsaking his books. The poet replies that he is not sitting idle, that his eyes and ears are busy; that there are powers which of themselves impress our minds; and that "we can feed this mind of ours in a wise passiveness." On another occasion the poet was observed poring over his books and his friend bade him quit them, because "books are a dull and endless strife" and he was advised to learn from Nature's lore. Wordsworth clinches the argument in these lines which sum up his view:

"One impulse from a vernal mood
May teach you more of man
Of moral evil and of good
Than all the sages can."

Nature, then, must be our teacher—our real education can come only from her. And she teaches us through our eyes and our ears. "Be now all eye and now all ear" before her (Prelude Bk. XII, lines 99 and 100)—see her and listen to her with all attention, obedience, curiosity, docility, as a child does, and you will be wise.

What does Wordsworth mean by being "now all eye and now all ear"? Let us try to get to his meaning. Man has "five gateways," to use Prof. Wilson's expression—the *Panchendriyas* (five organs) of Hindu philosophy. These are the eye, which (Prof. Wilson says) can be made by training as keen as that of an eagle; the ear, which can be made as sensitive as that of a hare to the faintest sound; the nostrils as far scenting as those of a wild deer; the tongue as delicate as that of a butterfly; the sense of touch as acute as that of the spider. Of these the eye and the ear are the most important, because of their training capacity and educative value.

FIRST, AS TO THE EYE.

Of all man's organs, it is the most delicate; and science tells us that it is so formed as to be exactly adapted to the sight of the external world. According to scientists, had the eye been formed more perfect than it is, we could

not have seen. So small a thing, and yet it can see and take in great objects ! In it resides power for good or evil. Accordingly, the *C'hhandogya Upanishad* describes the person who is seen in the eye " as " the self " (called *Vamana*,) and Madhva in his commentary called *Mahakarma* remarks that " the Lord has residence in the eye." Hence the dwarf incarnation of the Deity, according to Hindus, is called *Vamana*. When the eye sees clearly, it is called *U'hakshushaha* (clear-seeing), meaning that man's eye can travel up to his God. That is Divine Sight or Vision. So Christ attached great importance to the eye :—" The light of the body is the eye, if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness." (St. Matthew : VI, 21, 22).

Mark now the expressions " the single eye " and " the evil eye." Nearly every nation has the superstition of this " evil eye." Some men's sight is read as bringing evil. The superstition like all superstitions is grounded in a fact of human nature. The eye often shows the man—you can know a drunkard, a rogue, a saint, a scholar, an intriguer from their eyes. The bad or vicious man may put on a decent appearance and deceive by a polished exterior ; but his eye will speak what he strives to conceal. The eye is no doubt a mere organ ; it is one of our senses, reporting to us the external world. It also reports the internal. The external world, which we call nature, is not lifeless. It makes impressions on us through our eyes ; and if we observe it closely, with the curiosity, close attention and receptivity of a child, we shall learn much to our edification. The eye by itself is apt to mislead us ; most or many of us lose our poetic faculties, our power of creativeness, as we grow in age because says Wordsworth " the bodily eye, in every stage of life, the most despotic of our senses," gains such strength in us as to hold us " in absolute dominion " (The Prelude Bk. XII, lines 128 to 130).

That is to say, we see objects superficially and do not take the trouble to exercise our minds so as to get to the inner meaning of those objects. The bodily eye is merely an agent of its two principles, which are, first, our *thinking* faculty called the *mind*, and our feeling capacity called the *heart*. These Shakespeare has called " the mind's eye." What the bodily eye sees must be operated upon by the mind and the heart ; must be deeply thought

over and felt by "the mind's eye" and then only we become "all eye," "creative souls."

Those of you who wish to understand fully Wordsworth's meaning cannot do better than read Martineau's chapter on "The child that needs no conversion" in the 2nd volume of his "Hours of Thought." There he explains that besides our five senses, including the eye, we have "operative faculties," "energetic instincts" "urging us forward into the scene by which we are surrounded." These faculties are our "active propensities," which show that "we do not lie still to be merely written upon by the diligent casualities of the external world."

In other words, the external world (or Nature) has a mind and soul just as man has. There is a correspondence between the two. Nature speaks to man by symbols ; man speaks to nature and asks questions, and Nature reveals herself to him ; he finds her secrets, the hidden meaning of her sights and sounds. If man will but patiently sit at the feet of nature and learn, he can become a poet in the true sense of the word,—not a versifier or a writer of books or scholar merely, but what is more, a man with the grit of true manhood in him, a good thinker and a good actor on the stage of life.

This is Wordsworth's teaching. It is the teaching of another poet too—I mean Browning. According to the latter, God and the mind of man find each other through nature :—

" This is the glory—that in all conceived,
Or felt or known, I recognise a Mind,
Not mine but like mine—for the double joy,
Making all things for me and me for Him. "

(Hohenstical-Schwangan).

Compare this thought of Browning with Wordsworth's. According to the latter too, Nature appears to us at first sight inanimate but she has life ; she has a Mind behind her external forms and Nature is "respired with inner meaning." (*Prelude*. Bk. III, line 132). Man too has a Mind and it is the seat of "the hiding places of man's power"; (*The Prelude* Bk. XII, line 279) ; that is his "Visionary power" (Bk. II, line 311 and Bk. V, line 595) : Man is made with the power of insight—it is his power of pregnant vision. (*Prelude*: Bk. IV, line 353).

The same idea pervades the teaching of the Maratha Saint Tukaram :

नका ह्मणे माझा स्वामी अचोल्या
पुरवे खुणे खुणा जाणतसे ॥

He too says that God is silent but that he speaks to us by "signs", which mean the symbols of the external world we call Nature.

It has become a common-place to say that Nature has a *Scientific* aspect ; but it is more correct to say that she is *symbolic*—that she speaks to us by signs and symbols and is a *Moral Educator*. Hence the French writer Sabatier truly said : "The world is ruled by symbols, not by science." This is, in effect, Wordsworth's meaning too.

Let me illustrate it. Before I take my illustrations from the *Prelude*, which we are studying, let me select one or two from outside. My first illustration will be from the Bible. That book tells us that John the Baptist who came into the world to herald the birth and mission of Christ went about preaching in the wilderness of Judea ; that his raiment was of camel's hair and his meal was locusts and wild honey. Thousands went to him to be baptised with water. Later on, of those who went to see him, Christ asked . " what went ye out for into the wilderness to see ? A reed shaken with the wind. But what went ye out for to see ? A man clothed in soft raiment ? Behold ! They that wear soft clothing are in King's houses. But what went ye out for to see ? A prophet ? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet." This passage which I have taken from the New Testament (St. Matthew, XI, 7 to 10) teaches us a great moral. Christ Jesus meant that those who went to see John the Baptist did not use their eyes properly ; they judged from mere appearance and if asked what and whom they saw in John, they would have said no more than that they had seen a man, lean and weak, clad in camel's hair, living on locusts and wild honey, looking wild and mad, a beggar to beggarly eyes. And Christ said " Is that all you went to the wilderness for ? Then you have seen nothing. Your eyes have deceived you, because you have not used your minds. As well you might have stayed at home, if all the trouble you have taken to walk into the wilderness to see John has disclosed

to you no more than the outward aspect of the man. Your eyes have not served you. If they had, you would have seen in John a man of God mightier than a prophet." And this is the case with many or most of us. We judge from mere appearances ; and so, though we live in a world full of life, of beauty, of deep meaning—a world in which even the smallest object that we see has something to teach us, we are like the men addressed by Christ—we are men in a wilderness, our seeing is of the kind ascribed by Wordsworth to his Peter Bell, who perceived in the primrose nothing more than a yellow flower. But open your eyes more wide ; that is to say, open your mind and heart, get to the bottom of what you see.

Remember :

By things which do appear,
We judge amiss.

Heaven within the reed
Lists for the flute note, in the folded seed
It sees the bud and in the will the deed.

See the primrose, it is more than a yellow flower—it is, Wordsworth tells us in his lines on "The primrose of the rock," 'one of myriads of bright flowers,' which, reviving unenvied in field and grove, teach us of

"Our vernal tendencies, to hope
is God's redeeming love."

We, dull, pleasure-seeking men, see flowers ; admire their beauty ; decorate our tables or rooms with them ; our Hindu women wear them to ornament their heads, we enjoy their sweet scent, we use them for the worship of our gods ; and make bouquets and garlands of them for presentation to those we admire or honour. Is that all the use of flowers ? If that is all we know of and learn from flowers, we know nothing, we have learnt nothing. They have only seemed to gratify our vanity and sense of outward adornment, and we are, according to Wordsworth, "mere pensioners on outward forms" (The Prel: Bk. VI, lines 738 and 739). But flowers to the man who is "all eye" mean much more. Hear Thoreau "The white lily is the emblem of purity" because "growing in stagnant and muddy water, it bursts up so pure and fair to the eye and so sweet to the scent as if to show us what purity and

sweetness reside in and can be extracted from this lime and muck of earth . . . It is these sights and sounds that convince us of our immortality." The waterlily growing out of black mud ! The lotus flower too, which made our Maratha Saint Tukaram pray to God that he might be made to live the life of that flower, which grows and shines, white, pure, beautiful, lovely, in dirty water or most filthy surroundings. The daisy grows too unnoticed, like that. Oh ! what a revelation of light and lightning for man ! Was not Thoreau right when he said that " it is remarkable that those flowers which are most emblematic of purity should grow in the mud ?" So, we too living in this world of mud—of temptations and trials, difficulties, sorrows, quarrels, and misunderstandings, will grow to purity, if we will but imitate the life of flowers and turn by the force of our power of faith, love, thought, and work, all the vexations of life into the spirit of manly grace. It is not pleasure, not enjoyment, not the smooth and comfortable ways of life that conduce to manhood. No—it is

" Love, charity, self-sacrifice, pure deeds,

Tender affections, helpful service,

.

Those ever-strengthening with the strength of time

Exalt Man higher than fabled angels are "

See flowers—be "all eye" to them and learn this. " This world is full of tribulation, but be of good cheer." As the washer-woman said . "The more trouble, the more hon."

What is true of flowers is true of everything else that we see. According to Wordsworth, the sea, when we are " all eye" to it, has powers and aspects to shape for us "the views and aspirations of the soul to majesty". It propels its currents from zone to zone, "magnifies its shoals of life beyond all compass," "spreads and sends aloft armies of clouds" (The Prelude Bk. VII. lines 750 to 753)—what a lesson to Man's eye ! As if the Ocean preached " Like me, O Man, spread abroad your being ; do not be narrow-minded , let your life send its light wherever it can reach—the light of your heart, which is love. As I unite one country to another and make all worlds one, so do thou and love thy neighbour as thyself. I send forth clouds to the skies , and these cooled by Heaven water the earth and give it plenty, So regard the clouds

of life. Cool thy passions which represent the heat or excitement of thy mind and heart, by the pence of Heaven and so shed the water of thy love on your fellows." So also the mountains. Why did Christ Jesus seek the solitude of mountains before preaching? Why did Tukaram, the Maratha saint, resort to his favourite hill at Dehu daily and there pray and meditate? Why did our ancient *Rishis* sweeten their lives with the solemn silence of the Himalayas? Why did Gladstone say. "Nothing sets me up in mind and body like a mountain solitude, not even perhaps the sea"? Wordsworth gives the answer. "Be all eye" to mountains; and "the forms perennial of the ancient hills" not only raise the soul to majesty as the sea does but more—

"The changeful language of their countenances
Quickens the slumbering mind, and aids the thoughts,
However multitudinous, to move with order and relation."

That is to say, the sight of the mountains ascending, as it were, to the skies, their height, their varying scenery of light and shade, noise and silence, mists and clouds, make the heart of the man who is "all eye" beat in union with their grandeur and the mind realising its majesty learns to think connectedly and you learn "stillness on the base of power" As if the mountain said.—

" Take me, look high
Like me be expansive;
The sea says: Live deep;
The mountain. Look and live high "

And a life expansive, deep and high, means a life of broad views, of faith, of hope, of trust, that good must prevail at last because all things work together for good, if we strive to be good ourselves. If you wish to know this fully, go and live in mountain solitude and put it to the test. Experience will teach Or else read what Van Dyke says in his "Age of Renaissance," (page 28, T and T. Clark's Edition) happened to Petrarch on one occasion when the latter climbed Mount Ventoux "The wonderful view of hills, and valleys and land and sea" brought forth at first keenest enjoyment but just at that moment he unconsciously drew out of his pocket St. Augustine's Confessions, a book he always carried with him and it opened at this passage: "Men go to wonder

at the peak of the mountains, the huge waves of the sea, the broad rivers, the great ocean, the circles of the stars and for these forget themselves." He trembled at these words, "shut the book" and learnt from all he saw that "the great soul is the only great and astonishing thing." "Silent," says Petrarch, "I left the mountain and turned my view from the things without to that within." That is being "all eye." If we approach nature without us in a spirit of reverence and curiosity, attention and love, her "soul of beauty and enduring life" will vouchsafe "her inspiration," to us and diffuse in us amidst the distractions of life and its transitoriness,

"Composure and ennobling harmony."

(The Prelude : Bk. VII, lines 768 to 771)

And, as a German thinker puts it, man learns that all we see bristles with Divine energy :—"God sleeps in the stone ; dreams in the animal, and wakes in the man."

To be all eye is to have "the visionary power" (The Prelude : Bk. II, line 311) ; the visionary power is, "the creative soul," the power of the poet, the statesman, the scientist, the scholar, and of a good citizen, a good father, a good mother, a good husband and so forth, because it is the power which sees light and love behind the superficial aspect of things. It means *seeing truly*—what the *Rishis* called *divya darshan* (दिव्य दर्शन), what Christ Jesus called "the single eye" and what Wordsworth termed "the master-light of our seeing." You have read in the Bible that "the meek inherit the earth." That means that if you are pure in heart, have faith, hope, and patience, if you know how to endure, wait and watch, and work, the earth will slowly but steadily *disclose* herself to you—her secrets will be unfolded. So Darwin was meek and he discovered ; so do all scientists ; all scholars ; all the great ones of the earth—prophets, poets, and philanthropists. Tyndall told Mr. Haweis once how closely akin are the modes in which the poet conceives and executes his work to the moods required of the man of science working in his laboratory. And are not those also the moods which form the saving grace of both public and private life—of honest citizens, of true public men, and of man in his private relations? Nature is always on the side of those who obey and use her, do not abuse and mistrust her.

WORDSWORTH'S PRELUDE.

IV.

"ALL EYE AND ALL EAR."

OR

WORDSWORTH'S IDEAL OF EDUCATION

There are two passages in the *Prelude*, which, I venture to think, serve more than any others to illustrate clearly his teaching that our real education consists in being "all eye" to Nature. The first is contained in the fourth book of the *Prelude*, and describes one of his evening walks (lines 142 to 190); the second in the fourteenth book and is a portraiture of a moonlight vision witnessed by him one summer night from the top of a mountain called Snowdon (lines 1 to 62). Both the passages are, in my humble opinion, poetry of the highest order, they are Wordsworth at his best; and he who reads them and drinks in their meaning cannot fail to find the birth of a new spirit in his being. You would do well to study them, commit them to memory, recite them every now and then, and get strength for your thought and action from their cadence. Turn to the passage of his evening walk. As you know, Wordsworth was the whole of his life a great walker and loved to live, as far as possible, in open air, betaking himself to hills, valleys, dales. On the occasion of the walk I am referring to, the poet had returned from his college at Cambridge to his village, Hawkeshead, for the summer vacation. It was evening; and the sun had set or was setting, when he left his cottage and started for a walk. As the evening advanced, he found that the air was cold and raw, not soft and soothing. There was not the serenity and attractiveness of summer about it, because it was rather biting. A man not used to be "all eye" to external objects but accustomed to look at them on the mere surface would have remarked of the air that it was enough to discourage and damp his spirits, because it was so "cold and raw." It is the fashion in polite society when

two persons meet to begin conversation by talking about the weather, probably because the weather, good, bad, or indifferent, is, like the poor, always with us ; and when we talk about things we talk the trivial, a few set phrases , and so the poor weather often fares badly for our careless living. If the weather is " cold and raw and untuned," we speak of its depressing effect ; of the cold and cough it has given us ; and the melancholy mood it has imparted. But it was otherwise with Wordsworth—and it will always be otherwise with those who see the beneficence of God and the capacity of man's "creative soul" by being "all eye" "What" asks Wordsworth in effect in the passage with which I am dealing, "you call the air cold and raw, by no means inviting for a pleasant walk ; but come and see. Have you not found men or women whom you love, become all the more lovely, all the more winsome to your heart, when sorrow or affliction has befallen them and their faces bear an expression of melancholy or grief, silently borne because it is quietly nursed in their bosoms ? Take two men, one of whom is all mirth and life ; vivacious and gay ; the other sad through sorrow. To whom would you turn for inspiration ? That depends on how you are constituted—or, rather, how you have educated yourself. If you are "all eye," that is, if your heart "have fulness in herself," if you have learnt to treat the world as a world of beauty and good, you will turn to the man of sorrows, because his silent suffering, his endurance, his patience and courage show that he is a character, a hero, a great soul. Hence said saintly James Martineau. "Welcome needful sorrow, first privilege of reason , highest problem of faith ; welcome, deepest source of human love and most truthful expression of the Divine ; lay us low beneath a will better than our own and keep fresh in our hearts the sanctities of the present and the sweet whispers of the future." Do you say this is mere sentiment, tall talk, fine language, and nothing more. Consider. Has adversity or prosperity made manhood and nations ? Ask history ; consult biography , look at life as you see around you ; and all answer It is on the rock of adversity that all great faiths, true greatness, real goodness have been built. So, when I experienced that evening the effects of the cold and raw air, my heart, always full, because I was always "all eye," felt inspired, elevated The cold and raw evening like a woman I loved with her face damped by sorrow became all the more dear to me , and I was transformed into a higher being

—no longer mastered by my body, my mind woke up, my heart stirred, and I felt as if I stood in the presence of my God ! And how ? do you ask, dear reader ? Don't laugh ; don't treat this as mere madness I am telling you what is a plain fact of human nature. When is it that men become thoughtful ; contemplative, self-searching—great thinkers, great workers. Is it not when they battle with difficulties, when they accept the trials and worries of life with high calm, work in faith, and hope ? When Nature is plenty and prosperity, the country decays ; the people become indolent. When a man has all comfort and ease, he rusts in luxury. Winter is decried as a season of cold, cough and sickness. But the cold of winter hardens us, braces us up and teaches us to think deeply, and be active. So was it with me that summer evening. As I walked on, with the cold and raw air beating on me, I felt my strength renewed, my spirits revived, and I had high thoughts, inward hopes, and something within me said : *Go and live in the light of high endeavour. Your body is mortal but your mind is undecaying.* Use it wisely and well—it is difficulties and trials that test the worth of man ; meet them in a spirit of trust and meekness—love all, hate none, and aspire high—avoid sloth and pleasure, patiently strive for something high with faith in God—and you will daily spread abroad your being ”

“Armed with strength that cannot fail ”

This is how in substance Wordsworth speaks to us in the passage where he describes his evening walk Mark the essential features of the description The diverse thoughts of the whole passage, about fifty lines of poetry, centre round one fact of the scene of that evening viz “Cold and raw the air was and untuned.” That fact forms the genius of that particular evening. A man with no eye, a superficial observer, would have said of it that the air was cold and raw, the walk dull, and it was nothing more. So did Peter Bell speak of the primrose—to him it was nothing more than a yellow flower. But Wordsworth was “all eye”—his mind meditated ; everything spoke to him, and spoke high thoughts ; the scene, unattractive, and damping to the spirits at first sight, he wooed and he won. What a lesson for us ! *Intellectually*, learn from it that when you write or speak on any subject, make your thoughts, marshal your facts and arguments so as to centre round and lead to one main thought forming the subject

of your writing. *Morally*, also, let your thoughts and actions, let your whole life move round one centre, viz the purest, highest, and the best that you can think of, which is God. "We needs must love the highest when we see it." A good thought is, it is well said, a good *ought*. Do not be damped by difficulties. Learn to win by endurance, which means patient toil, quiet work, and faith in God and man. These must be born of love for all, hatred for none—in short, reverence.

So much as to the "all eye and all ear" of Wordsworth with reference to his evening walk. Let us now turn to his moonlight vision, with which the 14th book of the *Prelude* opens. One night after his meals, he thought that, instead of taking to bed, he ought to move out of his "hat" and have one of his favourite excursions with "a youthful friend." So both left with the determination to climb to the top of the mountain Snowdon and see from there the sun rise next morning. At the foot of the mountain lived the shepherd, who used to serve as a guide to those climbing the mountain. They roused him from his sleep and took him and his dog with them. It was a summer night, warm because breezeless. A thick fog covered all the sky and hung low over the ground as they ascended. Everything about them was uninviting. Ascent was steep; the night foggy, close and far advanced, the place wild. The three travellers wound on in silence like soldiers marching to fight. The poet walked ahead of his two companions. As he proceeded in the midst of that sullen silence and darkness, all of a sudden the patch of ground under his feet seemed to shine with light, that light became brighter as he advanced a step or two. "What is this; whence is this—this sudden light in the midst of gloom?" he was going to ask but there was no time for any question, because all at once the grass on the ground below flashed with light; he looked up to the sky; and lo! it was the moon who had risen, and shone bright. From the moon shining clear in the sky above the sight turned to the misty ground below—and there the poet found that the ground had turned into "a silent sea of hoary mist." From the ground below his eye turned to sights around. While a few minutes before all was darkness, nothing was visible save the mist, now, says the poet, "a hundred hills their dusky backs upheaved all over this still ocean." Note the sight—if you have walked in sight of a hill, have you not felt as if the hill was walking ahead of you, and, what is more, rising and

gradually raising its head? Beautiful sight! But it did not stop there. Light, more light, further light in the very midst of this gloom and darkness! There was at a further end the ocean—the Atlantic! But where was it? Hardly visible! “O! how are the mighty fallen.” Proud Atlantic! where was thy pride, thy greatness? The great ocean had been swallowed up by and compelled to hide itself behind “the solid vapors stretched,” that is to say, the fog had enveloped the ocean and the ocean was not visible. The mist was the master of the situation; it appeared in forms gay and great—“head-lands, tongues, and promontory shapes.” That was the scene on earth below—the mists mastered it with light borrowed from the moon. How was it in the sky above? There all was clearness and light, no mists to trespass upon Heaven’s light our guide, the full orb moon shone like a queen of glory and looked upon the ocean below as that ocean lay low, “meek and silent” before the might of the mist. This was the feast to the eye! And as the poet was looking on, while all seemed silent, the ear too found food for its feeding! From a corner, “through a rift,” where the mist had not succeeded in winning its way, there came a roar, from “waters, torrents, streams innumerable”—all “one voice, heard over earth and sea” at that moment of silence and solemnity when the misty night was slowly emerging into the dawn of an ampler day with the morning’s sun.

Such was the scene—the moonlight vision witnessed by the poet that summer night. What did it teach him? How was he “all eye and all ear” to it? Was it that he merely saw the moon and the mists, merely heard the roar of the waters—and called it as many or most of us, with minds not trained to think and moralise and generalise carefully, would have called, a mere moonshine? The poet saw further. He had common sense, uncommon among men who are worldly and who are the slaves of their passions, positions, their possessions, and whose talk and whose thought is of “their bullocks,” to use the familiar language of the *Ecclesiastes*.

I invite you to a close study of the lesson taught to the poet by this moonlight vision. *First*, it was to him, he says, “the emblem of a mind that feeds upon infinity.” I have told you that Nature speaks to us in parables, by symbols and signs. This moonlight scene was to Wordsworth symbolic of man’s eternity of

thought and capacity to see light in the midst of darkness, to be brave, to bear, and find strength and beauty and hope of immortality even when he is finite! Read the passage carefully, and see if its moral is not: "from penitence, man encompasses peace, from peace, perfection." One might sum up the moral in the words of the Hindu Scriptures.—*ज्ञानिमह्यतमेति*—Man attains to peace ineffable through his very darkness. How is that? Mark the steps of the poet's description—the successive stages of the scene pictured by him. At night he rises to ascend a mountain. So man in this world aspires to ascend high—by living and thinking high, not low. The night is dark and foggy and close. So is the world—man has to grope his way through life in the midst of the fog of ignorance, superstition, prejudice, difficulties, dangers and trials. These are the mists that surround us. The poet and his companions climbed the hill in silence and gloom like soldiers marching for a fight. So have we too to march on for the battle of life with the quiet strength of God (ward) faith. They climbed, undeterred by their gloomy surroundings, because their object was to see the sun rise. That faith that they will see the sun, if they patiently trudge on, upheld them—it was a weary walk at dead of night; and their faith and patience were at last rewarded. As they proceeded at once they saw light. So too in life. If we in this world of darkness patiently toil with faith and hope and love, our very darkness ushers into light. 'Even though a good man errs for lack of insight, if the well-being of his people pulsates in his veins, there is in him what will correct his errors. And it is wonderful how rarely and how little men err if their impulses are generous and their aims disinterested'. (Kingsley). You see instances of this in history, in biography. Darwin worked in the midst of darkness—patiently collected facts, weighed them, bore trials and sacrificed ease, and at last light came from the law of evolution. He discovered "deep things out of darkness." St. Paul withdrew into the Arabian desert for a long season of meditation and spiritual training, conferred not "with flesh and blood" and out of the depths of darkness found light and became an apostle.

The poet got his light on that summer night from the moon; he looked up and saw the moon risen and shed her light on the ground below. So our light for the struggle of life must come from looking up, not looking low. Look up to thy God, O man!

not to thy Mammon ! And all will be light. Then thou art *man*, a saint, a sage, a statesman, a scholar, a student, a scientist, a social reformer. Look high, though all round you is dark, there is light above.

As the moon shed her light on the ground, Wordsworth saw before him the fog and the mist borrowing whiteness from the bright moon. So in life, if we *look up*, aspire high in faith and love, the very mists of life—our prejudices, ignorance, suspicions, temptations—lose their darkness, become spots of whiteness, that is clearness. For instance, you see a superstitious custom. You want to reform it ; if you merely rail against it, you won't reform. If, on the other hand, you have faith and insight, you will enquire how the custom originated, why it has become an established fact. And then you will find, every superstition of to-day began in some fact and necessity of human nature, represented a high principle, and because of man's carelessness it has stereotyped itself into a form, losing the vital principle underlying it. You will also find what Neander truly said "superstition often proves the way for faith." You learn that a reformer must treat society as the father in the arable of the Prodigal Son treated his peccant son. Then society like the Prodigal Son is sure to come to its own. So Wordsworth tells us that because he was "all eye," "the vulgar light of present, actual, superficial life" was "softened" by him, because it to him gleamed "through coloring of other times". (Prelude Bk. VIII, lines 500 to 502). But this softening and sobering must come from the light of God. As Wordsworth proceeded with his sight of the vision, he saw with the help of the moon's light a hundred hills in front of him "upheaved". So in life, if we aspire high, live pure and work hard, the light of God leads us by showing us *hills* of moral and mental grandeur, crying : "Excelsior Go forward, ascend, do not descend." So the mists of life, the clouds of sorrow, pain, toil, suffering, hard work, unremitting toil, are our angels, our guides. Look at a mountain—if it is clear, all bright, you do not admire it so much as when mists gather round its top, clouds furrow its front—and then how sublime it looks ! Hence said Wordsworth in a letter to the poetess, Mrs Hemans :—"I would not give up the mists that so spiritualise our mountains, for all the blue skies of Italy." A good picture must have shades as well as lights ; the photographer cannot work unless he has both. So also man in the

world. All natures' greatness, and man's greatness are born of mists and light. The wheat grows because,

"All night the damps around it fleet,
All day it basks beneath the heat"

The rain that fertilises the soil is born of "the bitter waters of the restless main".

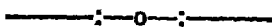
Hence, advises a poet

"Through weary ages, full of stripes and rutil
Thought reaches truth,
Through efforts, long in vain, prophetic need,
Begets the deed."

From the mists that Wordsworth saw, turn to his description of the Atlantic ocean as he found him that summer night. The great Ocean—where was he before all this mist? He had faded into obscurity. He had given up "his majesty". The mist had usurped it. So is it in life. Men, proud of your greatness, of your money, your learning, your office, learn the lesson here. Pride goeth before fall! All will perish and humble you in the dust. Man's mind and moral being are alone eternal! Be meek and lowly of heart, live high, look up—and be loving. "In the world of spirit there is no room for the origin of species" In the sight of God, all are equal—the Irish widow poor and afflicted, who went about begging before the house of rich men but was turned out and died of typhoid fever, gave that fever to the rich, and so, says Carlyle, she gave practical proof of the brotherhood of all men, rich and poor. Life means not enjoyment but duty—service, rendered by man to man in the light of love, sympathy derived by man from looking up. As Wordsworth saw his light that night from the moon shining in the sky we must look up to God above, and if we look up, we too hear a voice, as Wordsworth heard the voice of the waters—the voice of a higher self coming from the "fixed, abysmal gloomy, breathing place" of our minds and hearts which says: "Man, thou hast the eternity of thought and immortality of action. Finite as thou art, thou art infinite, if only thou wilt live pure in the light of God, and love"

So, says Wordsworth, this moonlight scene was to him an education. It taught him the divinity of man which is made to

WORDSWORTH'S PRELUDE.



V.

"ALL EYE AND ALL EAR"

OR

WORDSWORTH'S IDEAL OF EDUCATION.



I pointed out on the last occasion one of the morals drawn by Wordsworth from his moonlight vision—that moral is that man is made "to feed upon infinity" and to get light out of his very darkness. I proceed now to the other lessons of the poet's vision.

What is it that first strikes us when we read the description of the moonlight vision as given by the poet? It is his mention of the detached sights he saw—that is to say, there is the mountain he and his two companions were climbing; the warm, breezeless night; the mist; the sudden light that fell upon the ground; the moon shining above; the ocean rendered invisible; the roar of waters issuing from the shore. Each of these sights has its own peculiarity; each plays its part, so to say, in producing the beauty of the scene and resulting in a moonlight vision; each looked at without reference to all the rest, has not that attractiveness which is due to the combined effect of *all*. It is like a picture; when you see a good painting of a man and fall into admiration, the effect produced on your mind is the result of all the organs of the man, his head, his eyes, his nose, his hands and legs and so forth combining in a harmonious whole. So does Nature, says Wordsworth, work and teach. She takes hold of a number of "outward things," that is, external objects; moulds them, joins them, and makes each of them impart its "supremacy"—whatever of virtue it has—to the rest. Thus the detached units are made to serve one another and live for and love one another in harmony. All the sights work together for good and it is their co-operation, their "interchangeable supremacy," their mutual service, their combination, not their isolation, which constituted

the glory of the scene, the beauty of the sight revealed in the form of a moonlight night.

To understand this thoroughly, I will ask you to take the case of a sentence. A sentence expresses a thought. When you say "I saw a man," you use four words, each having its own meaning and representing its own thought, differing from that of the rest. You combine the four words and the combination produces a *new thought* altogether. That new thought, how did it come about? By each word co-operating with the rest, imparting its own meaning to them and thus out of diversity came unity—harmony of thought embodied in the sentence. So does Nature teach us by her sights.

And, says Wordsworth, here is a great lesson for us, first, as to our *thinking* faculty, secondly, as to the development of our *character*, and thirdly, as to our *social nature*.

Let me take each of these in order and endeavour to point the poet's moral. First, as to our *intellect*. When we are thinking on any subject which we wish to study, how does our mind proceed to work? Are we not like Wordsworth ascending Snowdon that summer night. We read, collect facts, gather information, sift them, examine their accuracy, their relevancy. choose, reject: and when we have gone through that mental toil, we put the relevant facts together, and reason from them and create at last our own theory on the subject. Some one has truly remarked, "deep thought is prolonged thought." Wordsworth describes it in the Prelude in a more apt and expressive phrase. He calls it "steady moods of thoughtfulness matured to inspiration." (Bk. III, lines 148 and 149.) And these steady moods are like the climbing up of Wordsworth that moonlight night to the top of Snowdon. The mind climbs amidst darkness and mist, sees details of information, puts them together, makes them exercise mutual domination and at last finds light. This is the "creative soul" of man. So his mind is exactly like the mind of Nature. He can say Wordsworth, "build up greatest things from least suggestions; ' living in a world of life, not enslaved by "sensible impressions." that is, the mere outward show of objects and occurrences, he too can, like Nature, "hold fit converse with the spiritual world." "No man," wrote Louis Stevenson in his 'Ordered South,' "can find out the

world, says Solomon, from beginning to end, because the world is in his heartwe admire splendid views and pictures ; and yet what is truly admirable is rather the mind within us, that gathers together these scattered details for its delight and makes, out of certain colours, certain distributions of graduated light and darkness, that intelligible whole which we call a picture or a view." Such is the glory of man's intellect, his thinking power, his reasoning faculty.

Do you say this is true only of great intellects, geniuses, that it applies to them only, and not to the man of ordinary capacities ? That question is answered by Wordsworth's description of his moonlight vision. Every sight he saw that night was not by itself and in itself great. Some were majestic ; others small. For instance, the mountain, the moon, the Atlantic, the hills, the sky were great ; the mist, the patch of light on the turf were small. And yet even the small ones had their own part in the scene ; they too served and exercised their own influence ; and contributed to its beauty. So every one of us who has a mind and is made to think, can contribute to make the thought of the day on all great questions affecting the welfare of the state and society, by using our minds, by thinking deeply, steadily, not superficially. Some one on one occasion remarked to Darwin that all great discoveries in science were due to gifted scientists, men of genius and first-rate capacity. Darwin protested. He replied that such men succeeded not only because of their own gifted talents but also because of the work done before them by men of mediocre merit. Carlyle thought that the world's progress is due to great men. But that notion is now modified. Great men are made where small men think and act greatly. " Among dull hearts a prophet never grew " But what do most of us do ? We do not *think* ; we are indolent ; we live in the midst of excitement, hurry and worry.

So society loses all vigour, purity of thought. For clear thought the mind must go into what is called " a committee of the whole "—that means silent meditation, a time to think quietly. How many of us do that ? To how many of us may be put the question which a Quaker put to Southey. The latter once explained to the former how busy he was doing something or other every day regularly from morning to night. The Quaker heard Southey and calmly asked, " And, Mr. Southey, when dost thou find time to think ? "

The same holds good of the law of *character*. What is character? John Stuart Mill defines it as "a completely fashioned will;" and that is a correct definition. Read the chapter on "The Formation of Habits" in the *Psychology* of the late Prof. James and you will fully understand it. Or read his "Plain Talks to Young Men and Teachers." He, there, demonstrates that man is made of Will and Reason; his *Will* is his *executive* power, his Government; his *Reason* is his *Judicial* power, his High Court of Justice. The former impels him to action, the latter tells him how to act. A drunkard knows drink is a curse—his reason is all right but when the temptation comes, the decision of the judiciary is set at naught, because the executive—his will-power—is weak. He has not that masterly self-control, which, says Prof. James, is "the key to all character." I wish to do certain work at a certain time. Reason tells me and I resolve. But the time comes, I doubt; I idle away and gossip and the work is not done. A weak will again! Prof. Sidgwick was once in Switzerland when the General Election was announced in England. He was informed by those who knew that the party for whom he intended to vote had no chance and was sure to be defeated, that, therefore, it was useless for him to return to England and give his vote. But duty was duty—he was a citizen; and whether his vote would be of use or not, he must do his duty. So he came all the way, voted, and went back to Switzerland. That is will-power, "the strength of God revealed in Man, resolute and persistent obedience to God." Now, mark the bearing this has on Wordsworth's moral from his moonlight vision. As the scene of that vision was made up of its units of mountain, breeze, mist, hills, the moon, and so forth, man is made of his crowd of passions. Each of these is a unit by itself. They must be combined, as Nature combined the units of that moonlight night. Each must serve, control, help the rest. There must be mutual domination, helpful co-operation. The Will and the Reason must combine and exercise what Wordsworth calls "interchangeable supremacy." They must go into "a committee of the whole," and then you develop character, which means a balanced soul. What does the photographer say to you when you give him a sitting for your likeness? "Steady, please," he says. All character means steadiness of conduct in virtue, truth, purity of thought and action, clearness of mind and morals. Hence said Tukaram, our Maratha

Saint : " Learn to meditate, to retire into the sanctuary of your heart ; cultivate silence ; and acquire a steady mind." This is the *synoptic talent* of man, who learns to govern his passions—it is the same talent which Nature exercised when she presented the moonlight vision to Wordsworth , it is the talent which each of us must exercise to be good thinkers and good men.

If you understand what this expression *synoptic talent* means you will, I am sure, enter fully into the spirit of the lesson which Wordsworth intends to convey by means of his moonlight vision. It is the talent which enables a man to take a general view of the details of a subject on which he is thinking, and in this world of action and life, to act as a man of principle, not as a man of expediency. Lord Curzon once contrasted the *synoptic talent* with what he called " the departmental mind." A man brought up as a man of business only may and often does become an expert in that business , but what he gains in depth he loses in breadth. His views are coloured by all he knows about that business, and he talks and acts what in slang is called "shop." Such men are like the man described in the *Ecclesiastes*—" the man that holds the plough and gloweth in the goad," "whose talk is of bullocks." Such man, says the *Ecclesiastes*, " shall not be sought for in public counsel nor sit high in the congregation." Wordsworth in his Essay on Poetry has pointed out the narrowing influence of specialism. " A Savant," he said, " who is also not a poet in soul and a religionist in heart is a feeble and unhappy creature." According to him, man is endowed with *imagination*, the power to create a whole out of details, and command a vision.

Imagination he tells us "is but another name for clear insight," "amplitude of mind," and "Reason in her most exalted mood." We sometimes think that to be imaginative is to be a dreamer, a man of fancy, who has no hold on the reality of things and life. But that is not its meaning. It means "courage, faith, organizing power, a knowledge of the human heart, sympathy, judgment and good sense." Two scientists of world-wide fame have declared that some of the greatest scientific discoveries have been due to imagination. Of Galvani it has been told that he noticed the movements of a frog under abnormal excitation and thus stumbled on the truths of galvanism

Now, it is this power of thinking and reasoning so as to create an intelligible whole, and of acting in the world as a man of

correct principle and balanced soul which Wordsworth illustrates by means of his moonlight vision. Let us not forget but let us hug to our bosoms the last but not the least lesson which he teaches by means of it. To produce the moonlight vision, Nature employed several sights—the mountain, the breezeless summer night, the mist, the flash of light on the turf, the moon &c. Each played its part, and each was “endowed with interchangeable supremacy.” There was no small or great among them; no rivalry, no jealousy, no quarrel for greatness but all served one another. There is a lesson for us! We too must regard ourselves, whatever our position, our talents, as beings intended by God to serve one another, give up pride, and so think and act in a spirit of love as to advance the well-being of the State which protects us and the society in which we live. We come into the world to minister, not to be ministered unto. No service is small in the eye of God. Every one can do something to promote the good of his fellows. Only, (says Wordsworth), “be all eye and all ear” setting in motion a long train of thoughts, living deep and high and beyond the love of self, of material things, of sensuous enjoyments. That learnt and secured will of itself, without any effort, produce “a wise and understanding heart,” and endow you with the power to think deeply and act highly, as a man of character.

“A wise and understanding heart” Do you know whence that expression comes? It is to be found in the Bible. Solomon, when he was King of Israel, had a dream. God appeared to him in a vision and asked Solomon to state what he wanted. The King asked for the gift of “a wise and understanding heart.” God gave him that and said that because Solomon had asked for it, and not for long life, riches, or honour, He would give him these also. “A wise and understanding heart” means insight, good sense, sound judgment but these come from living a life of purity in obedience to God, recognising that love is the law, the embodied principle of life.

WORDSWORTH'S PRELUDE.

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VI

“ALL EYE AND ALL EAR”

OR

WORDSWORTH'S IDEAL OF EDUCATION.



In an article contributed by him to the pages of the *Hibbert Journal* of January, 1904, Sir Oliver Lodge tells a story of Gladstone, which carries valuable instruction to many of us, young or old. Sir Oliver there wrote —“I have seen Mr. Gladstone . . . in an attitude of rapt and earnest attention, not to the words of the Bible, which any one might be glad to read, nor to the words of the Prayer Book . . . but to the utterance from the pulpit of a very ordinary discourse”. In short, Mr. Gladstone had cultivated the faculty of hearing, and was known to be, in Wordsworth's language, “all ear.” He was a careful listener, and that was one of the causes of his greatness in thought and action, whether as a public man or in private life. What made Gladstone so attentive even to the dullest discourse? There are people who say that they do not go to Church, because the sermons there are so dull. There are men who want something novel, something exciting, grand, to arouse their interest and inspire their minds, or else life is insipid and they know not what to do with themselves. Such people forget that the dullness is not in what they see or in what or whom they hear so much as in themselves, because they have not gone about the right cultivation of their power of sight and sound. If we are wise, we can learn from even the dullest mind and draw out of life's daily, common, sights, pleasure and enjoyment for our minds and inspiration for our conduct. And this is Wordsworth's doctrine. To him “the meanest flower that blows” could “give thoughts that too often lie too deep for tears”. He “sought for present good in life's familiar face” and “built thereon” his “hope of good to come” (The Prelude . Bk. XIII. lines 61 to 63). He was thus what Masterlonik says of Emerson “the sage of our com-

mon days." To him, again, men who strike us as ignorant "the men of the street" as we call them, were "open schools," where he

"Saw into the depth of human souls,
Souls that appear to have no depth at all
To careless eyes,"

(The Prelude: Bk XIII, lines 166 to 168).

And so, the poet tells us he learnt "from the mouths of men obscure and lowly, truths replete with honour."

But for this we must use, not abuse or misuse, our eyes and ears.

The whole world is a whispering gallery. "Have you found out," wrote Emerson, to a child, "that nature is always talking to you, especially when you are alone, though she has not the gift of articulate speech?" All great religions preach this great truth. Our Hindu Scriptures declare God by the name of *Nada Brahma* (the supreme sound or musician) The whole Universe, we read in them, is the voice of God The *Vedas* were revealed to the *Rishis* by what they heard; hence they are called the *Shrutis* (what was heard). In the Old Testament of the Bible, God spoke to Adam, and Adam heard; He spoke to Moses, and Moses heard; Paul was converted by what he heard. Christ Jesus began every lesson of his Sermon on the Mount by saying: "Ye have heard it said." According to the devotional school of Hinduism (the school of the saints) *hearing (Shravanam)* is the first ingredient or essence of true devotion.

In what I said about Wordsworth's basic principle of life, viz. "the child is father of the man," I pointed out how, according to him, a child's ears are sensitive to sound of every kind. Another lover of Nature, Thoreau, says that in our childhood, our ears are so fresh, attentive, and percipient that we detect at that period the finest music in the sound at which all Nature assists To a child, says Thoreau, "there is music in sound alone." This sensitiveness of the ear is a gift, a capacity which we must develop as we grow and use as we live. And it is because we do not develop it that our education becomes faulty Young men at school or in college get into the habit of mispronouncing words, because they have not cultivated their ears so as to catch the pronunciations of their teachers and their professors and learn.

To Wordsworth every sight was a sound; and every sound was a voice; silence itself was speech. When all is noiseless, we think we hear nothing. But not so with poets, saints, and thoughtful men. Pious Hindoos are fond of telling a story told of a man who went to a saint and asked the latter "Where is God? show me" The saint was silent. The man asked a second time; but again the saint would not answer. The question was repeated a number of times for nearly half an hour with the same result. The saint remained stolidly silent. The enquirer lost his temper. "What!" he cried out in rage. "you always preach about God and pray. But when I ask you where He is, you do not speak. Is this your religion?" The saint calmly broke his silence and said "Brother, why do you say I have not spoken? What have I been doing all this time when you have been questioning me? My very silence is speech, God discovers Himself by His silence" And this is true. To find God we must retire into the sanctuary of our hearts; "the deepest power is usually silent;" "silence is God's attribute;" "all great things are born of silence." And hence our saint Tukaram preached that God is to be found not by reasoning and discussing but by silent meditation and the experience realised thereby. The scientist Romanes declared the same.

Go into a forest when all is still and silent; or, if you are in a city, stand on a road at dead of night, when man and his wife have gone to sleep, the roads are deserted, and you are alone with the sky overhead and earth below; not a breath of human or other sound—all is silent. And as the silence of the solitude makes its entrance into your heart, do you not hear as if there was a sound—what Keats described as

"A little noiseless noise among the leaves
Born of the very sigh that silence heaves?"

Even the misanthrope Byron felt this when he wrote—

"And not a breath crept through the rosy air,
And yet the forest leaves seemed stirred in prayer."

It is on such occasions that man knows his power of inspiration, however little he may be. "Never less alone than when alone."

Hence Wordsworth learnt from Nature's silence and sounds, lessons of wisdom and of strength. Silence, he says, touched him

no less than sound. (The Prelude: Bk. VII, lines 36 and 37). Silent brooding, deep meditation gave him "the harvest of a quiet eye" or "the inner eye which is the bliss of solitude." It is said of him that he had so sensitive an ear that he could hear even a pin-fall. From what he saw with the eye he heard with the ear. He frequented lonely places, hills, valleys, dales, and mused; but whenever an acorn, "from its cup dislodged, through sere leaves rustled," his ear turned to the sound. (The Prelude Bk. I, lines 81 to 85). A river flowing was to him "a river murmuring and talking to itself" (The Prelude . Bk. IV, lines 119 and 120). He heard no noises but always "Voices" in all he saw and heard of sound from Nature and Nature's scenes. To him the roar of mountain torrents was not a roar but "a Voice" (The Prelude Bk V, lines 383 and 384). If the air stirred the leaves, it was then "not voiceless." (The Prelude: Bk. VI, lines 84 and 85) Rocks "muttered close upon" his ears; "black drizzling crags" spoke "by the way-side as if a Voice were in them," the stream raved, (The Prelude Bk VI, lines 630 to 633). To him "the voiceless worm on the unfrequented hill," that is, the glow-worm clear shining was a messenger of peace and work because it breathed "tenderness and love" (The Prelude: Bk VII, lines 40 to 43). "Wild brooks prattled from invisible haunts."

Thus, says Wordsworth, because he was "all eye and all ear," every sight or sound, each "in its degree of power, administered to grandeur or tenderness." He found beauty, the spirit of love everywhere; the world was not a desert, dull and dreary, but full of inspiration. And why? Because he had so trained his eye and his ear as to look "in steadiness" and find among "least things an under-sense of greatest", he had learnt to see "the parts as parts but with a feeling of the whole." That is to say, he was not oppressed by individual sights or sounds; he referred them to the *Universal* of which they formed a part. This is the *synoptic* talent. When we witness a fact, and do not ponder, and do not seek the whence, the why, and what for of it, it corrupts us. But if we refer it to a general principle, we learn its connection with life, and we become connected thinkers. Do not neglect small things, because they are small. Do not make light of common duties because they are trivial, they are our daily light, they form our character and show the mettle we are made of. "Mean and small things often discover great ones," says Bacon in his *Advancement of*

Learning ; and he illustrates it by the example of the magnetic virtue of iron which was first seen in needles. The fall of an apple from its tree led Sir Isaac Newton to discover the law of gravitation. Brunnel took his first lesson in forming the Thames Tunnel from a tiny ship-worm. He saw how the little creature bored through the wood with its well-armed head, first in one direction, then in another till the archway was complete. "Nature shows herself best in her smallest works." Aristotle illustrates it by showing how the idea of a common-wealth rose and finds its ideal in a family. A good state and a good society grow out of the good family life of its citizens ; and a good family grows out of the good life of each individual composing it. Therefore, all public reform grows out of personal reform—the reform of the individual. To be able to govern others, you must know to govern yourself. Before you aspire to be *statesmen*, you must become *men*. And we become men when we make the *Universal*, not our petty selves, the centre of our thoughts and actions. The Universal is God, Nature is His school, there we must learn to labour, love, and wait. Then it is that we acquire true manhood.

We shall have read the *Prelude* in vain, if we have not learnt from it how this spirit of *manhood* is to be acquired, according to Wordsworth's teaching. From all I have endeavoured to say so far on the *Prelude*, two or three main points emerge for our practice. *First*, he holds that whatever else men may or may not be, *all men are born poets* and are so created as to have the obligation laid upon them of cultivating the poetic spirit. Of every child, he says

"Feeling has to him imparted power.
That through the growing faculties of sense
Doth like an Agent of the One great Mind
Create, creator and receiver both,
Working but in alliance with the works
Which it beholds—such verily is the first
Poetic spirit of our human life,
By uniform control of after years,
In most, abated or suppressed.

(The *Prelude*. Bk. II, lines 255 to 263).

This sounds strange to us, because the world has from of old believed that a poet is a genius born not made and that poetry

means dreaming and indulging in illusions, fancies, not caring for facts. But if we think it over carefully, we shall find the popular belief erroneous. It is true that every man is not born a poet, if to be a poet means to be a Shakespeare, a Milton, a Wordsworth or a Kalidas or a Bhavabhūta. But every man is born a poet, if poetry means the power of the right interpretation of life, the capacity to enter into the inner spirit of life's meaning. God is described in our *Upanishads* and the Bhagavad Gita as the *Post* (*Kavi*), because he is the *Seer*, the *Knower* of all. And that word *Kavi*, stands for a poet because it means "the wise." Now, if I tell you it is the duty of you all to be poets, you will perhaps demur to my statement and set me down for a man advising you to do the impossible. But will you laugh at me and think I am demanding what is beyond your power if I say it is the duty of every one of you—of all of us—to be "wise"? And what is *wisdom* but knowing the true meaning of life, seeing things in their true perspective, and acting accordingly? Whatever we are, we have all to interpret life, and we all, each in his own way, some in a narrow way, others with a broad outlook, interpret it. This capacity every one of us possesses—the power to see, to hear, to think, to ask the meaning of it all, and to act on the strength of the light afforded to each. This is our *idealising* faculty, every child has it and manifests it. It is always curious to see, to hear, to know; and tales, stories of adventure, of what is not mere matter-of-fact, delight the child. That shows our innate propensity not to mistake appearance for reality but to search for the real behind the apparent. That is the mind's transmuting and transfiguring power—the power of getting to the heart of things. The lawyer who is a lawyer and no more, or the trader who is a trader and nothing else, or the scholar who is a scholar only, interprets life each according to the narrow circle of his own work and occupation. That is his class bias. He forgets that his narrow circle grows out of the larger circle of life that it is but a part of the whole, and that he lives truly, works efficiently as a member of society when he does his work with due regard to the whole. It is this truth which led to the foundation of Universities. What is the object of a University? Is it to produce men fitted for the professions? No—its object is to produce men with *universal*, not narrow, minds, fitted for the conduct of life, men with large views and broad minds. Galen said; "The best physician is also a philosopher". Of the law-

yet it is said that he is a social scavenger ; the merchant the unifier of nations and peoples. Those of you who have read Sir William Hamilton's philosophical works will remember that he prescribes as the rule of judgment what he calls "the Law of Parsimony," the Law by which we are enabled to resolve some of our beliefs into others, and to refer them to a more general belief. This Law holds good of life in all its aspects. What do we do when we think or act ? We refer, consciously or unconsciously every particular to a general ; a fact of thought is reduced or referred to a rule ; a course of action is referred to a principle ; to see the whole in the particular ; the Universal in the partial and *vice versa*. This is making each thought, each action of ours "revolve round a substantial centre." (The Prelude . Bk. VIII, lines 430 and 431). This is thinking ; it is acting. We all do it and have to do it. You go to a school ; you move among a number of boys ; that school has a code of rules ; every one thinks and acts or is required to think and act with reference to them. Is it not ? That is exactly the case with reference to all the situations, spheres, and phases of human life. And that is what I mean by interpreting life. It is a necessity of our being to interpret life—our part in it, our connection with it, our duty and interest in it and so forth. A miser interprets life with reference to his money ; a pleasure-seeker with reference to his appetites of the sense ; a patriot with reference to his country ; a saint with reference to God and Humanity. All of us are *poetising*, because we are born poets—some badly, others nobly. All of us idealise life and things, according to his own view and standard of living.

Now, Wordsworth asks if this *poetic* faculty is the very essence of our nature and a necessity of our condition ; is it not our duty to develop it rightly and nobly, to grow in and with it, and not allow it to narrow itself and decay ? Life is a circle ; a circle has a centre—life is a circle in motion and it moves round its centre ; its centre is the Universal spirit, the spirit which binds men together and makes for all we hold dear—family, society, government. What is that spirit but *Love* ? Interpret life by means of sympathy and trust, which are love. Hence said Shakespeare : "What a poor centre for man when his centre is his own self !"

How is this capacity to interpret life by means of the best light in us to be gained ? Wordsworth answers : By cultivating the

spirit of "wise passiveness." Now, mark that phrase. Make a mental note of it. Thoroughly understand it.

First, you know what passiveness means. The dictionaries give its meaning as follows : "Not active ; receiving or suffering without resistance " Our eyes are made to see ; our ears are made to hear, and we cannot choose but see and hear. But if we see and hear without understanding and thinking and forming our own judgments, seeing, we see not, hearing, we hear not. If you read a book, and fill your mind with its contents without understanding it, then your mind has received nothing. Passiveness implies obedience ; submission ; trust. And it is the first necessity and condition of all growth, mental or moral, physical, or spiritual. You will never learn to purpose, grow to efficiency, and become *wise*, if you start with an evil mind, a suspecting heart. You must, says Wordsworth, start with

" that kind

Of prepossession without which the soul

Receives no knowledge that can bring forth good. "

(Prol. Bk. VIII, lines 324 to 326.)

To command, you must first know to obey. To rise, you must first bend. If you take a book to study and your desire is to learn from it, you must approach it in a spirit of obedience, that is, not as a critic but as a lover. Then you learn. But if you take it in hand in a captious spirit, thinking that you know all, you will not get to a right perception either of its merits or faults. So also in our intercourse with one another. If you deal with a man, thinking low of him and highly of yourself, you will never inspire confidence, gain influence, and attract his heart. Be, therefore, advises Wordsworth, passive, first of all, obedient, willing to learn, ready to see, swift to hear, quick to receive. Believe that the world is *good* ; that *evil* is fleeting ; that the *soul* of all of you is light and love, and that you will find it if you patiently learn and ponder—that is, if you are *passive*.

Not passive only, though, but *wisely* passive. Mere passiveness is slavery. Each of us has not only *passive* qualities but also *active* capacities. What I see, hear, observe, read, find, I can by force of my own thought make a part of my own being, I can

create as I am a created being. Just as each of us has a name distinguishing each from the rest, so each is a *person*, a personality.

"Points have we all of us within our souls
Where all stand single."

(Prelude : Bk. III, lines 85 and 86.)

This *personality* is each individual's character, growing out of the active impulse of his mind and heart and operating by way of his thought, conduct, and mode of life. That *personality* will grow to purpose and unfold itself, if we are *wisely obedient*. That is, if we move in life with judicious, not blind, obedience. That, again, requires explanation. Every one can *give* as well as *receive*. And education means *giving* as well as *receiving*. Says Wordsworth :

"Thou must give
Else never can receive."

(Prelude : Bk. XII, lines 276 and 277.)

That is, whether you learn properly, from a book grow wisely in character from a high example, and develop your own personality rightly, depends on the attention, the *sympathy* and *faith* which you bring out of your own self so as to make it operate on and profit from the book or the example. Character, as has been truly said, is not taught so much as it is caught. Hence says Wordsworth in another poem - "Minds that have nothing to confer have little to receive." All depends on the state of our own minds. Carlyle and Emerson, one night, walked through the streets of London. Carlyle asked Emerson what he thought of it. Emerson asked Carlyle in return "What do you see?" Carlyle said :—"I see the Devil." Emerson replied : "I see the Angel." Each answered according to the angle of his own view. Carlyle was a dyspeptic, was irritable, and the life of London was to him dismal. Emerson was a man of joy and hope, and the inner spirit of that life was to him *divine*, though outwardly it seemed all fever and excitement. Whether Carlyle or Emerson was right may be a question, but the point I am trying to emphasise is that each saw for himself, pondered, and made his *mind's eye*, his transfiguring capacity of thought, work on the sights and *created*. What each *gave* out of his own mind he *received*.

All depends, then, on what we *give* from our own minds and hearts while *receiving* impressions from what we read, see, or hear.

“ Things that are not
As the mind answers to them or the heart
Is prompt or slow to feel. ”

(Prelude : Bk. VII, lines 669 to 671.)

We can be good givers as well as bad givers. If we are good givers, we receive good ; if we give ill, we receive ill. As a Hindustani proverb has it, if I am good, the whole world will be good. “ The world is a looking glass. Laugh at it, it laughs. Frown on it, it frowns. ” All depends on what we *give* out of our own minds Hence, said Christ Jesus . “ It is more blessed to give than to receive. ” Love and the world loves you : hate, the world hates you. Fear difficulties ; they frown and you faint ; welcome them and meet them in faith, hope, patience. and work in love—they sooner or later befriend the man of silent trust. We are paid in this world in our own coin—in the coin of our own mind's and life's mintage.

If that is so, says Wordsworth, unite *wisdom* to *passiveness*, and learn and labour for life's trials. What is wisdom ? A discerning mind ; penetrating insight ; a clear intellect. But a clear intellect is the product of *pure* sympathies, purity of mind, purity of heart, purity of life. A mind enslaved by prejudice, a heart enfeebled by passions, cannot think clearly, cannot get to the heart of things, see their hidden meaning ; and *clearness* means *calmness* ; and to be calm, you must be pure. “ The pure in heart see God ” Therefore, the ultimate of life's light for our guidance is a *calm mind* —“ High calm which marks the strong ” Hence our Hindu Scriptures begin and end with the thrice told holy benediction “ Shanti, Shanti, Shanti ” (Peace ! peace ! peace !). And Christ Jesus advised : “ Peace, be still. ” It is when we cultivate this spirit of peace that, according to Wordsworth, “ we recognise a grandeur in the beatings of the heart ” (Prelude : Bk. I, lines 413 and 414) : we derive “ faith in the marvellous things ” (The Prelude : Bk. II, line 347) ; we “ coalesce all things into sympathy ” (The Prelude : Bk. II, line 389) ; we look for “ universal things ” from “ the common countenance of earth and sky ” (Bk. III, lines 106 and 107).

So the *wise passiveness* of Wordsworth means “ moods of calmness ” (Prelude . Bk. XIII, line 1) and “ emotion ” which all

can cultivate—active thought restrained, regulated by a pure heart and life. This phrase of Wordsworth's has its *analogue* in Buddha's *Nirvana*, the Bhagavad Gita's *Shanti* (Peace), and in "the peace which passeth understanding" of the Bible. *Nirvana* is supposed by some to mean a state of repose, of quiet implying quiescence, doing nothing but sitting still. That is not what Buddha meant. Our saint Tukaram has explained what it really means. It means sincerity, and purity of mind and heart, arising from silent meditation and trust in God, and the restraining of our passions so as to regulate them by Divine Will. "Not mine, but Thy Will be done!" The peace of the Bible, the *Shanti* of the *Bhagavad Gita*, the *Nirvana* of Buddha all imply an active mind and life, led by calmness, by self-mastery, by pure thinking, pure action, a pure life. This is sublimely put in the Bhagavad Gita:—

“श्रद्धावान्निवर्ते ज्ञानं त्वर संयतैर्द्रियः ।

ज्ञानं लब्ध्वा परां शान्तिमाचरेणाधिगच्छति ॥

(That man attains knowledge who is devoted to it and by being addicted to it seeks it by first mastering his self. He who attains knowledge obtains eternal *peace*." And all mean what a modern poet (Mr. William Watson) calls " stillness on the base of power." It is reposeful energy. If any of you wish to know more of it, read Mrs. Annie Call's suggestive book, " Power through repose."

That is "wise passiveness":—the capacity to see God in man, and in Nature, and to find beauty in the heart of things, and find our heaven on earth amidst life's fleeting forms and varying distractions. Such *wise passiveness* is and ought to be the aim of all education, says Wordsworth. It comes to him, says the *Kathopanishad*, whose mind is "endowed with love and knowledge"—the love and knowledge of the Universal, that is, God. And, such knowledge and love come to him who learns and labours to train his eyes and his ears in the school and the college of Nature. "Be now all eye and all ear" to her sights and sounds—and all things shall be added unto you. That is the sum and substance of Wordsworth's teaching.

How Nature taught him—what methods she employed, what examinations he passed in her school and college so as to enable him to acquire the power of "wise passiveness" will form the subject of our next study.

WORDSWORTH'S PRELUDE

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VII.

WORDSWORTH'S IDEA OF NATURE.

WHAT IS *NATURE*?

NATURE IS TRUTH OR ORDER.



"Once during the Matabele war", says a correspondent writing to Sir Lewis Michell, the biographer of Cecil Rhodes, "we were on the march one lovely moonlight night, expecting a sharp engagement at day-break, when he (Rhodes) suddenly said: 'How glorious this and how lucky you are to be here!.. How much better to be here under the stars thinking out great problems!'"

Now, I do not suppose any one disputes the fact that Cecil Rhodes was a practical man, not a mere theoriser and dreamer. The passage quoted above shows how ardently he worshipped Nature and how he thought he owed his great ideas to her. No wonder Wordsworth regarded her as our first, highest, and best teacher. It is good for us to know this, and to cultivate a love for Nature and her forms and scenery in the right spirit. That ought not to be difficult in a country like India, where Nature has been worshipped as a deity, where the Himalayas, the Ganges, the Ocean, the sun, the moon, and the stars, not to mention other manifold works of Nature, have stood in the popular mind as symbols of the Almighty and the Eternal. But has not that symbolic worship degenerated into mere form and is it not a fact that, generally speaking, Nature stands for most of us as something inanimate—a blind force? How many are there among us eager to open our hearts to know "what rainbows teach, and sunsets show?" Dr. Wordsworth, grandson of the poet, lecturing to his classes in Elphinstone College on "The Prelude" 34 years ago, often complained that Indian students lacked the fervent spirit for Nature which one might expect them to possess as an inborn endowment of the East. Dr. Selby, for long Professor and Principal of the Deccan College, was known to make the same complaint. We go to hill-stations in search of health; we look for

pure water and pure air there ; we admire the beauty of scenery presented to our view at the several " points " (as they are called) of those hills ; but what do we learn of lessons for life's conduct and inspiration from the sights which Nature there exhibits ? In that respect we remain what Wordsworth in his *Prelude* calls " mere pensioners on outward forms "—we lack the power of vision, the spiritual faculty, not because we have it not, but because we rarely cultivate it. And yet our Vedas and our Upanishads, our Sanskrit poets—what are they but inspiration in its highest aspect which came from Nature to men who deeply pored over her book, extracted her inner meaning, and discovered, to use Amiel's words that " every landscape is a state of the soul."

Once I happened to visit Karnal, a sacred place of pilgrimage according to Hindus, not far from Baroda. It is on the banks of the great river Nerbuda, whose wide expanse of flow gives the place a charming aspect, and makes it a fit place for meditation and high thoughts. I left the place one night, accompanied by a Maratha labourer who carried my kit. We had to cross the river and we crossed it on foot where the water was shallow. We found a rock just in the middle of our path and the water running past it made a sound that had a soft music of its own. We were silent walkers ; the moon shining in the sky above shed her soft light on the river below ; and all around seemed like a fairy land. My Maratha *coolie* walking behind me, all of a sudden, stopped, dropped the load he carried on the rock, and, as if caught and inspired by the holy vision of the place, heightened just at that moment by the moon-light scene and the lordly flow of the river, he folded his hands, closed his eyes, raised them to the moon above, and then looking on the river below, cried out . " Mother Nerbuda ! how motherly thou art ! " Then he took up the load from the rock and we walked on, again silently. I did not like to interrupt the course of his thoughts, whatever they were, just at that moment. But after I had walked on a mile or so with him and reached the railway station, I asked him what had made him suddenly drop my kit on the rock and address the river. " Sahib !," he replied, " does she not feed and purify us with her holy water and is she not like a Mother ? " The prosaic fact that a river gives us water to drink was brought home to his mind by the sense of his own eyes ; but to what and whom did he owe his belief that the river purified the soul

of man ? To many or most of us that belief stands for a superstition ; but the man I speak of and his race owe the belief to their *Vedas and Upanishads*. The Maratha labourer had indeed not read them and knew nothing of them ; but their teaching, filtered down to the masses through ages, had run in his blood and so he blindly clung to the belief as the source of the "mystery and hope" of man. Nature's "rivers populous with gliding life" run a course similar to that of man's life ; taking their birth from springs, lying hidden in the deep recesses of mountains, they flow into the light of day, run not a straight but a zig-zag course, fertilise fields, serve man, and at last find their way into the life of the great Ocean. So too, man is born, lives and finds his life in death :

"As the Hindoos draw
 Their holy Ganges from a skyey fount,
 Even so deduce the stream of human life
 From heads of power divine and hope or trust
 That our existence winds her stately course
 Beneath the sun, like Ganges to make part
 Of a living Ocean."

(The Excursion: Bk. III.)

It is this lesson taught by Nature that led the Vedas and the Upanishads to invest her forms and images with a soul and a life divine, which threw the seer of the *Upanishad* into an inspiration, a trance, as he beheld the sun and prayed to God .

हिरण्यमेन पात्रेण सत्यस्यापिहितंमुखम्
 तत्त्व पूषन्नपावृष्टु सत्यधर्माय इष्टये

"O Feeder, remove from my sight this disc of the sun, which hides from me the face of the Truth, so that I may be able to see the nature of that Truth."

That was exactly the inspiration experienced by the Wanderer of Wordsworth's *Excursion*, when, as a "growing youth beholding the sun rise up from the naked top of a bold headland," he lost all sense of his animal being, "the high hour" became to him one of "visitation from the living God" and

"Rapt into still communion that transcends
 The imperfect offices of prayer and praise,
 His mind was a thanks-giving to the power
 That made him ; it was blessedness and love."

Verily, Wordsworth who could write thus of the Ganges and the sun, had the genius of a *Rishi*—he was a *Rishi* himself. For, to the *Rishi*, Nature in all her forms and images was not a mere grower of wheat and rice, and producer of water and other commodities to fill men's stomachs and contribute to their physical comforts; but they discerned her inner meaning by their inward sense and found in her more than what the bare politician and the economist finds—she was to them the best inspirer of our thoughts and our ideals, and the awakener of the divine personality of man.

If this fact is grasped, if this teaching of the Vedas and the Upanishads and the homage paid by our *Rishis* and poets such as Kalidas and Bhavabhuti is rightly comprehended, we are able to comprehend too Wordsworth's teaching that Nature is our mother, and that she holds before us her "book" in all the stages of our growth,

"When she would enter on her tender scheme
Of teaching comprehension with delight
And mingling playful with pathetic thoughts."
(The Prelude . Bk. III, lines 555 to 568.)

According to Wordsworth, then, Nature is Life, a Power, a Soul, because in her sovereignty are made manifest "presences of God's mysterious power" (The Prelude : Bk. IX, lines 234 and 235). To him the forms of Nature he saw in the sky and on the earth were not "prospects" but "presences"; the hills were not "sights" but "visions," and the solitudes of "lonely places" were not Nature's silences but "Souls," (Prelude : Bk. I, lines 464 to 467), endowed with life, with energy, "an active principle," as Wordsworth terms it in the lines with which the 9th Book of his *Excursion* commences, all employed in a ministry, for the instruction, enlightenment and elevation, in fact the evolution, of man.

According to the Hindu Scriptures, what we call the creation—the *world* outside us and the *mind* within us—have come out of God; they are the materialised manifestations of the Supreme Spirit, the One without a Second, Brahma, who is the *Prana*, the Soul of Souls. In one of the *Upanishads*, we read : "Hence proceed all the seas and mountains; hence flow the rivers in all directions; hence all the herbs and the sap, and thus His Inner Self dwells within all beings." The inanimate objects of Nature existed in Him before the creation as *matter* (*Prakriti*) and the *Word* (*Shabda*)

existed in Him then as *Sound (Nada)*. By His creative act these came out. In the *Kathopanishad* we are told that dwelling in the cavity of man's heart the Supreme Spirit materialises from time to time into the outer world as incarnations. This is the three-fold aspect of the Universe, the cosmological, the ethical and the historical. All schools of Hindu philosophy are agreed so far. Shankaracharya, however, holds that the creation is an illusion; Bamanuja and other followers of the *Bhakti* or devotional school regard it as a reality. For our present purpose it is enough for us to fix our attention on this teaching of the Hindu Scriptures that the *world* existed before its creation as *matter* and as the *word* or *sound (Shabda or Nada)* in God. Hence, on account of the creative act, He is called *Nada Brahma* (God who became the Word or Sound). And hence it is that the Mahomedan saint, Kabir, who belonged to the *Bhakti* or devotional school, termed God *Adi-Shabda*, (The Word that was in the Beginning).

That reminds us of the same thought contained in the Bible. The fourth of the Gospels, known as St. John's, which presents to us, in a spiritual aspect, the mind and life of Christ says :—"In the beginning was the Word; and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by Him, and without Him was not anything that was made. In Him was life; and the life was the light of men." A little further on St. John says :—"And the Word was made flesh."

Thus, both according to the Hindu Scriptures and the Bible the visible universe is God's Word manifested, by utterance; and, in the language of the saintly James Martineau, "creation is nothing else than his thinking aloud." That is to say, God's *word* or *sound (Shabda or Nada)*, according to Hindus, or "the word that was with God," and was afterwards made "into all things" and "became flesh" in Christ, "the Divine word," according to St. John), is yet finding its expression, its divine utterance, in all we see. Says Martineau. "All speak, if we could hear, the moods of his mind." This is also Wordsworth's teaching. In his "Stanzas on the power of Sound" he says :

"By one pervading spirit
Of tones and numbers all things are controlled
As Sages taught."

And it finds terse expression in his sonnet on the sight he saw one evening from Calais Beach .—

“ It is a beauteous evening calm and free ;
The holy time is quiet as a nun
Breathless with adoration ; the broad sun
Is sinking down in its tranquillity ;
The gentleness of heaven is on the sea ;
Listen ! the Mighty being is awake
And doth with His eternal motion make
A sound like thunder everlastingly .”

Or, if you wish, to still more clearly comprehend the spirit of the teaching, you would do well to read and reflect on the lines in Wordsworth's *Excursion*, which describe “ a curious child,” who applied to his ear “ the convolutions of a smooth-lipped shell ” picked up on the sea-shore ; and listened to its “ sonorous cadences,” proclaiming its “ mysterious union with the sea ” “ Even such a shell,” says the poet, “ the Universe itself is to the ear of Faith.” It is what Hindus would call the *Nada Brahma* or what St. John calls in his Gospel “ the Word that was with God,” and which, according to Wordsworth, has come into this world as “ harmony ” “ whose stay,” he says, “ is in the world that shall not pass away.”

That is what Wordsworth means when he writes of Nature as a Power, a Soul, manifesting “ presences of God's mysterious power ” :

“ Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean, and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man,
A motion, and a spirit, that impels
All thinking beings, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.”

(From lines composed a few miles above Tintern Abbey)

This motion and this spirit rolling through all things possess and manifest, according to Wordsworth, certain qualities and these we shall endeavour to grasp in our next study of the Prelude.

WORDSWORTH'S PRELUDE.

No. VIII.

WORDSWORTH'S IDEA OF NATURE, (WHAT IS NATURE?).

"Nature's Self, which is the breath of God."

(Prelude : Bk. V, Line 221.)

In our last study I drew your attention to that portion of the teaching of the Hindu Scriptures and the Bible, according to which the Universe of objects that we see outside us and the Universe of Mind within us are manifestations of God. This Supreme Spirit which Wordsworth calls "a motion" rolling "through all things" and which animates Nature, is described in Hindu religion as *Sacchidananda* (सच्चिदानन्द), an attribute of the Deity composed of three qualities - (1) *sat*, which is the same as *Order, Truth*, (2) *chit*, *Thought* or *Intelligence*, and (3) *ananda* the *Passion of Joy*. Now, a careful and close study of Wordsworth's poetry, especially of his Prelude, discovers for us, in my humble opinion, the fact that it is these three qualities which he ascribes to Nature; and I presume that the question "What is Nature?" according to Wordsworth cannot be better answered than in these words of Hindu religion and philosophy: "Nature is *Sacchidananda*."

Let us now see how that is. It is a commonplace that Nature reveals herself to us by her orderliness. "Order is Heaven's first law." The ancient Greeks called the Universe *Cosmos*, because it obeys certain fixed laws. The sun rises in the morning, sets in the evening; one season follows another; of the wheat and rice that we eat, there is first the seed cast into earth, in darkness and silence, it grows on heat and moisture, then we have in regular succession the blade, the ear, and at last the full corn. Galileo taught us the law of earth's rotation—that the Earth moves from West to East. That is, matter in *orderly* motion. Darwin taught us that all organic life moves too like the earth—only with this dif-

ference that while the earth moves from West to East, organic life moves from low to high. That is the law of Evolution. Nature is, therefore, described by Henry Drummond as "the art of God"—not a blind force, but a settled design, a deliberate purpose which is being worked out on a settled plan, according to certain fixed laws. That is the law of Unity, which is the same as Love—Evolution teaching us that everything is *ascending* and, in the words of Wordsworth, "pouring forth a hymn of triumph," verifying our trust that all is working for good :

" As the morning comes
From out the bosom of the night."

(The Prelude : Bk. X, lines 581 and 582).

Science teaches us that "nought that we know dies," that all is above chance and change, that ever since the creation, whenever and however it began and came to be, the forms of all that we call matter have changed and are changing but the change is not from life to death but from one form of life into another. Thus there is deliberate action in obedience to a fixed law for an ulterior purpose. There is no waste in Nature ; no ugliness. Even what is known as the *parasite*, which is supposed to live an idle life, feeding itself on and at the expense and to the detriment of another plant or tree, has been discovered to be a blessing and to have its uses. The *fungi*, that seem to our superficial observation to retard the growth and corrupt the roots of trees, are helps, not hindrances, to the latter, because they serve and feed the trees by drawing food from the earth and communicating it to the trees. That is why you see gardeners, when they get a plant or tree from a jungle or wild growth for the purpose of transplantation in their gardens, bring it and transplant it not only with its root but also with as much of its virgin soil as they can get hold of. This spirit of order, of unchangeable fixity and permanence behind the changing forms of natural objects, manifests a law of imperishableness at the head of laws by which all that we see seems to live and die—a law of life eternal behind the law of death. The *Upanishads* were struck with wonder at the working of that law ; and carrying their vision behind the veil, discovered with their spiritual insight the all-pervading and eternal order as "the life that moves and abides, though the body perisheth" and gave it the name of "That Is," "that Alone which Is," which, I ven-

ture to think, is the same as the "I am that I am" of the Bible. That is the Supreme Spirit, the Brahma which dwells in all Nature, moves in all objects, gives them motion, and "rolls through all things." All else changes; "That Is," say the *Upanishads*. Hence of this Unchanging, Eternal Spirit they wrote: अस्ति, अस्ति "It is. It is," and when they summed up their teaching in the words that are often on our lips but not as often in our hearts and lives, these words I mean of the *Mundaka Upanishad*: "सत्यमेव जयते नानृतम्" ("Truth alone conquers, not falsehood"), they meant this indwelling Spirit or permanence, order, which "rolls in all things." What is this "spirit," "this motion" as Wordsworth calls it but the *Sat*, which is the first attribute of the Deity? The word *Sat* means that which always exists; never changes; is imperishable, "the Eternal and Ever Abiding amid the changing forms of life" of the *Upanishads*. It moves all we behold; it is the pervading life of things; it works eternally according to laws, which are, as itself, *fixed* and *eternal*. This is exactly the first *idea* of Nature presented to us in his Prelude by Wordsworth. Turn to lines 102 to 104 of the 12th book of the Prelude. There he invokes Nature in these words:—

"O Soul of Nature! that, by laws divine sustained and governed, still dost overflow with an impassioned life."

The laws divine here spoken of are the laws of the spirit, the laws by which the poet in his *Excursion* tells us, "sense is made subservient still to moral purposes, auxiliary to divine"—laws, a due recognition of which, the poet goes on to say, will make Science "a precious visitant," because they alone can guide Science and scientists to furnish, "a support not treacherous, to the mind's *excursive* power," by teaching them—

"With patient interest to watch
The process of things, and serve the cause
Of order and distinctness."

And why? Because Nature is *order*, and her images and forms give us:

"Authentic tidings of invisible things,
Of ebb and flow, and ever during power."

(The *Excursion*: Bk. IV.)

Are we not having "authentic tidings of invisible things" in our own days? Forty or fifty years ago, when science was still in

its infancy and the laws of sound were not fully known or not fully realised, a divine, who was not a scientist but who had the visionary power of the poet and prophet, wrote that every word that man utters does not die when, after utterance, it has escaped and lost itself in the air, but is treasured up, floats ever in the atmosphere, waiting to bear witness either for or against the man who uttered it after his death; and that this could be demonstrated if science could devise an instrument by which human words could be gathered into it and preserved so as to be reproduced from and through it when required. James Martineau when he wrote that had no conception of gramophones and phonographs. But these have come and the learned divine's vision of the potentialities of the spirit world that moves in Nature has been realised in its material form. And we now see even with our senses how truly the poet Longfellow wrote when, without the witness before him of gramophones and phonographs, he said :

“ The spirit-world around our world of sense
Floats like an atmosphere.”

More marvellous still is the witness in our time of Marconi's wireless telegraphy, “ which sets in motion by means of a transmitter, certain electric waves, which passing through the ether, are received on a distant wire suspended from a kite or mast.” What is this ether but “ a mysterious, unseen, colourless, odorless substance, inconceivably rarefied something which is supposed to fill all space ”—“ a spirit, a motion ” rolling through “ all things,” as Wordsworth would say, giving “ authentic tidings of invisible things,” and the life of order which is the life of Nature. Nature then is “ the realm of order,” because hers is the power of Truth, “ the living Presence ” (*Prelude* Bk. V, line 34), the *Sat* of Hindu religion and philosophy.

WORDSWORTH'S PRELUDE.

IX.

WORDSWORTH'S IDEA OF NATURE.

(WHAT IS NATURE ?)

Nature is "right reason".

In our last study we considered one quality ascribed to Nature by Wordsworth in his Prelude—viz. that Nature is God's Truth or Order manifested in the external universe which we see; and I pointed out how that aspect of Nature had its analogue in the *Sat* (Truth) of the expression *Sacchidananda* made familiar to us by the Hindu scriptures as a description of God and his Creation. According to those Scriptures again, the Universe we see is a materialised presentation of this thought; hence the second description of him in the above-mentioned expression is *Chit*, which means *mind*. Nature, therefore, a Hindu philosopher would say, is God's mind or thought revealed. It was the same conception of Nature that led the Psalmist to sing: "He is the Lord our God: His judgments are all in the earth," meaning that this *Thought* or *Reason* is every moment made manifest to us in Nature. Bearing these ideas of the Hindu Scriptures and of the Bible in mind, we shall endeavour today to explain to ourselves Wordsworth's second attribute of Nature, as held up to our view in his Prelude. In lines 20 to 22 of the 13th Book of the Prelude, the poet describes Nature as

" A Power

That is the visible quality and shape
And image of right reason."

Nature is then, not merely *reason*, that is, judgment, but "right reason", or sound and perfect judgment. What does the poet mean by that?

We know what the word *reason* means. If you refer to any dictionary you find it defined as "a faculty of the mind by which

it distinguishes truth from falsehood and which enables the possessor to deduce inferences from facts or from propositions"; it is also defined as "justice, equity, fairness." Reason, therefore, implies a mind; and the mind is the seat of thought; thought is judgment; judgment is logic; and logic is the science of reasoning. Reason, then, speaks logic. It is logical judgment. The function of a logical judgment is to enable us to find out what are called "truth relations," that is to say, to discover the unities and differences between things. Hence the logical judgment is defined as the faculty which teaches us to "subsume a particular under a general". You have heard the famous saying of St. Paul's—"we are all members of one another," meaning that human beings, as children of God, are knit together by a bond of brotherhood, of one soul of humanity. This is true not of men only but also of the manifold works of God we see in the Universe of objects. The law of gravitation which Sir Isaac Newton discovered operates in the physical world and also in the world of men's minds and morals. Each object in Nature performs its function not as an isolated unit, living and working by and for and within itself but by its relation to, connection with, and dependence upon all other objects. This inter-dependence suggests and necessarily implies that they are all governed by a supreme life which is common to them all. Standing by itself, each object is a particular, an unit, having its own peculiarities; but it has a class and it is the object of science to classify it, and further, all science is now engaged in searching for the ultimate class, the one final cause or principle to which all the objects of Nature belong, by which they are held together, and which runs through them as their universal life or soul. In the words of a scientist, "the world of life, so bafflingly heterogeneous, is being revealed as a Universe, not a mere multiverse. Everywhere unities are being perceived. What the poet and artist see instinctively, what the metaphysician and the theologian reach deductively, biology is trying to establish inductively." So science is in search of the universal from the particular. It is therefore, described as inductive; and inductive reasoning, under such scientists as Darwin, Huxley, Tyndall and many others who could be named, has been revealing by degrees the mind and mystery of Nature, thanks to Bacon, the father of inductive thought.

It is the same in the world of action as in the world of

mind. To think clearly and reason wisely is to be able to distinguish between facts and things, to classify them, and subsume the particular under a general, and thereby reduce them to a principle or rule. That is reasoning. To act well and nobly in life is to act as a man of character, which means acting on principle; and acting on principle is living a life *Universal*—a life of purity which is the governing soul of all men. When we say Gladstone, or our late Queen Victoria were persons of character what we mean is that behind all they did in their lives, there was a latent force, a wholeness of nature, “a whole intellect.” You have heard the expression ‘national character.’ What does that mean but that every man, woman, or child belonging to a class called “nation” has not only his, her, or its own peculiar traits but other traits in common with all forming the group “nation.” By referring each individual of the nation to those common traits you subsume the particular under the general. Again, what is it you are doing when you read an author? Are you not exercising your logical judgment by trying to comprehend what is called his *central idea*, the substantial centre round which, as Wordsworth says in the *Prelude*, every airy thought moves? Hence Prof. Henry James advises us:—“Any author is easy if you can catch the centre of his vision.”

These thoughts will, I presume, enable you to understand what Wordsworth means when he describes Nature as “the visible quality and shape and image of right reason.” He means that just as man has mind, Nature has also one. Nature’s mind too is reason or judgment; it is logical judgment, because she too, like man, works from the particular to the general, or universal. Her particular is the actual or objective that we see in the shape of the sky, the sun, the moon, the stars, the hills, valleys, rivers, dales and so forth. Behind this variety of forms which come and go, pass and repass, live and die and live again and die, lies the permanent form which we do not see with our eyes but which is the *Universal life of Spirit*, the active and final principle and cause of all, holding them together and enabling them to play their diverse parts, perform their special functions in the creation. This *Universal life* scientists have tried to explain in various ways. Some call it *atomic* or *molecular energy*; others call it the electron. But as yet its discovery is the despair of science. This, however, stands true and grows truer with the rapid march of science that we live

in and are governed by a Universe of Spirit—the spiritual forces reign supreme in and over the world of matter, and both the *Upanishads* and Christ Jesus are coming to their own when the former proclaimed वायुर्निलममुत्तमम् and the latter declared “Ye shall worship God in Spirit.” It is this Universal Life behind the particular which Carlyle called “the Eternal Aye”; and Nature, says Wordsworth, manifests it as the *Right Reason* of God. Right reason, not wrong or false reason. Why?

Man has also reason, he too can find facts, examine, compare, distinguish. But Man’s mind, which is the seat of his reasoning faculty, has its own idols,—his prejudices and passions—which Bacon has mentioned and classified in his *Advancement of Learning*. These distort his reason; the despotism of the senses oppresses it and we do not see as we should or might see, because man is apt to be borne down by what Wordsworth calls “the over-pressure of the times.” This optical exclusiveness of the human mind or reason, which is liable to exaggerate the present moment and bend it “over much on superficial things,” pampering itself “with meagre novelties of colour and proportion” (to use Wordsworth’s words in lines 117 and 118 of the 12th Book of his *Prelude*) makes man narrow. We move in and look at life from our own petty circles, our own private or class interests, forgetting that life is a larger, wider circle. The Universe comprehends encircles, and unites us all and we have no vision of the whole. Life then becomes a burden—a vale of woe or pleasure; the senses rule us.

Some years ago the question was started by Mr W. H. Mallock, “Is life worth living?” and he wrote a fascinating book to answer the question. It attracted a good deal of public attention and led to much discussion in the pulpit and the press. Various opinions were offered on the question. Some said life was worth living; others said it was not; and each gave his or her reasons from his or her own point of view. But none tackled the question so wisely and well as *Punch*. With that fine insight, which has enabled him to hit the times on all momentous questions and on all critical occasions and has made him one of England’s best assets and institutions, *Punch* gave an answer to the question, which settled it for all, literate and illiterate. So long as learned men wrote and wrangled, the ordinary man did not know what to say and make of life. But *Punch*’s answer hit the nail on the head, because it made both the learned and the unlearned not only laugh

—which is *Punch's* first mission—but a'so wise. For what did *Punch* say to the question : "Is life worth living?" He said : "*It depends on the liver.*" And that is true. We complain of life, because we live too well, eat to excess and drink wines, spoil our livers, and get dyspepsia, dypsomania, and liver complaints. All depends on the mental and moral attitude of each man, whether life is to him worth living or not. Life becomes dull, dreary and we become sceptics, misanthropes, cynics, because we have not cultivated the vision and intelligence of the whole, we have not accustomed ourselves to imbibe the spirit of the *Universal* while moving on the partial stage of daily and hourly life. Our poor minds are caught by individual events and experiences; and we exaggerate them. They weigh on us because we have not learnt to weigh them in the scale of the Universal. They sour our reason, because of "the injurious sway of place and circumstance." (The Prelude : Bk. III, lines 102 and 103.) What is necessary, therefore, to enable our reason to perform its function properly—its function, that is, of seeing everything "steadily and whole," from the broad, which is the universal point of view—is a vivid imagination, that "mystic touch of superior power," which Wordsworth defines as "absolute power, and clearest insight, amplitude of mind"

"And Reason in her most exalted mood."

(The Prelude . Bk. XIV, lines 190 to 193).

This is what he calls "right reason"—judgment guided, controlled, verified by imagination, which means courage, faith, and sympathy. These enable us to see the Universal in the particular. Without imagination guiding reason, science, as I reminded you in one of our previous studies of the Prelude, can discover nothing. Imagination means courage and faith—the faith that behind all we see is unity, love, as the law of all life, that every thing is working for good. It is not the poet only who has need of imagination. The scientist too must have it. As Tyndall once declared, the moods of the scientist in the laboratory are akin to the moods of the poet; and that some of the greatest scientific discoveries have been due to imagination. Says a scientist : "Though science in itself is not emotional, being supposed to be purely intellectual, its ideal has an emotional aspect, for accurate knowledge is incomplete without good feeling and right conduct. This world is not a stony sphinx but a throbbing life, which to know is to love." What is this imagination but the faculty which enables

man to put himself in the situation of others before judging them? Imagination means feeling, and it is the feeling of sympathy, an expanded heart. And it is the heart which really and in the last resort governs the world. "All great thoughts come from the heart" said La Bruyere—"the heart has more to do than the head with the pleasures or rather promoting the pleasures of society." "With the heart a man believes unto righteousness," said St. Paul. According to Pascal, "the heart has reasons which the reason knows not of." Hence the Upanishads tell us that the Universal, the Supreme is comprehended by *the heart and the mind* (हृदमनीषामनसाभिवर्द्धते), not the mind first and heart afterwards. The heart is the seat of affection; and you must approach men with affection if you are to win them. The statesman, the religious and social reformer, the school-master must have an expansive and expanded heart guiding their intellects or else they fail and bring woe. According to Wordsworth without "imaginative love and vision of the whole"—of the Universal, not the particular—men, whether of science or other pursuit in life become nothing but "the minds of their own eyes"—they become narrow, cynical, materialistic; and they cannot rule or guide their fellowmen or live noble and useful lives, public or private. None can command a vision, says Wordsworth,

"Through all the mighty common-wealth of things
Up from the creeping plant to sovereign man"

unless he has the culture of the imagination. By right reason then he means the Mind or our logical judgment—controlled by the heart—the heart of sympathy, of affection. So controlled and guided, our Reason enables us to be men of broad outlook on life, viewing all questions, regulating our actions, on the principle of the *Universal*—"one God, one law, one element"—and that of faith in and love for man and men, not because they are of this caste or that creed or race, but because we are all "members of one another." This is Right Reason, or "Reason in her most exalted mood."

Now, Wordsworth's doctrine is that Nature possesses this "right reason," this faculty of rousing the *Universal* in man, more than man and his works. In Nature, he says, "I looked for Universal things" (The Prelude: Bk. III, line 106); and Nature "spoke perpetual logic to my soul," not the logic of the senses,

not the science of the worldly, but the logic of the Universal soul, of faith, patience, love, teaching that good is the goal of all, because Nature

By an unrelenting agency

Did bind my feelings even as in a chain

(The Prelude: Bk III, lines 165 and 166).

A few examples will serve to illustrate that doctrine

Right reason, you understand, is "amplitude of mind," not a narrow mind. That is, Nature taught him to look at life steadily and see it whole, not as a distracted man drawn hither and thither but as one whose diverse feelings have harmonised into one whole—of hope, love, and eternity. That is the vision of the whole. This spirit of the Universal is roused in us the moment we introduce ourselves to the sights of Nature. For instance, you see the clouded face of a sorrowful man; you see him suffering; you are moved by pity and sympathy. But does it expand your heart and mind? You sorrow and say, "Oh, the misery and curse of life. Why is man made to suffer and die?" But turn to a similar sight of Nature. Look at yonder sky—darkened by clouds; frowning, thundering; what is the effect? A depression? No; because you see the vastness of space; you know and see that behind the black of the cloud, there is the blue of the sky; and the light of the Sun. And as you gaze, you forget yourself, you become a drop in the ocean of existence, and the immensity and majesty of the sky gets hold of you and you are merged in the Universal Soul.

"He raised his eye

Soul-smitten—for, that instant, did appear

Large space, 'mid dreadful clouds, of purest sky,

An azure disc—shield of tranquillity,

Invisible, unlooked-for minister

Of providential goodness ever nigh"

(Wordsworth's Sonnet composed during a storm).

Again, stand stand, alone under the skies when all is dark and silent during the midnight hour; gaze at the stars—the very silence and calm sweep in, over, and around you, you lose your individuality in the Universal, and there is what Martineau calls "a lapse of your little drop of existence into the boundless ocean of being," and you are absorbed in the immensity of life, "It is precisely when we

drink in the greatness of the Universe that we least miss the divine life within ourselves ; precisely at the moment when the stellar circles glide over our head and the worlds sweep on profuse as spray from the hidden ocean of creative power ; when the stillness of nature dissolves us away and we watch the lights and listen to the leaves, scarce knowing that we have eye or ear ; . then is it that in the profound repose of sense we wake up to the grandeur of our moral being and feel, as if from the transparent air, the infinite purity we are bound to seek " (Martineau's *Hours of Thought*). Look at the sun as he rises in the morning and as he sets in the evening ; look at the flowers as they bloom and fade and die to bloom again. It is these sights of Nature which turned Swedenburg, the matter of fact scientist, into Swedenburg the seer when he declared of her that "she iterates her means perpetually on successive planes," adapts everything to infinity and goodness, by lifting everything at the end of one use into a superior at the beginning of another use Wordsworth crossed the Alps and looked Read his lines in the *Prelude* (Bk. VI, lines 592 to 616) and how that sight of Nature enabled him, he says, "to recognise the glory of his conscious soul," how it revealed to him the invisible world, where "doth greatness make abode" and taught him that our destiny lies "in effort, expectation and desire. "

"And something even more about to be"

That is, not death but life out of death, a life of duty and of progress eternal. Read, reflect, enjoy the poet's Sonnet composed upon Westminster Bridge. There Wordsworth tells you how London, with its ships, towers, domes, theatres, and temples "open unto the fields and the sky" struck his eyes and presented "a sight so touching in its majesty," seeming to wear "the beauty of the morning like a garment," when early one morning while London and his wife were yet sleeping and not a soul was astir, the poet stood on the Bridge caught the vision of London's might and majesty, and exclaimed :

"And all that mighty heart is lying still ! "

Lines of which Gladstone said "*Omne tulit punctum.*" Nature in the majesty of repose !

Wordsworth stood in a street in London at dead of night—and there he found "the peace that comes with night"—the

peace of infinity again (The Prelude: Bk. VII, lines 650 to 662). Other illustrations from the Prelude might be multiplied to the same effect. Even the dark, dreary forms of Nature have a sweep of the infinite beauty which impress us, send us aloft and magnify our hearts, amplify our minds the moment we behold them. Two years ago a terrible inundation swept over His Highness the Nizam's Hyderabad. As the raging waters, swelling and wrecking all, swept on destroying thousands of His Highness's subjects, he stood on a bridge watching, weeping, helpless. His heart heaved and he cried, "Let me go too and perish with my people" There you have Shakespeare's saying once more verified: "One touch of Nature makes the whole world kin." Nature's forms vary but her soul is universal; and by holding before us the mirror of existence in its immensity, she instructs us to merge our petty selves in infinity and to look at life steadily and see it whole Hence she is right reason, which is his alone, says Wordsworth, who looks

In steadiness, who hath among least things
An under sense of greatest: sees the parts
As parts but with a feeling of the whole.

(Prelude · Bk VII, lines 733 to 736.)

That is why Emerson wrote: "The influence of fine scenery, the presence of mountains, appeases our irritations and elevates our friendships," and taught us "a certain loftiness of thought and adjusts particulars which can only come from an insight of their whole connection." That is also why John Stuart Mill expresses himself to the same effect in his Autobiography as regards the influence of natural scenery. That is what Gladstone meant when he said that nothing set him up in mind and body as a mountain solitude. The *Rishis* of India lived and learnt in the solitudes of Nature's hills and forests; St. Paul meditated and trained himself in the desert of Arabia; Moses composed his psalm in the desert; Christ Jesus spent days and nights on Mount Olivet before preaching to the multitude Buddha betook himself to Nature's lonely places. And all these became makers of men, founders and fathers of nations, because Nature, the Art of God, gave them the vision of the whole, a vivid imagination, a cultivated heart leading to an understanding mind They got insight from Nature, not the foresight which passes for wisdom and statecraft and policy in the world of the senses. All because

Nature is the image of right reason—she takes off our narrowness and littleness, and exalts our minds and hearts from the particular to the Universal, from the lowest to the highest, and teaches us to govern our thoughts and actions by the law of Unity which is the law of Love or Sympathy.

It is probably this sense of Nature's power which led the lawyers of ancient Rome to regard equity as the law of Nature. In his *Early Law and Custom*, Sir Henry Sumner Maine has pointed out how the edict of the Roman Prætor gradually brought law into harmony with what is known as equity, "completely transmuted the Roman jurisprudence" and became ultimately the fountain of nearly all modern continental law, of some part of the English law, and of the greatest part of the existing Law of Nations. "These principles," says that best of modern jurists, "were finally considered by the Roman lawyers to fit in with a Greek philosophical conception, the law of Nature which was destined to have serious influence on human thought to our own days." This law of Nature as one of reason underlies the legal principles of Narada in our Hindu law and Sir Henry Maine regards Narada as the founder of equity law in Hindu jurisprudence. The same law of Nature was also described and understood as the law of perfect reason and in its name many wild theories were propounded and many misdeeds done during the French Revolution. But the poets and especially Wordsworth have given us a clear idea of what that law is. It is the law of right reason, because it is the law of "spiritual love" "Love the Lord thy God and love thy neighbour as thyself, thereby you fulfil the law and the prophets." What are the maxims of our law on which our Courts act but laws drawn from that Universal Law. "All men are equal in the eye of law; *equality is equity*; the law favours none." All these are deductions from the Universal Law of love, preached and practised by Christ Jesus, by Buddha, and Tukaram, and taught in the Upanishads—preached, practised and taught because discerned with the imaginative insight and vision of the whole given to them by God through *Nature*.

WORDSWORTH'S PRELUDE.

X.

WORDSWORTH'S IDEAL OF NATURE.

(WHAT IS NATURE ?)

Nature is right reason

There is a maxim of English law with which British Courts of Justice and the administration of criminal law in British India have made us familiar so much so that it may be aptly said of it that even a school-boy knows it. The maxim is that no man charged with an offence ought to be held guilty unless he is proved by his prosecutor to have committed that offence. And there is another maxim of the same law which is equally familiar viz. that the offence charged must be established by strict proof. These maxims, on which our courts have been more or less acting, have now and then been subjected to criticism ; and I have often met very able men, versed, one would say, in the ways of the world, who have expressed disapproval of the maxims in question on the ground that their practical working often enables guilty men to escape and encourages crime. " These maxims," said one to me some years ago and he was an English gentleman of great administrative capacity and learning, who had served in high office in India for years and won distinction—" these maxims were coined by our British lawyers who were infected with the Englishman's love for liberty of the subject ; they were coined to suit the needs of the British in times when the King's power in England was more or less despotic and his subjects required to be protected from harassment by means of criminal prosecutions. But that period is gone and yet the maxims remain—and are worshipped by us even in India as a fetish ; so your law becomes a licence to crime and criminals." This view has always struck me as superficial and as one which fails to take account of human nature and human needs. One of the services which that best of modern jurists—the late Sir Henry Sumner Maine—has rendered to civilised society by means of his works is that he has taught us how to examine and find the origin

and history of legal ideas and their utility from their social and political point of view. In one of his works he tells us that "legal conceptions are indeed extremely stable ; many of them have their roots in the most solid portions of our nature ; and those of them with which we are most familiar have been for ages under the protection of irresistible sovereign power." It is one of the incalculable benefits of a sane and close study of Sir Henry Sumner Maine's works that we learn from it how the legal conceptions of every country have their root in its theology. It is the same in Hindu law, in ancient Roman law ; and in English law. Whether among the ancient Hindus, Celts, Romans, or Greeks, lawyers were also priests. In the words of Auguste Comte, a legal maxim was at first a theological transformed into a metaphysical conception. "There are no ancient philosophies," remarks Sir Henry Sumner Maine in his "Early Law and Custom," "and perhaps not many modern philosophies which may not be suspected of having their roots in a religion." And he shows there how in the Roman, the Athenian, and the Hindu law, a change in legal ideas was produced by an alteration of religious ideas. Of this law of evolution exemplified in the domain of jurisprudence, Plato would have said that it is an illustration of his theory—a sound one—that it is the philosopher who rules and guides the world. Plato might have said more truly that it is the poet who rules and guides.

Now, apply this test to the maxims of law to which I have referred and you will, I venture to think, find that those maxims "have their roots in the most solid portions of our nature," as Sir Henry Sumner Maine would have said ; that, in other words, they are legacies received by modern civilization from the best that is in the teaching, the life, the mind of Christ Jesus, of the best of the Hindu Scriptures, of Buddha, and of Zoroaster. All religions more or less hold that man is born in corruption and sin ; and if that theological conception had prevailed in its entirety to rule the civilised portion of mankind, the world had been a dreary desert, hard to live in ; but it is the glory of the greatest of religious teachers that while not denying the sinfulness of human nature, they emphasised at the same time the Divine that is in man, and roused the instinct of love and faith that is in him as in the man the dominating factor of human progress and well-being. Those who would set aside the maxim of law that man must be presumed to be innocent until he is proved by means of clear evidence to be

guilty are the pessimists of mankind—they believe that man is a selfish, sinful being, and a criminal by nature, and must be treated as such. They would hand men all over to the policeman and the Magistrate as jail-birds and make short work of the saint and the seer, who is the poet. But it is these latter who make our manhood and found and feed society and state—but for them family, community, Government would perish in a world with each man for himself and God for none. Act in ordinary life, private, political, or social on the principle that man is bad and see how it works. Look into the great epochs of history and see how it has worked. Treat men as pawns in the game of life, as suspects, and you see the proverb illustrated: "If you have the name, you might as well have the game." Suspicion begets suspicion; confidence breeds confidence; love engenders love. In one of his novels Victor Hugo has depicted the character of an Archbishop, who had a butler in whom he reposed implicit confidence and whom he treated kindly. The butler on one occasion stole some of his master's silver coins. The master found that out. What did he do? Did he get angry and punish? No. He handed over to the butler his silver candle-sticks and said to him: "Take these and be happy." These words uttered in a spirit of love had, says the novelist, the effect of creating deep remorse in the mind of the butler; his conscience was awakened; he had wronged his master, and yet his master had been kind to him. That worked a complete change in the servant; and love reformed the man. This, you may say, is only in novels; in practical life, kindness such as that of the Abbé in Hugo's novel will only foster crime. But the moral which the novelist wished to emphasise by means of the story is that it is not by treating men as sinners and suspects that you can reclaim them so much as by making them alive to the potentialities of goodness that is in them—by, in other words, rousing them by means of your love and faith to a sense of self respect. It is not only in novels and religious books that we read of the power of love and faith. The novelist, the poet, and the saint only point out what takes place and will take place in actual life, if we but have eyes to see. Of the poet Tennyson there is a story which in this connection will make my meaning plain. When on one occasion he was walking in Convent Garden, he was stopped by a rough looking man, who held out his hand to the poet and said: "You're Mr. Tennyson. Look here, Sir! Here am I. I've been drunk for six

weeks out of the seven, but if you will shake me by the hand, I'm hanged if I ever get drunk again!" What was that but the moral awakening of the drunkard, caused by the sight of the poet. The poet taught love and faith and the drunkard felt that the divine spirit had its germ in him too. The abysmal deeps of personality in its virtuous aspects were aroused by the poet's personality. Here is another story pointing the same moral in actual life. A lady, turning a corner in one of the streets of London, happened to run against a little street ragamuffin. "She stepped and with genuineness and grace, she begged his pardon. The little chap took off his cap and said with a smile, 'You've my parding, Miss, and you're welcome to it. And say, the next time you run agin me, you can knock me clean down and I won't say a word.' Turning to another boy who was with him, when the lady was gone, he added: 'I say, Jim, it's fine having some one asking yer parding, aint it?' Christ Jesus discerned human nature and the potentialities of love and faith in man when He preached. "Love those that hate you." One of the best things that I read on that is an article in the *London Spectator* of May 14th, 1910, in which the writer said what ought to be inscribed on the hearts of us all. "Really to forgive an enemy is itself a liberal education" Tukaram and Eknath, our Maratha saints, were kind to all—even those who maligned and maltreated them. Why was it? Because they recognised the abysmal deeps of personality in every human being and that the world could be made good by love and faith, not by suspicion and hatred. Man is no doubt sinful but he has also the holy in him. The worst and most wicked of men is not without the divine in his heart and mind. It requires only to be evoked. This truth which in our pride and egotism we miss was expressed centuries ago by St. Augustine: "If you go deep enough down into the human, you come to the Divine" It was a deep consciousness of this which led St. Paul to address the men of Corinth in his Epistles to the Corinthians as "saints" while revealing to them their deep sins. "Men will become what they are trusted to be" Browning in his "Ring and the Book" brings this point out most beautifully. The sinful Guido, found guilty of murder, had to be condemned to death. The Pope had to pass the sentence, before passing it he reasoned and hesitated and the question whether corrupted human nature had no hope perplexed him. At last the memory of a night of thunder, lightning, and rain which he, the

Pope, had witnessed,—one of Nature's sights of power—revived in him his faith that even in the character of the most corrupt a gleam of goodness and hope may and does flash. The Pope reasoned thus :—

“ I stood at Naples, a night so dark,
 I could scarce have conjectured there was earth,
 Anywhere, sky or sea, or world at all ;
 But the night's black was burst through by a blaze,
 Thunder struck blow on blow, earth ground and bore
 Through her whole length of mountain visible ;
 There lay the city thick and plain with spires ;
 And like a ghost disshrouded, white the sea ;
 So may the truth be flashed out by one blow ;
 And Guido see, one instant, and be saved ”

In another passage in his poems Browning calls this innate spirit of goodness and hope in man as “ the Grand Perhaps ”

Even Byron pessimist, as he was, acknowledged it and calls it “ the lightning of the mind.” Whittier, the American poet, too, thought the same. He asks :—

“ Hast never come to thee an hour,
 A sudden gleam divine ? ”

And Wordsworth, whose *Prelude* we are studying, records his conviction of the Divine in man in these lines

“ I am not heartless, for there's not a man
 That lives who hath not known his godlike hours,
 And feels not what an empire we inherit
 As natural beings in the strength of Nature ”
 (*Prelude* Bk. III, lines 190 to 194).

We inherit this “ lightning of the mind ” as Byron calls it, this germ of the Divine Intelligence, because we are heirs to Nature, who is the art of God. And Nature is a *Mind* or *Intelligence*. Hence, says Wordsworth, go to her and get from her the vision of the whole, “ the wholeness of intellect,” the divine eye (*Dirya-chakshu*) of the Upanishads, the *theoria* of the ancient Greeks, “ the historical ultimate ” of the best of the teachers of our own time. Her forms, whatever they are, teach you “ comprehension with delight ” (*Prelude* : Bk. III, line 557), that is, they please and expand your mind and heart, make you feel that you are a citizen of the world,

a member of Humanity. They further mingle "playful with pathetic thoughts" (Prelude · Bk. III, line 558); that is, pleasure and pain are so mixed in the exhibitions of Nature that the feeling engendered is one of majesty, repose, sobriety, tenderness.

The great works of man too give to us these, but not so assuredly, not so impressively, not so unfailingly as the works of Nature. From the great books, from great lives, from history we may and can, no doubt, learn and acquire right reason meaning amplitude of mind, greatness of heart dominating wisdom of understanding and enabling us to work and live in the faith that "all things work together for good to them that love God." But "of the making of books there is no end and too much of reading is a weariness of the flesh." For one book that propounds one theory, there are thousands that propound contrary theories; and all is confusion. History too is apt to mislead. Her pages are filled with deeds and misdeeds in the name of reform, patriotism, and cæcæ. "History repeats itself," it is said; no; it does not as is fondly believed. Biographies there are. But what a chaos there again! "Who is the happy warrior?" Wordsworth has told us. But, one great man's life is not like another's. Will you admire Washington, Shivaji, Bismarck, Napoleon, Gladstone, Bacon—the list is endless; and you can find your pattern of greatness or littleness as you want it and coin it. But go to Nature—her hills, rivers, flowers, skies. Look at the corn—the seed cast into mother earth; silently it grows; patiently it comes out; takes the sunshine and the cloud and the dew with equal pleasure; and the little thing becomes great and feeds you. Here is patience, here is hope, here is love; here is sympathy; here is eternity, there is the life immortal—a life of silent benevolence, working in stillness, waiting in strength and rejoicing in calmness. That is "the perpetual logic" of Nature—not our logic of the senses spoken of by Tennyson as "magnetic mockeries"—it is "perpetual logic" because teaching us the Universal in the particular, it gives us what Wordsworth calls in line 620 of the 8th Book of the Prelude "the harmonising soul;" it gives us "trust in what we may become" (Prelude: Bk. VII, line 650,). Hence wrote the American divine, Channing: "Nature does not alienate me from society but reconciles me to it. In her order and beauty I see types and promises of a higher social state."

Is this a fond hope and trust? When nations war with nations,

men cheat, oppress, prove false, vice and pleasure grow, the wicked prosper, and love seems to fail, we despair and call the saints, prophets and poets of Nature, which is God's mind, false. But Nature works slowly—and says "through our temptations, aye, and our falls, our virtues appear" :

" All the jarring notes of life
Seem blending in a psalm
And all the angles of its strife
Slow-rounding in a calm. "

(Whittier)

And through many a jar and angle of strife, the world' is bound to get its calm of love and peace. The process is long and weary, because it is Nature's law that the higher the life, the longer it takes to come, and grow and endure. The body grows quicker and dies sooner than the mind, the mind develops faster but perishes earlier than the moral in men. Peace and love take longer time to find their own because they are of eternity; and the eternal is slow but sure. "The mills of Heaven grind slowly;" God's justice and truth limp, but at last they overtake injustice and falsehood. See how in our own days the question of international arbitration, laughed at as a dream by "wise" men of the world, has become a question of practical politics, and England and America have joined hands to avoid war and promote peace! See how China by one master-stroke of manhood has driven out the curse of the opium habit—while in India, we, priding ourselves on our Rishis, our subtlety of intellect and our spirituality—all at a low ebb—have for years been *discussing* whether we should marry early and die young or not! The world moves on, my young friends—God's Righteousness, Truth, Love, are slowly, silently working. If we do not move with it, we must perish; Nature won't have us as members of her Universe marching onwards with the light of her "right reason." He, who knows that, sees that, lives and works under its inspiration, has *right reason*. For, right reason is the faith, the vision, the insight, the amplitude of mind which comes of living in the atmosphere of the *Universal*, that is God. The very darkness of that atmosphere is our brightness. See the astronomer—when does he take his telescope and find his stars? Not when the sky is bright; but at night, in darkness; nay, when the great eclipses come and the sky is the very depth of darkness. Get this right reason; get it from Nature—her sky, her stars, her

hills, because "in Nature God comes living," says Martineau truly, "to our presence—the Infinite Mind expresses itself and in the presence and sight and under the inspiration of her forms we move, in spite of ourselves, across His Majesty, and then we "are alone with the truth of *all* things." And yet not alone! The heart and mind of majesty and infinity she gives reconciles us to the world; man and society become dear; their good becomes our mission; and we mingle with our fellows and work, never baffled by blasted hopes or eager expectations but firm in the faith that a good, pure, life of love and sincerity, lived in trust, must help to light our path and the path of all around us in this world. Thus life can come to him only who loves and lives in the midst of Nature's beauty—to him who can say with Kant: "The starry heavens above me teach that my body is related to vast spheres of matter which roll beyond my ken, so the moral law within me teaches that my soul is related to a Universe of goodness, beauty, and truth, which needs another heaven than the one above me and a higher one than our sun warms."

To say this, to live it, is to be pure in heart and meek in spirit; and truly said Christ "the pure in heart see God" and "the meek in spirit inherit the earth." That is exactly what the *Upanishads* mean when they teach us to love and live the good (the *shreya*) in preference to the *pleasant* (the *preya*), or that which pleases the senses. That is what Tukaram preached when he said that if in purity of mind we worship God, *all* good will inevitably follow. That is right reason. That is why Wordsworth calls Nature, "God's word made manifest,"

"A Power

That is the visible quality and shape
And image of right reason; that matures
Her processes by steadfast laws, gives birth
To no impatient or fallacious hopes,
No heat of passion or excessive zeal,
No vain conceits; provokes to no quick turns
Of self-applauding intellect; but trains
To meekness; and exalts by humble faith;
Holds up before the mind intoxicate
With present objects, and the busy dance
Of things that pass away, a temperate show

Of objects that endure ; and by this course
 Disposes her, when overfondly set
 On throwing off incumbrances, to seek
 In man and the frame of social life
 Whate'er there is desirable and good
 Of kindred permanence, unchanged in frame
 And function or through strict vicissitude
 Of life and death, revolving."

(The Prelude · Bk. XIII, lines 30 to 34.)

WORDSWORTH'S PRELUDE.

—:o:—

XI.

WORDSWORTH'S IDEAL OF NATURE.

(WHAT IS NATURE ?)

—♦♦♦—

Nature, "a passion she "

—The Prelude : Bk. VIII, line 352.

No. I.

To-day we deal with the third aspect or attribute of Nature, according to Wordsworth's view of her as presented in his Prelude. He writes of her as a "passion." He says in lines 290 and 291, Book XVI, that "the forms of Nature have a passion in themselves" In another place in the Prelude : Bk. X, (lines 217 and 218) he describes his yielding himself to Nature as "that strong and holy passion." Now, passion is feeling, emotion, excitement. In Book XIII, Wordsworth tells us that "emotion" and "mood of calmness" are the "two attributes" which form "sister horns that constitute her strength"; that in other words, he who is "now all eye, now all ear" to her, "finds in her his best and purest friend," because she *excites* his mind on the one hand, and *calms* it on the other, and by means of this "inter-change of peace and excitation," her student receives two gifts - (1) "the energy by which he seeks the truth" and (2) "that happy stillness of the mind which fits him to receive it when unsought." This combination of energy or activity with peace is termed by a modern poet (Mr. William Watson) "stillness on the base of power"; Mrs. Annie Call, to whose instructive book I have drawn attention in one of our previous studies, describes the combination as "repose through power"; and that is the title of her book. The combination is known by various other names and expressions, some of which have become familiar as household words, such as "innate ecstasy," "divine illumination," "beatific communion," "silent blessedness," "impersonal tranquillity," and "high calm which marks the strong." This two-fold character

of Nature—her power to excite and her power to calm—is what Wordsworth calls Nature's passion, her power of feeling stamped in her as her inherent attribute and stamped by her on all, whether high or low, geniuses or humblest intellects, who attend to her forms and study in her school. What is this passion of Nature, as described by Wordsworth but *Ananda* (joy) the third attribute of God (Brahma) in the sacred expression of the Hindu Scriptures *Sacchidananda*? According to those Scriptures, God, as manifested in Nature, is first *Sat*, Truth or Order, secondly *Chit*, Mind, Reason, Intelligence, and thirdly *Ananda* or Joy. He, who is eternal, created the Universe by His Thought and when it was created He was joy, because He is joy. That joy of God still pervades the Universe—still the creation goes on, it is not complete and His Love by its calm pervades and manifests itself in its motion and evolution. Hence He is called *Ananda rupam* (the form of Joy), and the Joy is termed *Paramananda* (Supreme Bliss). So in the first chapter of Genesis of the Bible we are told that when God had made the Earth and all its creatures, He "saw everything that He had made, and behold, it was very good." This goodness is the passion of Nature. A careful study of Wordsworth's view of Nature and of the Hindu Scriptures, especially the *Upanishads*, will show that the *Ananda* of the latter is the same as the passion of Joy ascribed by Wordsworth to "the calm that Nature breathes among the hills and groves" (The prelude: Bk. I, lines 280 and 281). That calm, again, is exactly what Hindu sages call *Shanti* (Peace) and is described by Wordsworth in lines 126 to 129 of the 14th Book of the Prelude, borrowing the language of the Bible (Philippians, IV,) as

"That peace

Which passeth understanding, that repose
In moral judgments which from this pure source
Must come, or will by man be sought in vain."

There are passages in the *Mahabharata*, the *Ramayana*, and in the works of our poets such as Kalidas and Bhavabhuti, describing how the sight of hills and rivers leads the mind of man to his *Shanti* or peace. And Wordsworth too teaches the same. Addressing Nature in lines 445 to 450 of the 2nd Book of the Prelude, he says that "the gift of a faith that fails not, in all sorrow my support," which enabled him to "despair not of our Nature"

came to him from her "winds, and sounding cataracts," and her "mountains," because she fed his "lofty speculations" and in Nature he found

"A never-ending principle of joy
And purest passion."

It is because of that power of Wordsworth's poetry to breed in us a mind of this peace of God as manifested in Nature's passion that Gladstone, says Lord Morley in his Biography of that great man, (see Vol. I. page 96, 1st Edn.), was all his life unshaken in his devotion to that poet. We read there that Gladstone once remarked that both Shelley and Wordsworth possessed the quality of combining and connecting everywhere external nature with the internal and unseen mind, but, that in application, that quality fretted and irritated Shelley, while, in the case of Wordsworth, it formed the key to his "peaceableness." Mr. Watson the poet calls it "Wordsworth's light" and says that Wordsworth brought "peace on birth"—that is to say, he has taught us how the end of Nature's education of us inevitably breeds the power of peace. That power is free character, for, what is character but "the ability to remain cheerful, serene and hopeful under fire," which comes of "resolute and persistent obedience to God," doing His will, whatever befall, by leading a life of purity, service, duty and love?

Such a life, says Wordsworth, Nature gives you, if you but learn from her, because she is "a passion," holy and strong.

Let us now see how Wordsworth has worked out his idea and whether it is in accordance with facts.

First, note how we are circumstanced in this world. We have the passions of desire, love, hatred and so forth. There is the "passion" of the body—the pleasures or joys of the sense, such as eating, drinking, all derived from the gratification of our physical organism. These have passion too, because they excite us; and when we have them, we are gratified. But we know the end of their pursuit. Tempting at first, gratifying for a time, they at last pall and sicken, and lead us to misery of body, mind and character.

Next to the body comes the *intellect* of man. The intellect or mind has its own "passion," its own joy. "In the Universe," said Aristotle, "there is nothing so great as

Man ; in Man, there is nothing so great as Mind." And the Mind finds its joy in the acquisition of knowledge, and the pursuit of intellectual pleasures, derived from deep thinking, close and careful study. But there, again, the Mind has its own weakness and intellectual pleasures their own palling effects. Knowledge is apt to remain on the outside of our nature. It is said to be power but it is not necessarily power over him who acquires it. In the *Ishopanishad* it is said:—"They who follow ignorance (*avidya*) fall into gloomy darkness ; and they who are addicted to knowledge (*Vidya*) only, fall undoubtedly into greater darkness than (the former)." There is a depth of meaning in these sacred words of the Hindu Scriptures, and that meaning stands out clearly revealed in the words of St. Paul - " Knowledge puffeth but Love edifieth " It is a true remark that it took forty years of labour and meditation for the French savant Renan to arrive at conclusions at which a street Arab arrived off-hand (see page 21, Brunetier's Manual of the History of French literature). That does not of course mean that ignorance is superior to learning It means, mere intelligence and knowledge are apt to give a giddy head. It means that the more we learn, the more we are liable to be landed into doubts and difficulties, and lose our hold on the certainties of life. Darwin has told us how his intellectual pursuits robbed him of his love of poetry and drained his mind dry of all sense of beauty. One night, while travelling from one place to another, he took shelter under a tree and fell asleep on the green sward. He waked at dawn to find the birds singing over him. Suddenly the beauty of the scene about him roused his heart, he found the joy of life, and in a letter to his wife penned then and there, while he was under the spell of Nature's passion, he wrote :—" I did not care one penny how any of the birds or beasts had been formed. " That is to say, under the inspiration of " the harmonising soul " awakened all of a sudden by that glorious sight of Nature, this greatest of modern scientists felt how poor was his intellectual pursuit and his discoveries about " the origin of species " and the descent of man by the side of the passion or Joy of Mother Nature. There, not in the pleasures and pains of his intellect, not in his scientific pursuits, did he find what we all need for life's true enjoyment and what Wordsworth calls in lines 341 and 342 of the *XIth Book* of the *Prelude* " a saving intercourse " with our true selves. And, therefore, did Darwin write in his later days : " If I had to live

my life again, I would have made a rule to read some poetry and listen to some music at least once every week." Darwin's is not the only instance in point. John Stuart Mill was a great thinker—his was "the passion" of intellect. His education under his father had been that of the Mind, not the heart. But, as he tells us in his Autobiography, there came a stage in his life—a crisis—when the tyranny of intellect oppressed him, he felt miserable, and at last he found solace in the doctrine of "Duty its own reward," in the teaching "Make others happy and you become happy"—and he sought repose from Wordsworth's poetry and Wordsworth's worship of Nature. Gibbon enjoyed life so long as he was for years writing his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" but when he had finished his work, and his *intellectual* pleasure had come to an end, he fell into his arm-chair, and felt that he had lost his life's best Joy and Companion! Life is more than mind—it is heart too. "I think," says Tennyson, "we are not wholly brain, magnetic mockeries." The intellectual passion standing by itself raises its own ghosts and spectres. "The freezing reason's colder part" as Tennyson terms it, breeds doubt and suspicion and a doubting mind finds no happiness, says the *Bhagawadgita*. Wordsworth has described in lines 290 to 305 of the XIth Book of the Prelude the baneful effect of mere intellectual passion. He says that by demanding formal *proof* and seeking it in everything, the man ruled by the logic of intellect loses "all feeling of conviction, and, in fine, sick, wearied out with contraries," yields up "moral questions in despair." In short, he becomes a misanthrope, a cynic. Doubt has its own pleasures as it has its pains. The pleasures of it have been described by Cardinal Newman in his "Grammar of Assent" and by Tennyson in his *In Memoriam*. The former points out that doubt has no pleasures, if it "simply means ignorance, uncertainty, hopeless suspense"; but that it has "a satisfaction of its own" where the mind "after high aspirations, after renewed endeavours, after bootless toil, after long wanderings, after hope, effort, weariness, failure, painfully alternating and recurring, it is an immense relief to the exhausted mind to be able to say: "At length I know that I can know nothing about anything." The late Sir George Jessel, a lawyer of eminence, who was for years Master of the Rolls in Queen Victoria's reign, said of himself.—"I may be wrong and sometimes am but I have never any doubts." That is decision of character in one sense, but it is not always enviable. Know-

ledge is endless ; the intellect is finite—it can only grope in the darkness and depth of eternal thought. It has to search with many a sigh—and when it finds, how little it is ! And that little, how much subject to chance and change ! One of the most inspiring of living scientists (Sir Oliver Lodge) in that charming book entitled “ *Pioneers of Science*,” which every young man ought to read, describes the scientist’s difficulties as “ a fearful monotonous grind of calculation, hypotheses, hypotheses, calculation, a desperate and groping endeavour to reconcile theories with facts ” Darwin’s *Evolution* to-day is *not* exactly as he conceived it. It was biological with him ; now it is coming to be spiritual. Mill’s Utilitarianism, Spencer’s and Huxley’s Agnosticism and thousands of other *isms* in Philosophy have had each its day and gone ! Marshall’s Political Economy is not quite the same as Adam Smith’s or Ricardo’s or even Mill’s. Time brings decay to each, discovers new things for man’s comfort but new comforts bring new evils and trials and makes the man of intellect cry with Wordsworth

O ! why hath not the Mind
Some element to stamp her image on
In Nature somewhat nearer to her own

(The Prelude : Bk. V, lines 45 to 47).

And, after all, the intellectual passion even in its best aspects is not fully gratified unless it is communicated. The man who reads and thinks for himself and does not impart his thoughts to others commits intellectual suicide—his thoughts lie almost dead in his mind and the mind becomes a chaos. Hence Bacon advises, “ Reading makes a wise man, writing an exact man, and conversation, a ready man.” Therefore Gladstone said that in the domain of knowledge, there must be both import and export. But the knowledge we have imported into our own minds, the discoveries we have made by means of our intellectual passion, can be exported or communicated only by the language of words—and there again as, Tennyson tells us, words but half reveal and half conceal thought. Our power of Vision is greater than our power of clear speech ; it comes in flashes and with glory which language is too poor to express. Hence Wordsworth speaks of “ the mystery of words ” in line 597 of Bk. V, of the *Prelude*. Intellectual passion, then, which means the pleasure of knowledge and learning is but a poor substitute for life’s true and enduring joy.

It is apt to become "a tempest, a redundant energy vexing its own creation" (The Prelude: Bk. I, lines 37 and 38), that is to say, it is apt to confuse and perplex our being. Something more is wanted to steady the mind and balance its soul in this world or else learning becomes a load, mere lumber. In one of our ancient works, Dr Bhandarkar tells us in one of his published sermons, quoting from Yaska, the author of the *Nirukta*, there is a story told which serves to illustrate the truth. The story runs thus: Once upon a time the goddess of Learning went to a Brahmin and begged of him as follows: "Oh Brahmin! protect me and then I shall be a treasure to you!" The Brahmin asked her:—"How am I to protect you?" The goddess replied:—

"Do not communicate me to any person, who is given to fault-finding instead of discerning beauty and goodness in all he sees and examines, who is not candid and is not holy, that is, who has not acquired the power of controlling his passions. I shall be powerful in that case only."

That is to say, learning, or intellectual passion becomes a light only when it is regulated by the passion of a pure blameless life, of love, humility and purity. Such a life becomes difficult where the dry intellect alone governs. In that case life loses its vital soul, and man becomes, according to Wordsworth, "himself his world, and his own God,"

A reasoning self-sufficing thing,
An intellectual all-in-all "

(The Poet's Epitaph).

True learning—real intellectual power is something more than the mere ability to know, to reason, to discuss, and dispute, and propound theories, because life is not science or logic; it is *love*. Christ Jesus did not win His way to the heart of man because of His intellect but because of His life; and therefore, remarks Prof. Seeley in his *Eccles Homo*, men become pure by personal, not logical influences. Buddha captivated the human heart by his life of self-renunciation and *Nirvana*, the joy of peace. The German scholar Erasmus read Plato's *Phædo* and exclaimed "Sancte Socrates! ora pronobis," and included that Greek philosopher in his calendar of saints, not because of his intellectual power so much as of the

life of love which gave that power its excellence. The object of learning, intellect, is *Truth*, and those who seek Truth must be. says Fichte, men "who adhere to her in life and death, who receive her when she is cast out by all the world, who take her openly under their protection, when she is traduced, and calumniated who for her sake will joyfully bear the cunningly concealed enmity of the great, the dull sneer of the coxcomb, and the compassionate shrug of the fool." This means that the intellect of man must be governed by the passion for truth, that passion will govern only where the Universe presents itself to us as *Truth*—where behind its external and changing forms and passions we have learnt to discern its eternal passion, the passion of beauty as goodness, order, and peace. It is this eternal passion which, Wordsworth says, Nature possesses as her attribute, and which she uses for the education and elevation of Man, because Man too possesses it as Nature's child.

WORDSWORTH'S PRELUDE.

XII.

(WHAT IS NATURE ?)

Nature—" a passion she, "

—The Prelude : Bk. VIII, line 352.

No. 2

In the *Taittiriya Upanishad* there is a chapter on *Ananda* or Bliss. We are told there that this Universe of earth and sky with Man in it sprang from the Self called Brahman (the Supreme spirit)—first came matter inanimate, then the beings that breathe, then the Mind ("the Inner Self" of man,) and that this "Inner Self," consisting of Understanding "is filled" by another "Inner Self," which consists of Bliss, that is, *Ananda* (Joy). The *Upanishad* goes on to mention the different kinds of human bliss,—those of wealth, of learning, of work. But these, it says, are not comparable to the bliss of Brahman (God), and that bliss comes only to "the great sage who is free from all desires." That "bliss is in the centre of all that is immortal;" and he who finds it in this Universe, is able to say, declares the *Upanishad*. "I overcome the whole world, I am endowed with golden light" (*suvarna Joti*). That "golden light" is the *Paramananda* (supreme bliss) of the Hindu Scriptures; and that was the crowning glory of Christ Jesus, who was able to say by His life of love, "I have overcome the world." For us, poorer mortals, this supreme bliss seems unattainable; and Hinduism has suffered because of the general belief that for the average of humanity there is nothing to do but to worship the saints that lived lives of that bliss, and treat it as an unrealisable ideal in this world of sorrows. It is the merit of the saints and of poets that they have never encouraged that false belief. Christ Jesus seeking sinners and his parable of the Prodigal; Tukaram, the Maratha saint, praising God as one who is always in search of the poor, the ignorant, the blind, the lame and distressed have placed before us the essential truth of life that this supreme bliss

is within the reach of all. Only we do not heed it. And yet how often have I found that truth uttered even by the most despised of our fellows. Only the other day I met a Mahar and his wife, both in tattered clothes, illiterate and ignorant. Entering into conversation with them, I learnt something of their history—a life of persecution from relations. As we were talking, and the husband was narrating to me his sorrows, the woman let fall this remark: “But there is He to support us—He the seeker of us all” (जो आत्माला भुंडत आहे). A Christian lady, who was present at this interview darted forward at this impromptu remark, and exclaimed to me: “What a pregnant remark! God ever seeking us! Can anything be grander? Whence came this idea into this ignorant woman’s head?” I replied:—“It is our Hindu saints who have said it.” My lady friend asked —“But does the woman understand it? Let us ask.” I advised my friend not to question the woman just then, lest the train of her husband’s thoughts, as he was narrating to me his history should be interrupted. When he had ended his story, I asked him to see me after a few days. He and his wife came again. I asked her to explain to me what she had said on the previous occasion. But before she would answer, the husband said.—“Poor woman! What does she know?” I replied I wanted to know from her. “Sir,” she replied, “we are beggars—Mahars—words come from our lips—what can we explain?” I plied her with the request but her answer was—“We know not. God knows all.” “And then why and how did those words come from your mouth that *God seeks us all*?” I asked. The woman could not explain. Sacred truths, letting out the light of life that shines in the poorest heart—but Oh! present-day Hinduism! how hast thou by thy caste and formalism, made them truths of tongue, not “the golden light” of the Upanishads to exalt us in this world!

“God seeks us;” that is the truth which saints and poets perpetually din into our ears; but we are truants, “the world is too much with us, getting and spending.” Our senses make us slaves; and we are the fools of our passions. Our eyes do not see God; and it seems a fancy of the brain to say, God seeks us. But what is all this Universe? Does it not show that He is seeking us? Go to nature, says Wordsworth; study her *passion*; the passion of love, breeding peace, and there you learn “the royalty of inward happiness,” for she is the emblem of supreme bliss, she

reveals to you "the invisible world," where greatness abides, she rouses the infinite in you through the infinite in her. and

"Under such banners militant the soul
Seeks for no trophies, struggles for no spoils
That may attest her prowess, blest in thoughts
That are their own perfection and reward,
Strong in herself and beatitude
That hides her, like the mighty flood of Nile
Poured from his fount of Abyssinian clouds
To fertilise the whole Egyptian plain

(The Prelude : Bk. VI, lines 609 to 616).

In line 135 of the 3rd Book of the Prelude, the poet tells us that he was sensitive to "whatever of terror or of love or beauty Nature's daily face put on from transitory passion." Every day we see how Nature's objects, such as the sea, the hills, the sky, assume different forms—at times lovely, at times terrible. Now she is serious, now gay, now sober and serene. Her "visitings" are either "fearless" or marked by "soft alarm" like "hurtless light opening the peaceful clouds;" or they are "severer interventions" because of her "huge and mighty forms" (The Prelude. Bk. I, lines 352 to 356). And each of these fleeting passions which Nature puts on daily or hourly excites a corresponding passion in us when we witness it, and our moods become those of joy or fear, love or depression, according to their respective character. A beautiful illustration of this we find in Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. Notice, for instance, the line—

"The landscape winking through the heat"

Those of you who have read that poem will remember how the poet describes the different stages of his sorrow for his dead friend, Hallam. At times his grief burst into speech; on other occasions it sunk into silence. "Calm is the morn," and the calm leads to "a calmer grief." "Calm and deep peace" reign in the breeze blowing and the poet's sorrow becomes "a calm despair." There is "calm on the seas and silver sleep" with "waves that sway themselves in rest" and the mourner's heart heaves with "dead calm" like the "heaving deep." "The winds begin to rise and roar;" and the poet's sorrow rises and roars too—it turns into "wild unrest." The poet visits the grave of Hallam, lying on the banks of the river Wye; he stands gazing on the spot; and his

sorrow flows and ebbs with the river. When the tide is high, his heart heaves and the full heart becomes noiseless like the full river. When the tide falls and the river murmurs, his heart falls too, and bursts out in tears and speech.

“ The tide flows down the wave again
Is vocal in its wooded walls,
My deeper anguish also falls.
And I can speak a little then ”

Now, Wordsworth speaks of feelings created in us by these transitory passions which Nature's face daily puts on as “fleeting moods.” They come and go and it looks as if they leave no permanent impress on our minds. We seem to forget them after they have passed out of sight. But such is not the case. We may forget the sights—we may not remember what we felt when we witnessed them; but they are treasured up in the secret corners of our minds and hearts. The mind has a receptive power: it has what Tennyson calls “a hoarding sense;” when it receives impressions we often are not aware. It is Nature's work. A word said; a sight seen; a book read; a person talked to, seem to vanish out of memory but years afterwards, something recalls them to our minds. So Nature works to influence us by her “transitory passions.” Her forms as they pass before us from terror to love, from the sublime to the commonplace, leave their prints behind on our intellects, hearts and impress upon us “the characters of danger or desire,” “triumph and delight,” “hope and fear;” and thus they silently contribute to the growth of our mind and morals. Hence Wordsworth says (The Prelude: Bk. I, lines 401 to 414) that Nature's forms, whether they are “pleasant images of trees, of sea or sky “or colours of green fields” or “the huge and mighty forms” such as we witness in caves, woods and hills, “storms and gloom” intertwine for us “the passions that build up our human soul”—they create in us what in another place he terms “the harmonising soul.” Now, here is a lesson for us. Nature uses her different passions—terror, beauty, love, danger, desire &c—because all these are needed to make our true manhood. We have these different passions; and if any one of them gets the ascendancy, our development becomes one-sided—we do not become “whole.” Each passion has its use in life: it must not be abused. The passions in us must be coor-

dinated; all must be regulated, moulded, joined so as to act in harmony. They must be trained to go into what Quakers call a committee, of the whole. It is for the purpose of this restraint, this coordination that Nature puts on daily her transitory passions—now she is terrible, now she is lovely, now sublime. As Emerson has pointed out, "Nature is upheld by antagonism" and she delights in "the combining of contrasts." She hates monotony and dull routine; she does not like to hum the same tune, wear the same expression on her countenance, because variety is needed for unity—the harmony of music must come out of different tones and tunes. An Arabic saying has it: "All sunshine makes the desert." It is in the dark sky that the astronomer seeks to find out his star; certainty has no epic; pleasure has no logic. Man rises by trial, not enjoyment. Hence Browning says that life's "joy is three parts pain!" Why do we admire the man who sacrifices his all for others, leads a life of purity? What made the wounded men in the Crimean war avoid all rough and impatient expression in the presence of the ladies headed by Miss Florence Nightingale, who came to nurse them? What makes the martyrs of science—the men who toil in the laboratory or in the midst of pestilence at the risk of their own lives but "an inward trust in the order of the Universe as truly sacred, and entitled to the unqualified homage of human thought and will." One of the most commanding figures in the Boer war was Lord Roberts; what gave him that commanding personality but the fact that, though borne down by domestic affliction—the death of his only son—he stood by his country and his King, and served in the field! It is said that what distinguishes Man from the Brute is that he is a *rational* animal. But the truer distinction is that pointed out by James Martineau "The creatures below us (with exceptions doubtless, chiefly of those which have gained something from the companionship of man) *have no pity*, they hate the feeble, they persecute the wounded; they kill the dying of their own kind... ..With man it is quite otherwise. Nothing appeals to him so strongly as the beseeching eye of conscious suffering." It is this perception of the instinct of pity in man and his capacity to lose all for himself for the sake of truth, and the love of his fellows that made ancient Greeks and ancient Hindus attach greater importance to the influence of tragedies than comic

plays. According to Aristotle, when we say that "art imitates Nature," what we mean is that the artist tries to bring out or reproduce by means of his picture not the outward objects of Nature but the *Ideal* in them which exists as the *spirit* unseen behind the form seen. He calls that spirit "the form which is Universal." This *Universal form* is in man too. We all have one human mind and heart—we all can think, laugh and weep, rejoice and sorrow. What brings out this human-heartedness more strongly, more surely—the sight of a tragedy or the sight of a comedy? Aristotle answers: the former. And Milton supports him. According to the latter, tragedy acts on us on the homœopathic principle. Tragedy, he says, is the most profitable of all poems, because, as pointed out by Aristotle, it purges pity, terror &c. by passing them through the medium of art and enabling the man who witnesses it to identify himself with the Universal. That is true, as every day experience shows. Human sympathy is roused when we find a fellow-being afflicted, not when he is happy and prosperous. The sight of suffering expands the heart and we all then feel that we are one—the Universal expresses itself. It is this sanctity of the human heart—this capacity of man to discipline himself in darkness and develop the "love of souls"—which forms the keynote of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Man is greater than the Brute, because he has the sense of *Beauty* and of *Wonder*; and that sense is never more emphatically roused than by the tragedies of life. A man struggling bravely with sorrow, and misfortune, not only awakens our sympathy but also our admiration, not the man basking in the sunshine of prosperity and happiness and ease. The gods, said a Roman philosopher, delight in a human being struggling with affliction. Not the gods only. Men's minds may seem at first sight to recoil from suffering; but instinctively they rise in reverence before it—and the Book of Job, the *Mahabharata*, and last but not least of all, the Cross of Christ have become the sanctities of humanity and made life worth living. That is the wisdom of Nature's passion, and the secret of the wisdom lies in the fact of her *Beauty*. Whatever form she puts on, whether she laughs or frowns, her blue sky, her storms, winds, mists and clouds have the passion of *power*—it all *invites* you, *rouses* you. What is beauty? Is it merely something fair in form and appearance? *Beauty* is that quality which catches your mind and makes it enter into the inner idea of the object unseen, the unseen lying behind the

seen, what Aristotle calls the Universal idea, what the Taittiriya Upanishad speaks of as "the invisible, incorporeal, undefined, unsupported."—"from whence all speech with the mind turns away unable to reach it"—the "Love unalterable" of Wordsworth. There is the beauty of flowers; of the sky, of the sea, of the grass, of the storm; of the roaring wind; of thunder and lightning. One beauty differs from another; flowers look lovely; the sky when it is blue has the beauty of joy; when it is clouded, it has the beauty of sorrow. Flowers, the sky, the grass and similar daily sights are our familiar teachers—but familiarity breeds contempt. The sun rises, shines, and sets, and because he does it daily, we heed not and learn not from him "The good we never miss we rarely prize." So to rouse us from our listlessness, arrest our inattentive minds and move our unfeeling hearts, Nature puts on sometimes her "transitory passion" of sternness, her storms rage, her winds roar, her thunder bursts, her lightning shines, and then—we wake up, see, listen, fear, and ask—what is behind all this? What means this? These are or seem like the crises of danger or peril that Nature prepares for man. She seems to frown but it is not frowning, it is Nature's great call to man. "It is the great crises of peril that, as they are passing, train a people's character." "No gains without pains." Man likes comfort and pleasure—and decays. Nature wants to drag him out of that death from a life of indolence. She exercises him in her school by presenting to him her forms of fear and danger—and he becomes mellowed—he wants to know her mystery then, tries to peep into the unseen life behind her seen life—and hence the poet, the man of science, the philosopher, the scientist, the philanthropist, who are the crowning glory of a people

Nature has also *climatic* or *local* passion. Wordsworth says:—

The forms

Of Nature have a passion in themselves
That intermingles with those works of man
To which she summons him, although the works
Be mean, have nothing lofty of their own.

(The Prelude : Bk. XIII, lines 290 to 294.)

Each country has its climate; its own beauty of natural scenery. The Italian is gay because of the blue skies of his country, the Englishman is reserved because of his cloudy sky and cold climate. To take Wordsworth's own example, he was

born and bred amidst "the calm magnificence" of Cumberland scenery—in the valley of Grasmere and along the plain of Windermere lake. Of Grasmere we are told by Dr. Channing, the American divine, that it "seemed to be spread out in the mountainous recesses as an abode for lonely, silent, pensive meditation—for the inspired imagination." Its character he describes as one of seclusion but not of the stern or sorrowful kind; "it invites rather the mild enthusiast, who, amidst the deformities of life, still sees what is lovely in human nature, who sees visions of morality, and is conscious of the capacities of human nature for what is great and good." Windermere, the same divine describes as a lake of great beauty spreading into water expanses, encircled with banks less high and precipitous, as if the lake itself wished for greater communion with Nature. And Channing adds—"Windermere was tranquil but it had a cheerful tranquillity and its genius was peace; but peace with a smiling aspect, wooing society and sympathy. . . The spirit of peace which breathes here seems to blend these opposite elements into one." It is this *passion* of Nature as exhibited in Wordsworth's place of birth and breeding which made him a poet of peace, gave him, to use his own words "pensive musings," turned him into "a meditative, oft, a suffering man." (The Prelude: Bk. XIV, line 143). Hence Gladstone wrote in one of his letters to a friend: "He has been a great teacher, and a great blessing to mankind."

Of all these varying passions of Nature, the end is that he who attends to them, who waits on and watches her forms becomes "a living soul" able to "see into the life of things," because he is "made quiet by the power of harmony, and the deep power of joy" which Nature excites, whatever mood she puts on; and he acquires the "cheerful faith, that all which we behold is full of blessings." (Lines composed above Tintern Abby.)

The passion then, is the passion of peace. That is her *Eternal* Passion, behind the *Transitory* and the *Local* or *Olimatic*. These two are merely her outward forms but the spirit behind them is that of *rest*, which is the same as "the sober pleasure" Wordsworth speaks of in his "Lines composed a few miles above Tintern Abbey." This spirit of restfulness, of "the calm that Nature breathes among her hills and groves" gives us "healing thoughts of tender joy." That is Nature's gift to her worshipper, be-

cause she is *peace*. That is what we learn and acquire in her school. See the wheel of a carriage; it moves, but its centre, the axle, is motionless; and yet it is the axle which imparts the motion. See the ocean when it rages—and yet its centre is calm. The earth moves round its axis as its centre; the axis is motionless. Look at the tree—it stands and its branches and foliage move. But its root lying hidden is its life. What moves gets its energy from its centre—which is invisible. So Nature's outward forms varying, and various, have an inner life—the passions external flow from her passion internal—which holds all objects together and gives them everlasting motion. Nature by her varying passions "coerces all things into sympathy," shows "affinities" in objects where no brotherhood exists to "passive minds"; and to him who is "all eye and all ear" to her forms, she reveals "her overflowing soul" of "ineffable bliss," because, whether the forms are fearful or pleasing to the eye, they all sing in your ears one song.

"One song they sang and it was audible
Most audible then, when the fleshly ear
O'ercome by humblest prelude of that strain
Forgot her functions and slept undisturbed."

(The Prelude.)

This is the peace of the Christ, the Nirvana of Buddha; the *Shanti* of the Vedas; and it comes to him that is pure in heart but "no heart is pure that is not passionate, no virtue is safe that is not enthusiastic." (Seeley's *Ecco Homo*). Be childlike and go to your mother Nature. Study her passions and the eternal passion behind them—and you will be pure and find her peace for your life in this world. The sight of woods and forests made the American Thoreau grow like "corn in the night." To the English Jefferies "the exceeding beauty of the earth in her splendour of life" yielded a "new thought with every petal;" the brimming ocean gave him life, strong and full, thoughts wide as its plain; and a soul beyond these. The deeper, more striking and fearful, the sights of Nature, the greater is the peace and harmony produced by her passion. Shakespeare in his *Romans and Juliet* makes Juliet say that her only love sprang from her only hate—"prodigious birth of love from prodigious hatred." This is not often the case in human life but it is the rule in Nature's life. Hence her inner passion is love—and peace.

RELIGIOUS SECTION.

GOD IN MAN.

[*This section consists of some of the sermons preached by the Hon. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar from time to time, in the Prarthana Mandir Bombay.*]

If you wish to understand aright the teachings of your poet or author you must take them in the different moods in which they find their inspirations. The hymns of Tukaram which I have just read and on which my to-day's sermon is based, to understand these hymns aright we must take Tukaram in the different moods in which he gives them expression. We have no history of Tukaram that will enable us to trace the different phases of transition through which his soul had passed. But such of the prophets as have a history, and there are many such, in the lives of all such we find many experiences common to them all, and we have no reason to believe that Tukaram was an exception to such experiences. Amongst such experiences that of the exaltation and humiliation of the spirit stand pre-eminent and through which every saint has to pass before he attains his ideal of a spiritual life. After having gone through these two stages, there is a third one and that the most important through which every one who aspires to the title of a saint must pass. I mean that mood in which the spirit entirely resigns itself to the will of God—in other words the spirit of self-surrender. You will, therefore, see that for the attainment of a true spiritual ideal one must pass through these moods (1) Exaltation, (2) Humiliation, (3) Self-abnegation or self-surrender. Of the experiences of Tukaram while he passed through his mood of Exaltation we know nothing with certainty. But of one thing we may be sure; he like Issiah must have felt that the hand of God was upon him and that he was inspired by Providence to the task he had undertaken. It is while in this mood that the saint feels himself God—inspired—as one speaking with the voice and authority of God and to whom the path to a perfect spiritual life appears all smooth and easy. It is while in

this mood that the saint finds that if there is voice of God within him urging to all that is good, just and noble, there is also another voice—the voice of the devil—we may call it, which urges him the other way. And hence begins the conflict, the struggle of God in man with the devil in man—a struggle in which the saint finds the promptings of the devil more powerful and tempting than the worshipping of his conscience. It is in such moments that the saint feels himself humiliated, finds his weakness, and realizes that all the strength he seemed to possess was of God and all the weakness his own and then supplicates himself before his Father for strength and guidance to fight the devil out. No hero was ever made on a bed of roses and unless you are prepared to struggle with the devil, with the resolve that, come what may, you will not yield, you will not attain the spiritual idea you are craving after. It is only when you are humiliated enough to find that all the good in you is of God that a spirit of Resignation succeeds the spirit of Humiliation. Resignation is not to be understood as apathy and indifference to the conflict within and about us, but surrendering ourselves to the will of God, in the faith that, if we but stand by our post, He will strengthen our hands and that good will ultimately triumph. It is this spirit of self-surrender—of resigning ourselves entirely to the task before us, and thus fighting the obstacles that lie in the way of its achievement, it is this that is the key to success and greatness. The higher the ideal you set up for yourself the greater is the sacrifice required of you. If you wish to be the master you must learn to be the servant. For, who is the true student? Not certainly he who finding his authors tedious throws him away, but he who sticks to him, reads page after page, makes a bed companion of him, goes over him once, twice, thrice, it may be half a dozen times, and does not leave him till he has mastered him. It is not till you have cultivated this spirit of self-surrender and learnt to resign yourself to the will of God that you will find how vast are your capabilities and how great the possibilities before you. For it has been truly said that one knows not how high he can mount unless he has learnt to resign himself to the spirit of God.

REMEMBERING GOD ALWAYS.

Mr. Justice Chandavarkar took the following Abhanga of Tukaram for his text.

चिंतनासी नलगे वेळ । सर्वकाळ करावें ॥
सदा वाचे नारायण । तें वदन मंगळ ॥
पढिये सर्वोत्तम भाव । इतर वाव पसारा ॥
ऐसे उपदेशी तुका । अवध्या लोकां सकळां ॥

“No particular time is necessary for the contemplation of God : it should be done always. That mouth is pure which always utters the name of God. We should realize the best state of life : everything else is vain. So preaches Tukaram to all people.”

When we read or study the works of great men, whether saints or poets, philosophers or statesmen, we are apt to think that they have many wares to sell us ; that they teach us not one but a number of lessons. This is not true. For when we study the works of great literary men like Milton or Wordsworth, Goethe or Ruskin, what do we find ? We find that underneath the multiplicity of expressions or similes, in which their thoughts are clothed, there is but one central point round which all their teachings are grouped and, to which, through all their wanderings they return. Let us take each of these authors individually. Milton whether he is singing his Paradise Lost or writing his Areopagitica is but singing the song of well-disciplined liberty. Wordsworth in his minor poems as in his Excursion, is but impressing upon us the lesson that Nature is a great teacher. Goethe throughout his works, is only telling us how men can rise on their own dead selves. And Ruskin's one theme is Art in Life. As in the literary so in the moral world the precepts of saints, of whatever age or clime, but turn upon one theme. And that theme is as Tukaram sings in the hymn “Cling to God always. Think of God always” or Christ has put it “Love the Lord thy God with all thy mind and all thy heart and all thy soul ;” which, in other words, means make God a part and parcel of your life. And it is round this theme that all their

teachings cluster. You will say it is all very well for these saints, who had nothing to do with the world, to speak of it with contempt and ask us to make God a part and parcel of our life. But as for us who have to live in the world and attend to our professions and maintain our families, to ask us to cling to God always if not quite foolish, is, at any rate, very impracticable. It is enough for us, we say, to think of Him occasionally. Let us, therefore, try to see how far our conclusions stand to reason. Situated as we are, we say, it is not possible for us to act up to the teachings of saints, that is to cling to God always. We have to attend to our profession, to earn our bread and to maintain our families. is it not, therefore, absurd to ask us to do so? It is no doubt the first duty of every man to attend to his profession. And none of the saints have ever asked us to neglect it. But does this—what may be called the bread-winning aspect of life—suffice for all the purposes of life? Is life an end in itself? Is a profession by itself sufficient to make life happy? Man lives not by bread alone. Do we not, after having attended to our profession and had our creature comforts administered unto us, long for something else which is beyond and above our profession? Man, by nature requires diversion. And does he not, when the duties of the day are over, take to habits that are not of his profession? It may be that one takes to music and another to painting. The choice differs with individual tastes. But every one must and does seek an escape from his profession. Life he finds is incomplete without something added to his profession. This he seeks in what we may call his "voluntary purpose." The purpose may be good or bad. That depends on habits one forms for himself. Life has but few roses and many thorns. Life is subject to many emergencies. We have our trials and disappointments. And our habits must be such as will nerve us to meet any emergency of life: as will enable us to preserve equanimity whether we be in the midst of prosperity or adversity, mourning or rejoicing. The happiness that depends on the externals of life is, at the best, but precarious. The least thing that disturbs the economy of life is sufficient to upset it. Let us suppose that a man is very fond of music; that, to him, it has come to mean the one condition essential for happiness. But will not such a man find the best of music jar upon his ears if he himself be in the midst of mourning. The addition of a voluntary purpose to a profession, it thus appears, shall leaves life incomplete.

Where are we to seek what is missing? Whence are we to derive a happiness more lasting than is given us by our profession or our voluntary purpose? The answer is that happiness must come from within. It is the hidden trust within us that makes us indifferent to the vicissitudes of life and nerves us to fight the battle of life in all forms and under all conditions. One cannot be a good man at one time and a bad man at another. The whole contains the part and not the part the whole. And, therefore, if we wish to fight the battle of life as brave men, we must make this "hidden trust" a part and parcel of our life; that is, in the words of Tukaram, we must cling to God always and think of him always. We are to pursue the worldly avocations of life which enable us to earn bread for ourselves and families. No saint, not even Tukaram, has told us we should starve ourselves and neglect our responsibilities in that respect. In one of his Abhangs Tukaram has preached our duty on that point. But if we earn bread and maintain ourselves and families, making that the *ideal* or end, not a means of life, it is apt to degrade us. Even in our bread-winning avocations we meet with difficulties, disappointments. A temper, a habit of mind is necessary which will and can protect us from them. So also in regard to our voluntary purposes. Such temper or habit of mind can come only from a *godly spirit*. Tukaram says, *acquire this godly spirit* and by means of it live your life—whether you pursue your profession or your voluntary purpose. Carry that spirit and all will be well with you. It will enable you to be at peace with yourself and the world and give that spiritual energy and content which are so essential for business. In other words remember that happiness is *subjective*. Your own mind can make a Heaven of Hell and *vice-versa*. As Buddha said: "The mind is everything." Attune that mind to spiritual contemplation—faith in and attachment to God. Grow from within outwards and thereby pursue your worldly business. That is what Tukaram means. He does not like us to sit merely contemplating God? Muttering prayers, having ourselves and families and other cares of life neglected; but what he says is, don't make the worldly avocations of life the ideal. Don't put the cart before the horse. Acquire a godly spirit and make that the ruling passion, the guiding star of life in all you do—whether you earn your bread or do anything else. And this teaching is broad-based on sound practical common-sense. For instance what is meant by this: He who loses his life shall find

it. A student who studies Milton because he wants to be a good scholar will not be a good scholar as he who studies Milton because he loves Milton and is an enthusiastic admirer of his. There you see the latter loses himself in Milton and therefore finds him. Take again another illustration. A man with general culture is better fitted to cope with the problems of life than a man with a special culture. So also in life *Spiritual* insight, a godly spirit, are the general culture—their application to particular acts in life is special culture. The former must regulate the latter and then life becomes a blessing not a burden. Inspire yourselves always by that and all will be well with you. That is Tukaram's teaching and it is a teaching full of sound sense—all experience declares in favour of it.

FORGIVENESS.

Saints of all climes and ages have—at one time or another—tried to impress the necessity of cultivating the virtue of forgiveness. It is human to err, but divine to forgive, is a commonplace observation of every-day occurrence. And it is this virtue that Tukaram in one of his hymns calls upon us to make the rule of our life. But many of us would say that it is all very well for these saints to call upon us to make the virtue of forgiveness the rule of our life, but this world of ours is a matter-of-fact business and if sinners were let off without punishment there is no knowing what the world would come to. It is not ordinary men like us but even statesmen who deal with large masses of men and practical problems of life are found to insist on the necessity of punishing the erring members of society. Crime, they say, is not to be condoned, but condemned. Let us, therefore, try to see if the precept of the saint can be reconciled with the experience of the world. He who sins against society must take the consequences of his action. God is both a kind Father and stern Lawgiver. For the Government of the world Law is necessary. And he who transgresses the Law—be the transgression however trivial—is never allowed to go unpunished. If you put your finger in the fire—it may have been ignorantly put there—it must burn. Neither does nature excuse ignorance nor does she make a compromise, such is the physical Law of the world. But there is also another Law, and that is by far the higher. Suffering is meant only as a corrective and punishment only as an education with which to begin one's life afresh—the better equipped to fight the many temptations with which our journey through life is beset. And therefore if the physical Law of the world tells us that the sinner would be punished, the moral one breathes within us the hope, that he, also, can be reclaimed. The sinner is never condemned to eternal punishment. The human heart is not corrupt by nature. Men as a rule do not err deliberately and willingly but because of ignorance. And there is no man so lost to humanity that the image of his Maker is altogether effaced out of him. But in order that we might reclaim the sinner we must first learn to

idealise humanity. We must first of all try to find out the germs of goodness latent in every man. And after having found it out if we will but assert our humanity, even the most hardened of sinners can be brought back to the path of righteousness. Let us take the case of a man deliberately wicked. Let us suppose that in his case the Law has been fulfilled and that penalty has followed the crime. Now let us see what influence forgiveness is likely to have on such a person. Let us take him by the hand and tell him "Brother, you have sinned and been punished in consequence. But you are made in the image of God and in you is the germ of goodness capable of high development and if you will but make up your mind to struggle against your weakness you may yet live to be an ornament of society." And in almost every case, if you only be genuinely forgiving, the man will give up his old ways and return to the path of virtue. But your forgiveness to be effective should be positive and not negative. It should be active and not passive. It should teach you to idealise humanity. And this is not possible till you have cultivated the faculty of imagination. Imagination should not be understood to mean a state of delusion. It is the faculty that sees good in everything and inspires us with hope when we are most depressed and is found useful not only to poets and saints but is indispensable even to statesmen and scientists—men who deal with the matter-of-fact in life. To succeed in a great undertaking imagination is indispensable. A painter devoid of imagination can never become the master of his art. And an orator that is not genuine can never make a lasting impression on his audience. So also forgiveness to be effective and beneficial to the sinner should be allied with genuineness, with hopefulness, with courage and with faith in the goodness of man. And it is forgiveness so qualified that the saint in his hymn is calling upon us to practise and our experience of the world tells us that this virtue so cultivated is a powerful instrument in reclaiming the erring members of humanity.

UNIVERSAL RELIGION.

There is a hymn which contains an idea highly suggestive of that Universal Religion which was the theme of our distinguished visitor's—of the Rev Babu Pratapchundra Mozoomdar's address, this morning. The hymn gives expression to an idea which is not only not new but which has been preached by saints and prophets of all ages and climes, from time immemorial. People will, therefore, be found to say that even though saints and poets have preached and sung about it, from generation to generation, the religion of which they were so hopeful has not come and as yet is but an ideal and a dream. Humanity, they say, will always be divided into creeds and sects, each sect trying to assert itself at the expense of the others. But those that think so miss the point. And if they will but think dispassionately they will find that there is every likelihood of the ideal becoming an accomplished fact. The yearning for Universal religion is common to the human race and it demands of man that he shall not rely exclusively on others but that he shall go back unto himself and rouse himself by himself. God is one. Human heart is, therefore, one also. And the end of true religion is to bring about this harmony. And although we are divided into creeds and sects the division is only external, and through it is found running an under-current of unity. Men are divided and go wrong because they have not learnt the virtue of self-reliance. In thy own self rests thy being, is a wise and a true saying. Incentive for work of every kind must come from man's own self alone. So also there are elements in human nature that appeal to all hearts alike. Creeds and modes of worship may differ but the idea that God is one is common to the whole race. And in the love of God, common to humanity is to be found that harmony which it is the mission of the Universal Religion not only to preach but which it strives to make an actuality of life. The oneness of God and man has been preached by prophets of old and sung by poets in all ages and it is this oneness that impels the philosopher of our day to penetrate beyond the phenomena of nature. Call it by what name you please, but, it is this that forms the link between the different manifestations of nature. The utilitarians

are wrong in saying that phenomena is everything and that beyond it there is nothing. Divisions in science are but conventional and in spite of them, the human mind remains unsatisfied and longs to find out the one principle underlying all phenomena. Behind the seen there is the unseen and the unseen is the real. Mr. Spencer admits that energy exists beyond matter. Whatever the name, the idea of oneness is there. In all our affairs of life whether ordinary or otherwise, we but try to find out the hidden oneness at their bottom. Take for instance an assembly of uncultured men, gathered together to settle some matter of village importance. What is it that we find there. We find that each one of the assembly has his peculiar idea in regard to the matter that has brought them there and their conversation appears to a cultured man to be nothing short of jargon. But then this jargon, it should be noted, centres round the one object that has brought them together. If we go to a higher and a more cultured class of men we find a unity of purpose, pervading all their deliberations. The higher we go the more are we struck, with the oneness of the human heart. Poets and scientists in spite of diversity of expression have but one lesson and not a number of lessons to teach us. Even in the commonplace of life there is something that is beyond the externals of life. One touch of nature makes the whole world kin and man feels for man quite unconsciously—almost in spite of himself—unmindful of the conventional distinctions of colour or creed. Diversity of ideas and creeds is a necessary condition of the economy of the Universe, and if we wish to arrive at the unity that underlies this diversity we must struggle, for, that is the one thing necessary for success in all affairs of life. We should never forget that behind the externals of humanity there is a mighty soul beating. Creeds that rear either on books or examples, at the best, give but imperfect expression to the yearnings of the human heart. It is only the saint that has felt the great pulse of sympathy that beats through humanity, and that finds the soul of goodness latent in everything around us. To him the world is noble, good and just, only because he himself is good, noble, and just. If therefore we wish to arrive at oneness of the human heart we must cultivate, above every thing else, the virtue of goodness. But can goodness be taught? Yes, it can be. There is something in the human heart—a part and parcel of it, as it were—which, if properly moulded, will make us good in the sense in which saints

wish us to be good. Mere school instruction will not suffice for the purpose. Books will not meet its end, and examples will be found wanting. Saints, therefore, ask you to look beyond yourselves—to a centre that is within yourself, and it is only when the seed of goodness will have been sown there that it will fructify into what is called Universal Brotherhood, Universal Love, and Universal Religion. But the incentive for this must be supplied by our heart alone. And for the attainment of this purpose we must dedicate ourselves—body, soul and mind to the service of God, not with the object of securing some worldly advancement but with the honest desire of saving our souls. Then will the soul of goodness within you be reflected in all things around you. But the road that leads to it is a thorny one and we will never reach our destination, if we did not throw ourselves as Tukaram asks us to do, at the feet of God in perfect humiliation. And for this we must cultivate genuineness of heart, honesty of purpose and a capacity for sustained devotion that knows no wavering. Then will the soul of goodness within you be reflected in all things around you, then will follow that concord and harmony which is the mission of Universal religion to bring about, then will the ideal of the saint be realised in life and Universal Religion will have become an accomplished fact.

Men as a rule are grumblers and are often found to sigh for the good old days that are gone, the days when men and women lived saintly and godly lives, when virtue flourished and vice suffered and to complain of the times in which they are placed, as days, in which, godly and saintly men are scarce and vice thrives and virtue languishes. The past by its very distance begets a golden hue and while comparing it with the present we are apt to be carried away with the idea that bad times have come and good ones gone. But is this complaint against the present, indeed, true? Is the past so immeasurably superior to the present that it can in no way be compared with the present? It is not so. One age is quite as good as another and human nature is the same throughout all ages. Men are never so good and holy in one age or so bad and simple in another as not to bear comparison. Even in Tukaram's days—the times, of which we are apt to speak with profound reverence—men were not as holy and as pious as we are apt to take them to be. And in his hymns, occasionally we come across passages when he is found complaining of the sinful tenden-

cies of his times. But then, he, like us, does not stop with complaints only but urges upon us all to live a life of godliness and righteousness if we wish to see everything about us a reflection of our own hearts. Times, he says, are not bad, men, he says are not bad, but it is we—our own heart that is bad and what we call the badness, the sinfulness, and the wickedness of men, the times and the world, are but the images of our inner selves. If it is so, why is it, ask these grumblers, that men of Tukaram's type do not appear in our midst now. Is God partial and more favourable to one age than to another, they sneeringly ask us. God is non-partial but it is we who are blind and perverse. Are we prepared to accept men of Tukaram's type, as our guides, without questioning their title, if they appear in our midst to-day? In days when Tukaram lived he was not much admired and some of his times even went the length of calling him a mad man. Jesus Christ in his time was never accepted as the Redeemer and he had to make good his claims to that title by dying on the cross. Such is the justice of mankind that it longs for the company of saints, but when they appear in its midst, it wants them to die on the cross that it may accept them as its guides. It is a libel on the character of our age to say that there are no saints amongst us, for, do we not come across men in our everyday social intercourse, living a godly and holy life and bearing the trials of the world with equanimity? Is not a noble soul occasionally found breathing even in low haunts of life? It is not that there are not saints amongst us but that our heart is not prepared to accept them as such. According to the conditions of the age, the character of the saint differs. God's music is always varied in its notes, so also, the character of the saint varies according to the times in which they are born. Even in our midst are to be found men—who seem to be mediocre and commonplace—but men, who, nevertheless, are saints—silent Tukarams, we might call them—walking in the company of God. In life we have to deal with the commonplace, for, it is the commonplace that forms the larger portion of life and therefore, we ought to be content to live in the company of these commonplace saints. But in order to enjoy this company and find it in the joy of life, we must, first of all, purify the heart, for, it has been said, that the pure in heart alone shall see God. Every place is heaven if we are heavenly and the spirit that we breathe into things about us is

reflected back unto us. The light that illuminates the world is within us and if we are but genuine of purpose and sincere of heart then shall we realize the good that surrounds us. For, the evil is not the real life but underneath it is found the germ of goodness capable of the highest development. But, for all this we make God a part and parcel of our life the first and the last ambition of our existence and then shall we cease complaining of one another, then shall truth, justice, and righteousness prevail upon us and form the guiding principles of our life and then shall we, with a renovated spirit and a purified heart, be worthy to receive saints like Tnkaram when in the fulness of time, they appear amongst us.

THE LATE MR. JUSTICE KANADE.

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Mr. Justice Chandavarkar conducted divine service at the Prarthana Samaj on 20th January 1901, and delivered the following sermon .—

Sisters and Brethren,—I have taken for my text to-day a hymn which will recall to your mind in this place and on this occasion that dear and devoted brother of ours, whose sad loss the whole country mourns at the present moment. To us, the members of Prarthana Samaj, who for years sat at his feet and came under the influence of his religious teaching, who looked upon him as our teacher and our guide, the loss is indeed very severe. Many a time have we seen him discourse from this pulpit with an eloquence, a fervour, and a pathos all his own, on holy texts, preaching words of wisdom that we can never forget. He has been taken away from us, and we feel to-day, as we shall feel for many a year to come, that the hand that moulded us, the heart that touched us, and the spirit that dominated this Samaj has gone from us, leaving us all the poorer for the loss that we have suffered. But in a place like this which is sacred to God, where the mind and heart are called upon to lift themselves above things carnal, and where we are taught—and taught in the past by none more frequently and more forcibly than by our departed brother—not to sorrow but to pray for the dead, not to feel that they are gone because they have left their mortal coil, but to realise that they are ever with us, it behoves us to draw some inspiration from their teachings, their work, and their life. Those of us who felt charmed and ennobled by those sweet sermons that he used to deliver from this pulpit will now recall to our minds one sermon in particular which he delivered a few years ago, answering the question, "what is death?". Taking for his text that hymn of Tukaram's, where that great saint says, "My death has died. It has made me immortal," he told us that there is a death, wherein we die, and a death wherein death itself dies and we live. "The saint that in prayer or in preaching forgets his carnal self and his soul is inspired, the scholar that studies, and in the study forgets himself, and all, he feels, is the presence and the inspiration of the subject he studies, that man

who works at some great subject or goes on discharging his duties while he is in the midst of physical pain, forgetting the pain and full of his duty, in these it is death that dies ; but they live. The popular idea that man dies when he leaves his mortal coil is not the true idea of death. We die the moment we make much of the body and its pleasures and lead ignoble, selfish lives. " May we not say, recalling to our minds his own words, that he has not died—his death is dead and left him immortal among us ?

Ranade lives now and will live hereafter even more than he lived when he was in flesh among us. The light that shone throughout India will radiate even more than it did when he was physically among us, if we but try to cherish the spirit of that life and make it live. We are too near the sad event of Wednesday last, too much borne down and distressed by the tragic end and sudden loss, to collect our thoughts, to speak in adequate terms of the lessons of his life, the rich legacy of his intellectual and moral example that he has left for his countrymen. His life's history is, in a sense—and that the higher sense—the history of his country and of his people during all events, of the last forty years. All have recognised in him a man of massive intellect, a deep thinker, a great scholar, a distinguished judge, an earnest reformer, and a man, above all, of many-sided activities. His was a unique character and career, whose influence was felt throughout the country, and whose death has made everyone feel that a personal friend is gone. Such a character, so glorious a career, deserves to be studied, and to me it appears, having known him, come in contact with him, and been associated with him in some of our activities during the last twenty years, that we shall not profit by that study unless we find what formed the key to his whole life and life's work. That key must be found in the spiritual life of the man. His intellectual and moral qualities, his diverse activities, were all the manifestations of that truly religious temper which, above every thing else, dominated him and formed the basis of the life he lived, the work he did, and the magnetic influence he exercised on those who were brought within the sphere of his influence. And if I were asked to define in short what Ranade was—to sum up in a few words the central principle of his life—I should say that he was a man of towering faith. His intellectual and moral grandeur, his ceaseless activity, his unselfish pursuit of good, his determination throughout life to scorn the allurements of pleasure, to suffer and yet choosing

to suffer all rather than relinquish his ideal, betokened that divine restlessness of the soul which is the mark of all-enduring personality. And when I speak of Mr Justice Ranade as a man of towering faith, I must make it clear what the faith was that made him what he became. There is a character, which trusts in God but does not trust in humanity ; we had religious men in the past, we have religious men now, whose piety and rectitude are above reproach, but who, borne down by the sense of the frailty of the world, isolate themselves and make their own personal or individual spiritual development the ideal of their lives. Their heaven is elsewhere—their God resides there. To them all on earth is fleeting—and must be avoided. They flee away from mankind and take no interest in human activities. As to Dr. Dale of Birmingham, to him the commandments of God covered not only private but public life as well. Hence was it that he deemed it a religious duty to work in all directions of public usefulness whether it was political, social, religious, educational or any or other kind of reform ; he threw himself heart and soul into all alike. Neither opposition nor ridicule, neither difficulties nor disappointments daunted him—he went on his own way. The idea of failure in a good cause never entered his head. He made no distinction between the sacred and the secular. “ Some people ” said he in a sermon he delivered from this pulpit some time ago, “ think that there is neither a life behind life nor a life before our present life. Others there are who think that the only eternity for us is this that when we die we live in our children, and that there is no other kind of eternal life for us. Neither theory is calculated to give comfort to us. Both give us a stone when we ask for bread. We must find satisfaction in a third theory—that which holds that a better lot is in store for us whether here or in the world to come if we work as men of eternity.” And he illustrated his faith thus —“ I was the other day in Northern India. Standing by the side of the Ganges I fell into a trance as I watched the majestic flow of the river and so enraptured was I, so buoyant my heart became, that I could not help exclaiming “ Blessed is this Hindustan ! ”. But immediately the thought occurred to me . “ Is the Ganges eternal ? Some day this too may depart. Then I reasoned to myself thus—No. The atoms of water which make the flow may drop down and pass away to perish. But the flow will always be there as it has been for the centuries past. What a lesson for us ! We individuals, are the atoms of society

and we are bound to pass away. But society lives on—its flow is, as that flow of the Ganges, eternal—and it is ours, the individuals of each generation to contribute to make the flow majestic. Pessimism to such a man with so mighty a faith was an unknown creed. "What" said he once from this pulpit "if we fail or fall We come here, as the Christians say, to bear the cross. Let us bear like heroes—let us march on." It is this faith in humanity that endowed him with that virtue of charity which he possessed in such supreme a degree—the charity which, in the words of St. Paul, "suffereth long, and is kind, envyeth not, and vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth, beareth all things, believeth all things, endureth things." There is not one man of whom our departed brother was ever heard or known to have said an unkind word. Above petty personalities, and jealousies, he had, heart that embraced all. "What is the use," said he once, "of telling men that they are bad, good—for-nothing, and that it is hopeless to get any good work out of them. If you wish to rouse men to do the meaning of the world in which they live and get them to do good work, rouse in them the consciousness of what potentiality for good there is in them." It was again that towering faith of his which led him to look with a kindly and sympathetic eye upon all genuine and good movements which had the progress of the people for their object. Years ago when Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the founder of the Arya Samaj, visited Western India. Mr. Ranade, though, as a Pararthana Samajist, he was not in complete accord with the Swami's views, gave him the weight of his support and sympathy. There were not a few who said to Mr. Ranade that they could not quite understand his religious attitude when he could be found preaching some times on the pulpit of the Arya Samaj and sometimes reading and explaining some Puran in an orthodox Hindu temple, while he was all along a theist belonging to the Pararthana Samaj subscribing to the tenets of the Brahmoism of Raja Rammohan Roy. That attitude of mind, however, which led Mr. Ranade to extend his sympathy to all kinds of religious awakening did not indicate his weakness, but a large and liberal spirit of toleration. His great principle in life—the principle which animated all his best work—was that the progressive spirit must be ever expansive, and that when we find more than one movement for religious reform

we must try to find the points of agreement between them, so as to make them work for one and the same object, instead of making much of their points of difference. "What does it matter if Dayanand Saraswati says the Vedas and the Vedas alone are the revelation of God? Be that his faith. But let us go deeper and see if, apart from that principle, there is anything which is in accord with our principles." The same liberal attitude marked him in his appreciation of other faiths. What he said at Lucknow in 1899 aptly describes the catholicity of temper which he carried and sought to enforce in all his public pronouncements "I am" said he, borrowing the words of Guru Nanak, "both a Hindu and a Mussulman." The differences between man and man, between one nation and another were to him superficial—his mighty heart as his mighty mind sought to dive deeper and to reveal to itself the Universal soul which prompts the divine in man. Such a man, who lived for others a noble and unselfish life who lived for good and loved it wherever he found it, who feared no difficulty, but sought the repose of the mind which lived in itself, exemplified in his character and career that practical simplicity and saintliness which it is the end of all true religion to foster. And for us whom he has left behind, who can never forget what he did, for us there can be no higher mission nor greater ambition than this—to be dedicated to the work which he so nobly advanced, to resolve that this reserved and dear man did not live his high life in vain, but that we will, inspired by his towering faith, his trust in God, and his love for humanity, dedicate ourselves to the great task he has left before us, that task of catching inspiration from his holy life, and furthering as he wished and worked to further the cause of the Father-hood of God and Brother-hood of man. He watches us from his place above, from his place

Where meteors shoot, clouds form,
 Lightnings are loosened,
 Stars come and go! Let joy break with the storm,
 Peace let the dew send!
 Lofty designs must close in like effects;
 Loftily lying,
 Leave him—still loftier than the world suspects,
 Living and dying.

ELDERS Vs. YOUNGERS—A RELIGIOUS COMPARISON.

I.

In what I am going to say this evening I don't by any means intend to say anything by way of disparagement either of the older or the younger generation of our people. The very nature of the subject with which I intend to deal on the present occasion and on one or two future occasions, will make it necessary that I should present before you a contrast between the old and the new generation. That will be necessary in order to enable me to place before you what it is my intention to place before you this evening—the lessons to be derived from the comparison which to my mind presents itself between the old and the new generation of our people—for our future improvement. If in what I am going to say I am compelled from my point of view to show any defects either in the older or the present generation it will be only because defects there must be in a people who wish to grow and improve, otherwise, there is no scope for improvement where there is no defect. And if am able to place before you facts and satisfy you that the present generation has been or rather is an improvement on the older generation, you are not to suppose that by presenting before you a contrast of that character I necessarily cast any reflection upon our older generation. But rather it will be to the credit of the older generation if I am able to show that the present generation is far from being irreligious. And I believe it to be more religious and therefore an improvement on the old one. I may at once tell you the conclusion to which I intend to lead or rather what is the conclusion to which I have come after a careful examination of this subject. The present generation has no doubt serious defects. They are shortcomings which must be corrected. There is a great deal of room for improvement in religious and other matters. But though there is a great deal of room for improvement in regard to shortcomings which I shall point out later on, still I think if we will but examine the situation a little, in a spirit of judicial calmness we must come to the conclusion that the

cry which is now and then, nay, frequently raised, against what is called the irreligious character of the present generation, is a meaningless cry. After having carefully examined the charge, I submit that although in one sense it is true that we are not religious, that the present generation has lost its hold on religion, in another sense it is also true that the present generation is striving to realize its responsibility in religious matters and in that sense the present generation is an improvement on the older generation. And I regard that as a hopeful sign of the times when the future generation will become even more religious than the present generation. Now I will tell you in a few words why I have taken this subject for my discourse this evening.

The question of education has directed to itself a great deal of our attention. It is said that the present generation of our young men in schools and colleges is being brought up without any religion at all. They have given up the old religion of their fathers and have not incorporated in their lives the teaching of any other great religion. Hinduism has lost all its charms for them and nothing is substituted in its place. The result is that our present younger generation is being brought up in a state of scepticism, devoid of religious or moral thoughts. I think the charge is in one sense correct and well-founded but in another sense it is not true. It all depends on the point of view from which you look at this question. It is said our young men are being brought up in a state of scepticism without any religion at all. Let me ask myself this question and try to answer it—"What is the state of religion in which young men of other countries are being brought up?" A comparison of that kind will be necessary in order to enable us to understand the meaning of the charge which is unintelligible without a comparison of this kind. We are not isolated from other communities and in an inquiry of this kind with which I am now dealing, it is essential for the purpose of arriving at the right solution to ascertain the state of things in other countries. I have not gone to watch the current of events in religious matters either in England or Germany or France or other places. But it is not necessary to go to other countries. If you keep yourself in touch with the literature of the day, news, papers of the day, if you have ever talked with people who knew this subject, with those able to give you some information, you are able to form some idea of the state of other countries.

Now when it is brought forward as a charge against the educated natives of this country, that they have no religion and that our younger men are being brought up in a state of religious or moral scepticism, I ask myself the question—what is the state of the religious atmosphere in other countries? Now, I think, one fact must be admitted, that the influence of men like Darwin, John Stuart Mill or Huxley has tended towards widening the range of our intellectual horizon and sympathies in general. Science, when it first started its inquiries in the domain of religion was supposed to have ranged itself both against God and religion. There were some philosophers who denied the existence of God, who were against the religion of the day but so far from having proved that there was no God, or that man could live without religion, science has now advanced so far as to be the handmaid of religion. At present we stand in this situation—I mean the whole civilized world—we forming a part of it—that whether we take religion to be Christianity or Hinduism or Mahomedanism, the cultivated thought of the day—rather the men who influence that thought—the men whose minds have been liberalised by education, science, thoughtfulness and an acquaintance with the literature of the day and the histories of other countries, instead of looking down upon religion in the way Gibbon looked down upon it when he gave expression to the words that all religions are subjects of reverence to the fool, useful to the hypocrite and subjects of ridicule to the thoughtful, look upon it as the most powerful lever in lifting up both national and individual character. The history of religious development does not run in one course but runs through different courses and God fulfils his purposes through these different channels. A Christian who is nourished on the Bible may stick to his Bible and yet believe that not only the Bible but other books also contain religion. A Hindu who is nourished on the Vedas may hold fast by his scriptures, but at the same time he admits that sacred books of other people also contain truths about religion. Religion consists as much in drawing inspiration from your national books as in keeping your mind open to receive truths contained in other religions in a tolerant spirit and with an eye to progress. This is the state of the highest mind in Europe. When I speak of the highest mind of the nation I speak of it in the sense that it is the best man who is the most representative man of a nation. The

A microscope of a nation must be cast in the light of those who are playing a prominent part in forming its history, its thought, and its literature. Because, as the individual is said to be an enlarged photograph of the society to which he belongs, so the prominent man in a society is a measure of its weaknesses and its short points and good points, of everything that is best and highest in its mental, moral, social and religious aspirations. If we want to find out the character of a nation you have to take its most prominent men and try to understand their character. If you want to speak of Germany you take Frederick the Great or Bismarck. If you want to find out the character of Englishmen you have but to take Gladstone or Bright. You at once get an idea of the leading vices or virtues of the people amongst whom they distinguished themselves. Therefore, when I speak of the highest cultivated mind in Europe, I may say this without fear of contradiction that Christians, very good Christians who attend church every Sunday, if you discuss religious questions with them, freely admit that it is true the books of other religions also contain very good morality, that God could not have meant the Bible to be His only revelation. In fact they are theists, that is believers in God, who however think that they cannot give up their old form of worship. Although people are found to stick to their old books and old religions their practical religion consists in this, that all nations and their sacred books contain good ideas and we must be tolerant and stick to the truth. That is the tendency of thought in Europe, and is it the same current that is also running amongst us? That is another question which we have to ask.

Of course it is difficult to answer a question of that kind, because it cannot be said that we have had the same opportunities that the Western nations have had in this connection. But even with the few opportunities that we had this tendency of modern thought, has become quite perceptible amongst us. Therefore, when we are told that our present generation is brought up in a state of scepticism, that they have forgotten their religion and that therefore religious instruction ought to be introduced in our schools and colleges, I ask the question—what do you mean by religion? Because it is no use using a word when you are using it in one sense and I am understanding it in another. For the purposes of controversy your meaning must be made quite clear and intelligible. There should be an agreement between what you say and

what you wish others to understand by it. Let me answer the question what is religion. Religion does not mean merely the observance of formal ceremonies. That is religion which makes us feel that we are responsible beings, which influences our actions and character, makes us truthful and honest, and impresses us with the necessity of seriousness of character, for it is seriousness of character which stands at the top of everything in life and is required to be shown in every department of life. Therefore, religion means, first of all, a serious aspect of life—that serious aspect leading you to be truthful and kind and to regard yourself as a responsible being. If this definition of religion is accepted then I think it ought to be the verdict of every one of us that our young men are far from being irreligious. Our young men are being brought up in a state of scepticism in one sense, it is true. The formal observance of ceremonies has fallen into decay. The present generation does not know as much of its own religious literature as most of the old men. No doubt this is a serious drawback. Every man ought to know the literature of his own country—the religion of his own country. A mere knowledge of your own country is necessary to start with in life. If you are ignorant of the religious books in which your ancestors were brought up and if you do not know yourself, the danger is that you will not be able to know others. That is the only defect that I can see. But if on the other hand the real definition of religion is accepted to be that which influences character I challenge anybody to point out how young men in our schools and colleges are being brought up in a state of scepticism so far as character is concerned. I have already said that we have as yet a good deal to learn in another direction. I have already pointed out in what our shortcomings lie. But if there are matters in which we have still to improve there are things in which the present generation is a decided improvement on the past generation. We know how very lax the ideas of our elders in regard to corruption and bribery were, or rather are. The religion of our elders consisted rather in the observance of certain ceremonies without caring for any harmony between their actions in life and their articles of faith. I think it must be said that in this respect the elder generation was not religious. Truthfulness was considered a matter of expediency and every-day practical morality was rather lax. As far as religion, meaning thereby that which influences character, is concerned, the

present generation is certainly an improvement on the older generation. No doubt there is still room for improvement, but I think we know now how to look upon corruption, bribery and upon every other vice from the point of view of practical morality. And I think it is not quite correct to say that our younger men are being brought up irreligious. But another charge is that they are wanting in manners. There is some foundation for it. I do wish that our young men showed a little more of reverence. This defect is theirs but some of the men who use the word reverence seem to have some very strange ideas about it. They want our young men to love and reverence everything that is old without regard to the changed circumstances in which we are living. They complain that young men want to be independent and that the patriarchal system of the old days is, in consequence, passing away. I think young men ought to be brought up in order that they may stand on their own legs. I like a young man who is not a slave, who exercises even though a little foolishly his own judgment. Such an one is to be preferred to the young man who is always to be found in the leading-strings of others. And I say our people have been so much and so long in the leading-strings of others that a little of independence will do them more good than harm. By independence I mean disciplined liberty, and it is the young man who whilst holding fast by his convictions is tolerant of the opinions of others whom I consider truly independent. But the independence which without having looked into all the sides of a question, ridicules and treats everything with contempt is not independence but the insolence of ignorance. Taking this view of the charge I may say that our young men, no doubt, are wanting in reverence, in this, that most of them are apt to form a judgment without having thought for themselves. Some newspaper writes something on a subject and almost every young man, without investigating the facts, helps to swell the chorus of those applauding the writer in the press. I admit that even in England and Germany some such state of things prevails. But you must remember that there opportunities for correcting young men's views are greater and more largely diffused than here. The home, the church and the press, all these serve as corrective agencies. We have not these corrective agencies amongst us and therefore you have to rely mainly on yourselves in forming opinions. First of all therefore you should go in for knowledge and light and then form your opinions. I see

before me a young man who can pluckily stand up for a good cause, who gives out his opinions fearlessly, who shows independence. Well, I like such a young man provided he stands up for a good cause. I like a young man who is independent, at the same time modest in this sense that he is prepared to hear the other side of the question and does not talk with contempt of the elders, although they may be wrong. That is the point in which we are wanting. But some of our critics use the word reverence not in this sense but in the sense to which I have already alluded. If the word reverence is to be used in that sense I have no fault to find with our young men. I would have our young men going in for independence but not that independence which I have already condemned and which is really no independence. Because to be able to control others you must first be able to control yourself. Therefore self-control is the first thing that our young men ought to cultivate. I should insist on our young men acquiring self-knowledge, self-control and self-reverence. Self-knowledge is wanting amongst us, self-reverence is wanting amongst us. They are wanting because, they were wanting even more so in the past generation which had no idea of these things. I think upon the whole I should say this that the verdict of an impartial mind ought to be in favour of the present generation. In point of truthfulness, honesty and practical religion, our young men are decidedly much better than our elders. Every young man now is ashamed to be called a liar. But that was not the case with the men of the past generation. If you told one of them that he told lies he simply noticed the remark with a slight smile. But call a young man of our days a liar and he is sure to resent it as the worst insult that could be offered to him. So also in regard to honesty. My remarks on the advance our young men have made in practical religion I reserve for my next discourse.

ELDERS VS. YOUNGERS—A RELIGIOUS COMPARISON.



II.

For the purpose of this evening's observations I must go back a little to that with which I started my last discourse, by drawing again your attention to the definition of religion. As I started on that occasion when you start a discussion, you must have a clear conception of the salient points, on which the discussion is to be based. And as the object of my observations is to draw a contrast between the elder generation of our countrymen and the younger generation, with reference to religious progress, I must return to our definition of religion itself, and ask you to form a clear idea of the point of view in which I wish to present that subject. I said religion is that which affects practical life, which has the highest ideal of conduct, and which does not merely rest with an ideal, but attempts to approach a realization of that ideal, which influences not only our thought, but also our conduct and becomes part and parcel of both individual and social life or national life. As I said then, the first idea conveyed by religion is, a serious thought of life, not treating it in a light-hearted manner, as something to be frittered away, but something which has an end, something which has attached to it a dignity which carries with it some serious responsibility.

Instead of merely saying that we come into the world and die, it answers the question, why do we come into the world, why do we die ; what is life and what is death. Where a man has started with this seriousness, you may say that he is making an approach towards a clear conception of religion. But that idea would be incomplete unless it were supplemented by a second idea, which I consider to be the most important idea, viz., the common basis of all religions.

Now, we have numerous religions ; it is not necessary to say anything with reference to all of them. But, let us take the leading religions.

First of all let us take two of the ancient religions in the world—the religion of the Hindu, and the Zoroastrian or the religion of the Parsi—and then come to more modern religions—Christianity and Mohammedanism: you will find that with all their differences and differences of ideas, yet were, the foundation of all the theologies. If we get to that idea, really speaking, it is a wonder, that the religions are said to be different from one another. For as the root-idea goes, the root-idea of all religions is one and there ought not to be anything like a distinction between these different religions, so far as their foundation are concerned. But as often happens, people in looking at a tree with its trunk and branches and foliage, do not look at the root but merely look to the out side growth.

But still there is that root-idea which is common to all religions; what is that idea? Now let me take first of all the Jewish religion. We have the Old Testament; the Old Testament begins by saying that God created man, after his own image. There are some caricaturists—men who make light of religion and God and make light of life itself—who have made a caricature of this statement in the Bible by saying that it is not true that God made man after his own image, rather it is true that man has made God after his image. Even if you thus reverse the Biblical process, you will find that, assuming that man has made God after his image, it shows that man has a conception of divinity, of a person who is over him, to whom therefore he is responsible, and even making God after your own image by investing him with the highest thoughts you have, is much better than to live without any idea of God. Therefore the man, who reversed the statement in the Bible and said it is man who made God, according to his ideas of Him, in so speaking makes it manifest that man could not have made God after his image, unless he gave his formation some conception of a being who is superior to him, from whom he has inherited his qualities. There are wicked men whose ideas of God are a reflection of their minds, who ask Him to encourage them in wicked deeds. But still we know as a matter of fact, that there is image of God, conception of God, framed after the image of man, as man is to be found in his highest moods, with the best qualities in him attributed in all their perfection to his God which shows that the divine is in man. But that is only by way of accidental religion. There

you have in the Old Testament this idea that God made his man after his image; that is, he created Adam and then breathed into him his own life, that is, in man you find that there is spirit of God. Now you come to Hinduism, and before I go to that old religion, I may tell you one thing. The point or the superiority of the Bible lies in this—in its directness—that is, the speech, the sentences are terse, short and pithy; and whatever is said, is characterised by what may be called directness of expression. And it is this directness of expression which makes the thing easy and readily intelligible. Therefore, in the Bible you will find that you have directness of expression until you come to the teachings of Saint Paul. Up to that moment, whether you take the Prophets or chronicles, or whether you take the sermon on the mount, it is the highest you are struck with, nothing so much as its extreme directness of expression. The sermon on the mount is, as it were, the climax of this directness of expression. In it Christ puts his thoughts before you in a plain, straightforward manner and appeals at once to your heart. There is no attempt at reasoning or argument. It was only when Saint Paul came upon the scene and wrote in Greek that you find such metaphysics as you can get in the Bible. There is now and then, even what may be called an attempt at sometimes opening discussion between certain things. In Saint Paul there is an attempt at convincing the intellect. His answers to the question why do so many men die, why do many men suffer, the rest die, are of this kind. He compares God to a potter who makes his pots of clay of which some fall to pieces, no sooner they are formed and some last longer—so also with man—the handiwork of God. Now I can say that it is rather very curious that he should have taken a great deal of trouble about this. He, that is, Saint Paul does make an attempt at something like metaphysics. But beyond that, you do not get anything in the Bible. It is more direct, and from that point of view, I have always regarded that a study of the Bible should form a regular item in the education of our youths, for, it will enable them to at once come to the point and naturally cure them of their chronic love for verbosity.

SECLUSION.

When we try to trace out the history of our social, moral, or political progress our great want is the lack of past history and biographies of our great men. In the absence of these, the only means by which we can trace it out is hymns of saints like the one which we have just sung. By means of biographies we are able to see how character grew, what difficulties the man had to overcome, how he was assailed by temptations and how eventually he came victorious out of the struggle. Biographies, therefore, bring home to us the one or two distinctive features of a great man's life, which, if taken to heart, are bound to influence us for good. Even in the chequered career of that eminent statesman, Mr. Gladstone, we find, that in all his actions small and great, he was actuated by one or two principles only :—by his immense faith in the progress of mankind ; by his love for mankind ; and by his unwavering faith in the doctrine—that righteousness exalteth a nation. Unfortunately for us, no biography of Tukaram exists. Therefore, when we come across a hymn of this kind, we are filled with despair and ask ourselves the question “ How is it that Tukaram of all men should speak of mankind in terms bordering on contempt—that he, of all men, should have said that society should be avoided, as if, it was full of lepers.” This mood of despondency of the great saint at first sight seems inexplicable. And we in consequence, are led to ask the question “ when did Tukaram pass through this mood and how can we make it consistent with the large number of other hymns where he speaks, with enthusiasm, of humanity.” It is well-known that Tukaram lived in society mixed with men, and did not live the life of a recluse. Now this mood of despondency, to which Tukaram has given expression in the hymn we have sung, is a mood through which every one of us, great or small, has to pass once in our life. In the lives of ordinary men, like ourselves, what do we find ? Do we not become sick of society when we find services rendered to a brother returned with ingratitude or that speaking truth leads but to persecution ? Do we not on such occasions feel that it is best for man to retire into solitude and not to meddle with the affairs of the world. Such thoughts

occur to every man who has a mind to feel, a heart to touch and a soul to stir. But to the man who thinks that this world is meant only for pleasure and enjoyment—to the man who neither thinks nor works—it is not given to understand such a crisis. Having taken the case of an average man who feeling that, after all, the world is too much for him—retires into solitude, let us try to see how it influences him in the end. If the man who has retired into solitude,—keeps the touch within him burning, he is sure to rise from good to better. For after he has made up his mind to lead the life of a recluse he will find that real solitude is not to be obtained by shunning mankind and secluding himself in a cave. In his solitude he will find that there is another world within him—which is as full of difficulties, temptations and sins as the world he has given up. He finds that by deserting society he has not left evil behind but on the contrary he finds that he has to go through a more arduous struggle. Having thus begun to struggle with the voices of evil within him he finds that, after all, the external things are not as bad as he at first thought them to be. Thus his solitude which leads to contemplation of self sheds new light on his inner self and teaches him that he was wrong in excluding himself from the world. For does he not find a world within him capable of infinite good or evil? Having obtained this fresh light in his retirement, he thinks he was wrong in hating the world and he hated it because his inner self had misled him. Thus he comes to the conclusion that not in detaching himself from society but in bearing his part bravely, in nourishing his character, and in living a life that will be an example to others, lies his duty to himself, to humanity and to God. Great men are but enlarged photographs of the people amongst whom they are born. In them we find reflected on a large scale the virtues or weaknesses of their people. This hymn of Tukaram, therefore, but expresses more emphatically the feelings we ordinary men feel. It shows how Tukaram tried to struggle, how he felt the buffets of the world, how having seen this world to be full of sins and temptations he was tempted to run away from it and how after he had secluded himself, again he returned to society, having found his mistake and his mission. This longing to shun society is a feature common to all saints. We know how after he had been led away by his enthusiasm into retirement, Jesus found himself struggling with Satan and how after the struggle he returned to his people and set about His Father's

business. We also know how Buddha gave up every pleasure which Royal birth had given him, how one night he left his wife, child and palace to live the life of a recluse. And we also know how out of his seclusion he returned with his great mission for the salvation of mankind. It is their spirit of independence that makes these saints, at first, exclusive but when they have run away from the world and begun self-questioning as to why they left it and wherefore have they sought this seclusion, the voice of God whispers to them, "You yearn for your salvation but is it to be attained by running away from society in which I have placed you. You complain of corruption but have you asked yourself the question how very corrupt you yourself are. The world is bad because you are bad and you are a coward to desert it. Go back to the world and fight against corruption and sin as a good soldier" and thus they learn that though the human heart is full of corruption and sin, still if made to struggle aright it may enchant all and save all. Thus in seclusion they get the new light with which come the missions of Tukaram, Jesus and Buddha. Thus the saint from worldliness goes to seclusion, from seclusion, again returns to the world. It is this that constitutes the saint. It must be after having gone through these experiences which we find reflected in the hymn, that Tukaram must have returned to the world the better equipped to fight its battle. And it is thus only that we can make the hymn consistent with his mission.

CAUTION AND CIRCUMSPECTION.

Last evening when in connection with this anniversary two excellent papers, the one on "Keshub Chunder Sen"—one of the great apostles of the Brahmo Samaj, by Mr. H. Narain Rao and the other by Mr. Desai on "the Life and Work of Dayanand Saraswati"—the father and founder of the Arya Samaj movement, were read, owing to want of time I could not give expression to some thoughts that were then passing through my mind. Mr. H. Narain Rao, in his paper, drew our attention to Keshub's visit to this city in the year 1864. That was Keshub's first visit to this city. Then he tried to rouse our interest in the great question of religious revival of our people. But then his words fell flat on our ears and he had to return to Calcutta disappointed. In 1868 he again visited this city. Then he was able to say that his words had touched some hearts inasmuch as his ideas of theism had found practical expression in the formation of this Prarthana Samaj. Keshub once again visited the city—that was in the year 1870—on his return from England. The readers of his life know that he was one of the most intimate friends of Lords Lawrence and Mayo. Lord Lawrence was a pious and sincere Christian and took very kindly to his teachings. On his retirement, he wrote to Keshub asking him to pay a visit to England. In 1870 Keshub visited England. He had a hearty and enthusiastic welcome and audiences in large numbers gathered to listen to his words. At one of these meetings, presided over by Lord Lawrence, Keshub in an able and eloquent address after comparing the relations of England with India to the meeting of two sisters who had long separated, speaking with reference to India, put the words "Arise, arise, thou hast slept too long," in the mouth of the English sister. As these words fell from the lips of the orator, the whole audience rose to a man, and cheered. The enthusiasm thus evoked was so great that for some time he had to stop speaking. Keshub's eloquence was of the type that we do not see in these days on the platform. His very appearance showed that he was moved by an all-consuming enthusiasm, by a zeal and earnestness, which even

his enemies most willingly acknowledged and what is more, as he grew older, the faith in him grew stronger and he was described both by friends and foes, as "a man of immense faith" Raja Ram Mohan Roy may be described as the Reformer of the Samaj, Devendra Nath Tagore, who still lives, as the Hermit of the Samaj but to Keshub and to him alone who beginning with reform ended in Bhakti belongs the high honour of being called "the Bhakt of the Samaj," The moment you looked at his face you could not help saying :—"Here is a man whose every nerve was inspired by God." In 1879 he delivered an address in the Calcutta Town Hall when Lord Lytton was one of the audience. On the conclusion of the lecture, his lordship could not help giving expression to his admiration for the enthusiasm and transparent sincerity of the lecturer. Mr. H. Narain Rao, in his paper, while referring to Keshub's lecture on "Religion" in this city, emphasised the fact that large audiences flocked to listen to him and that the gathering was presided over by the late Dr. Bhau Dajee—admired by all and loved by many gentlemen of his day. When the lecture was over, the enthusiasm of the audience had risen to the highest pitch. When Dr. Bhau Dajee rose to address the meeting in his capacity as a chairman, they hoped that he would encourage them with a few words of wisdom. But instead of doing anything of the sort, he tried to damp the spirits of the audience by saying, that he had given serious consideration to the question and that in matters of reform one should be cautious and circumspect. We have had too much of this caution and circumspection, both in the past and also at present. With the best of motives, those who had taken caution and circumspection for their watchwords and had thought it wise to be guided by them, have only abused the words and the only service they have done to the cause of reform is to discourage it. In 1864 when these words were uttered, it was said that in the absence of these guides, large numbers would not identify themselves with this institution—that the idea of its promoters was impractical, that, at the best, it would count a few people as its members and that it was not likely to make progress. Let us see how we have fared since. Years have passed since we were taught that these two watchwords were indispensable. We have long learnt how ineffectual they are for purpose of reform. What is wanted to emancipate the hearts of our people is not circumspection and caution, but the enthusiasm, the fire and the sincerity of the

heart that tries to push things onwards. Let us remember the fact that Raja Ram Mohun Roy true to his heart rebelled against the thralldom of caste and almost single-handed preached to his country the religion of one God and tried to rouse the conscience of his sleeping and suffering people—by advocating the education of woman, the improvement of the widow's lot and the abolition of Suttee. It was because he applied himself to right these evils with courage and steadfastness of purpose, setting aside circumspection and caution,—that we are what we are to day. If we are making any progress to day it is due to the fact that the gospel of new reform which Raja Ram Mohan Roy preached and practised years ago is animating all the movements, associated with this Church. These are the movements that are to free us from the thralldom of superstition and by purifying our hearts to bring us back to the worship of God of the Upanishads. Keshub too was as rebellious as Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Ram Mohan Roy when quite young found out that what he was taught in his house and by the priests was not right and there was something rotten somewhere and tried to find out the truth for himself. When feelings against any reform were intensely strong, it was Raja Ram Mohan Roy who was the intimate advisor of Lord William Bentinck and was mainly responsible for many of the good measures and movements with which the name of that Governor-general is identified. Keshub too was animated by the same spirit when he gave up parents, family, caste and practically identified himself with the church. He started newspapers for the propagation of his new faith, he started schools for the higher education of women and in many other ways pushed the cause of reform forward. It is the example of men who act and not merely think that is always the source of inspiration and encouragement—not of men like the late Dr. Bhau Dajee who merely talk about circumspection and caution. That these have hindered our cause in a high degree none shall deny. Like children who are afraid to go in the dark lest the evil spirit might eat them up—these words have acted as a powerful bugbear, have damped our spirits and we have not yet tried to find out what is meant by them. By trying to change our convictions—without sincerity and real earnestness—we are but making the times and society a matter of convenience to suit our individual tastes and wants. This reminds me of an incident that happened sometime after Keshub's visit in 1868. In 1870, a

member of the Prarthana Samaj invited a party of his friends to a dinner and amongst them a gentleman who had become a convert. It was then proposed that this gentleman should sit in a separate line. The other gentlemen wore sacred cloth and the guest and the host sat in one line. In itself this was a very trifling incident. But those were stirring times—then there were parties and parties, there was the widow-remarriage party and there was the anti-widow, remarriage party; the *Native Opinion* was the organ of the orthodox—the *Indu Prakash* represented the reformers. Ranade, Wagle, Parmanand, Modak, were the pioneers of reform. Joshi who held a high office in the Commissioner's office and the late Rao Sahab Mandlik were the leaders of the anti-reform movements. The articles in both the papers were of a very readable character. One party was always on the lookout to spot out the weak points of the other. The orthodox took opportunity to slash the reformers on this dinner incident and some of the gentlemen who attended the party had to perform the Prayaschit for dining with a convert. Naturally the party of reform was anxious to pay the orthodox in their own coin. An event very soon happened that gave the reformers the opportunity. At the house of a leader of the anti-reform party, a ceremony had to be performed, in which the priest had to be accompanied by his wife. The priest who officiated at the ceremony had no wife. The ceremony was performed without a hitch. From a few observations of the lady of the house, the priest's friends began to suspect that she was taken for the priest's wife. She naturally protested. And thus the secret was out. The reformers took advantage of the incident and exposed the orthodox. The matter, of course, caused much sensation at the time. I have given out these two incidents just to show the state of things in 1870, and to contrast it with the present. Those were days when private persecutions flourished at their worst and when the least deviation from the accepted social usages set people mad—that being the inevitable result of their struggle for reform based on a desire to be cautious and circumspect in bringing it about. But for the work of men like Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Keshub Chunder Sen, who were animated by the spirit of enthusiasm, had rebelled against the crippling influences of caution and circumspection, we would not have made the progress that we see to-day. But then, it is said the progress we have made up to now has all been in the wrong direction. Is the

charge true? The Maharaja of Burdwan, the other day, in a publication which is practically supported by him, paid a high compliment to Brahmos, when he said, that we were falling into disrepute because people who did not scruple to eat and drink anything, found easy admittance into our fold. Every one who is familiar with the history of the rise and progress of the Brahmo Samaj, knows that its pioneers never thought of the liberty to eat and drink—with which some are pleased to charge them—as one of the articles of their creed and on which they hoped to base social reconstruction. I know for certain, from personal experience, not one of the original founders of the Prarthana Samaj thought of it. In my intercourse with them I have not come across one who may be said to have been indebted to "Uncle Palonjee" for his zeal for reform. Dr. Bhandarkar has told me that it had never struck him what it was to think of going to a hotel one day! Of course, it is true, that the institutions to which we belong are not identified either with Vegeterianism or total abstinence. Keshub himself when his medical advisers prescribed him meat diet, bravely preferred to suffer in health rather than waver in his resolution about vegetable food. It may be that, of late, a change is coming over the members of the Brahmo Samaj, just as we are getting fashionable about dress, furniture and other things—some people seem to have an idea that religion too should be fashionable. And it is this tendency common to all religions to gather a lot of extraneous matter round the original idea of its founder, that gives occasion for cavil for critics like the Maharaja of Burdwan. But let us remember the fact that the religion preached by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, practised by Devendra Nath Tagore, and made familiar to all both by precept and example by Keshub, is the religion of the purification based on the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. It is with this religion that we have identified ourselves and it is this faith that we want to enter into our daily actions—and not the shadow of the religion that shuns the world and seeks the lip of a hermit, but the substance that permeates through all our actions and which embraces everything that comes within its reach and hopes to purify them by its touch. It is the essence of the teachings of the teachers of the world like Christ, Tukaram, Nanak, Zoroaster, and Mohan Roy that has but rekindled the light which these great and good men, the fathers of the world so to say first brought into the world. It was their spirit that animated

him, when fired by enthusiasm, he began to proclaim the truth from all directions. Our ideas about religion may change. But through all the varying fortunes, the fundamental idea underlying the teachings of the great Raja, will ever remain unchanged and unchallenged. His religion was to go out of ourselves and seek the good of others, by serving humanity. His watchwords were "act as you preach" and "do not play with your convictions." And what more noble example of a life lived up to these ideals can we have than that of the great Raja himself? Who does not know how he worked for the improvement of his fellows, how he strove, worked and wept for the widow and how hard he tried to help his struggling countrymen by going all the way to England to give evidence as to the moral, material and political condition of the country? And was not Keshub also inspired by the same spirit being fired by the example of his illustrious predecessor? The question that each one of us has to answer is, have you done your "little best" to serve your fellows? No narrowness of the heart—but a broad sympathy for the whole of humanity—this is the genius of modern progress. It is a great and a holy thing to be able to render some service of humanity in the spirit of love and kindness; for, if we cannot accomplish great things, there are little services which will speak more eloquently for us, provided they are done in the spirit of love, as the widow did her mite.

THE THEISTIC CONFERENCE.

(8th January, 1905.)

The Hon. Mr. Justice Chandavarkar, who was loudly cheered as he rose to welcome the delegates, said —

Sisters and Brothers,

In offering you a most cordial welcome to this city on behalf of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay, my first thoughts, I confess, go back to the fact that, had Providence ordained it otherwise, other tongues would have had the honour of giving expression to the words of cordial welcome which it is my privilege to-day to offer on behalf of the Samaj, and other hands would have been extended to you to embrace you and to work hand in hand with you in a spirit of brotherliness that becomes all theists. I cannot pass on without alluding to the fact that we miss to-day names, which will always stand associated with the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay—and I might go even further without being guilty of the slightest exaggeration—names which stand associated with all that is good and noble, with all that is solid in the progress and activities of this city. (Cheers.) In the first place, we miss to-day the venerable figure of one who from the very beginning up to the moment of his death was associated with this Samaj and with honour to himself and credit to this institution, did all that he could for its furtherance as the President of this institution. I have no doubt that some at any rate of you know to whom I refer. I refer to the late lamented Dr. Atmaram Pandurang. His venerable figure was the most typical. Always ready to identify himself with a good cause, he lived his life in the spirit of true trust in God. Always anxious to promote the cause of the Samaj he respected what others had to say and never exercised the office of the president which he held, in such a way as to show that he was conscious of the privileges which it conferred upon him. Then we miss on the present occasion another sweet-faced figure. I refer to the late lamented Mr. Vaman Abaji Modak. From the very beginning he worked for the Samaj and in fact the Samaj was always upper-

most in his thoughts. His services were always characterised by sweetness and edification which we have been missing since the loss we have sustained by his death and in him we have lost another of her props. And a third one is a loss which we have deeply felt. I mean Mr. Narayan M. Parmanand. He was a saint of our modern saints ; to know him was to love him—so entirely selfless he was. There are others whom we miss on the present occasion and I have only named these three because they were the prominent in the land, who nurtured this institution, worked for it and to whom we stand indebted for the solid foundation which they have laid. There is some consolation in the fact that two at least of the pioneers of this institution are left among us. (Cheers.) I have not named Mr. M. G. Ranade. I ought to have mentioned his name : he was one of those who were also working from the beginning of this institution. But the three I have named stand more prominently as the pioneers of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay. Two, I have said, are still amongst us ; one of them you see amongst you our revered Dr. Bhandarkar. We have him amongst us. We pray that he may be spared long amongst us. There is no figure left among us and revered more than that of Mr. W. B. Naware. I do not see him to-day in this hall. He is too ill and too weak to be here. But when I look to him, I think, to see him is to feel what a blessed thing it is to be spiritually minded. This institution has been nurtured by souls like these and we need not despair of the future. The seed they have sown is growing. When I look back on the time 20 or 22 years ago and when I compare it with the state of things that we witness to-day, we find that in spite of the doubts which arise in our weaker moments the future is one of brightness. (Hear, hear.) When I joined the Prarthana Samaj in 1881 there were friends who said that the institution must collapse with the collapse of those who have started it, that with the disappearance from the scene of men like Dr. Atmaram and Mr. Ranade, of Mr. Modak, and others, this building would be forlorn and deserted ; and the time would come, and these prophets of evil said, the time must come very early, that the trustees of the Prarthana Samaj would have to think whether it would not be better to make over the institution to some other body (laughter). And yet we have gone on ! We have flourished and it is not with a feeling of pride and judicial affectation that I say that the Prarthana Samaj has made progress far

beyond my expectation. Sisters and brethren, we are taking account of the work which we have been doing I should say that this is the only institution that has survived among the institutions which were started with it (Cheers). Political associations, social associations, other Prarthana Samajes have been perhaps merged in other bodies, and they are merely things of the past. The prospect is even more hopeful than it was when I became a member of this body. It is a hopeful sign of the time that the institution is making progress far beyond our expectations so far as these expectations are based upon our present surroundings. The structure has grown up, and when I speak of the enthusiasm evinced by the younger generation and spirit of activity shown by them, I am sorry I do not belong to their set. So far as I am concerned, I may claim the privilege of being the link between the past and the present. As a link to the past of this institution, I think, I have a right to say that the younger generation is showing activity and enthusiasm which promises even a richer harvest in future. (Cheers.) Then I refer to the solid building which has become a part of this institution. We have amongst us one who probably will not like me disclose his name as he is present here as one of the audience, and therefore I will not bring a blush on his face. But you know whom I refer to (Cheers.) To his charity we owe the building which has housed so many of our guests during the present occasion (Cheers) That also ought to be the object lesson to those who think that Western India is not making progress. I might be told it is the charity of one man. There may be amongst us many possessing millions, but one heart, one soul rich in the harvest of charity, of good faith, is even more precious in the eyes of God and ought to be in the eyes of man, than a hundred others. I might dwell further on some other activities but it is not necessary to do so. I may tell our sisters and brethren who have come from distant parts that poorer as we are than other Samajes and less practical, (No, no) we are still going forward inspired by the enthusiasm of our leaders. There are some here who think our services are conducted before empty benches, but I have always thought that those who make this remark never care to look into and get themselves acquainted with the fact. I may say that the services of the Prarthana Samaj are being fairly attended and it may be said that we are well on the path of bringing hope to our weak, timid fellowmen who feel that there is

nothing to be gained from the spiritual advice offered from week to week in the Prarthana Samaj. Sisters and brethren, passing from the somewhat lengthy history of this institution, I may also ask you on the present occasion to look into the prospects of Theism here. You have come at a time when we are, so to say, in the midst of activities of different kinds. Nearly every man and, I might say, nearly every woman in Bombay is just now animated by some spirit of activity or another. There are some who have come for politics. There are others who have come for social reform, and nearly all have come to enjoy the sight of the industrial exhibition. And *you* have come for the Theistic Conference. Probably you are a minority—the minority of minorities. But that ought not to discourage you. All great religious and other movements have begun with minorities and have had to struggle before becoming widespread. There are hopeful signs now that men's minds are being slowly inspired by spiritual truths. Witness some of the speeches delivered the other day at a meeting of the Indian National Congress. You have therefore enough cause to draw your encouragement from the fact that after all spirituality is becoming gradually, the centre of all thought. (Hear, hear) Better times are coming nearer home to hearten the hopes of all true Theists. In India we have been passing for several years past through a strong wave of reaction which some people call revivalism. But I have all long felt that this spirit of re-action is only a hopeful sign for the times to come. We are bound to get soon out of this current which has given to some of us the impression that religion ought to be patronised by us. I have begun to feel that whether we are Brahmo Samajists or Arya Samajists there is one spirit pervading all our doings. (Hear, hear.) I was told by a European friend of mine that one thing in the Indian character that struck him most was that the Indian till he is forty years of age grows in agnosticism, but that when he is on the wrong side of forty the spirit of religion appears to come upon him and he makes, as it were, a jump from agnosticism to superstition. No doubt it is so in the case of some who have nothing to do until they grow to be forty or forty-five years of age, who seem to regard religion as a thing reserved for old age or perhaps who think that this world in which we move is after all nothing. The Indian mind particularly has long thought upon the transitoriness of the things of this world and dwelt on the happiness

of the future life The Indian mind has consequently the devotional instinct in it and we must draw all our faith of the future church, all our aspirations, all our hopes from it. We shall be enabled to reap a rich harvest if only we work with love and pay more attention to the devotional side of Hindu character. Gentlemen, we have often been called a distinctive body but what is it that distinguishes the Brahmo Samaj from the religious activities of ancient or modern times? It is the broad-mindedness with which it accepts the truth from wherever it comes. (Hear, hear) We have often been told that we have borrowed our principles and ideals from others, that ours is an eclectic religion Yes, it may be or may not be so but the fact remains, and I am not ashamed of it that ours is a religion which has the motto of truth written on it and as such it is bound to be the religion of the future. (Cheers) I am not given to prophesying—nor do I possess the gift to prophecy and therefore although I believe that our religion is bound to become the future church of India, I shall not enter into any detailed examination of the question. But it is necessary to say that we live at a time when narrowness of the heart has to be overcome and when the devotional character of the Indian people, has to be developed on a large scale The times in which we live demand that we should wage war against bigotry, superstition and divisions and should let in the light of new ideas and spiritual aspirations. Who cannot see that India has gone down in the scale of nations and who cannot realise that the tendency to divide ourselves into castes, to entertain ideas which divide man from man has been the origin of it? Brahmoism teaches us that there is one God and one humanity and this fact is being forced upon us from all quarters day by day. If we are to make any progress we must base it on this fundamental principle. This is the creed of the Brahmo Samaj (Hear, hear) The Brahmo Samaj, then, has in it all the elements of the Church of India; because it tries to bring into its fold ideas that bring about harmony in the country. Ours, gentlemen, it is to work in the field, ours it is to devote ourselves to the activities of modern times; ours it is to help one another in the great problem that will foster a true spirit of brotherliness, to make men feel that in spite of our petty differences we are all drawing towards the same end. Brahmoism aims at cutting down narrowness and at making every one realise that the mission of man in this world is indeed greater and nobler than is generally be-

lieved to be. It is said Brahmoism is lacking in sympathy from the people and it has not been able to make much progress on that account.

This is true But what religion when it comes first into existence has the sympathy of the people? Looking at the history of such religious movements in the past I find it is not the sympathy of the people that we must have to depend upon for the spread of our religion. Christianity prospered because of the great enthusiastic and sacrificing missionary St Paul. We want missionaries of Paul's courage who will be ready to go among the lowly and the meek, the miserable and the sinners, who will be ready to sacrifice their everything for the cause, and then alone will it be possible for us to make any progress against these depressing times This is the work which the Brahmo Samaj has to do It is a difficult one I admit, but, let us remember that a child succeeds in walking only when it falls down hundreds of times every day, a man becomes strong only when he exerts and gives pain to his limbs What is true in the physical world holds also true in the moral world. For every growth, the growth of the spirit is essential and it is more essential in the case of the growth of religion. Brother delegates, to me you appear to represent the flower of our country's activity, for you hold that all our activities must be based on a true religious foundation. (Hear, hear) To you has been entrusted the task of all tasks, i.e. the task of the regeneration of India Your task is the highest of all. The moral creed of the Brahmo Samaj has the power of regenerating India. Brother delegates, you have come here in such large numbers to ponder upon the best methods of doing it. You have responded to our invitation to come here and have given us the pleasure and privilege of making your acquaintance. You have enabled us to pass our days in the company of pious and noble souls—souls who have been doing their level best for the spread of truth in their respective spheres, and on behalf of the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay, I heartily thank you for it. Once more, dear brethren, I welcome you to this city to deliberate upon the best ways of serving our religion and our God, (Loud applause.)

THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRAHMA SAMAJ.

The history of every great religion, whether it is Hinduism, Buddhism, Christianity or Mahomedanism, presents some features which are common to them all. And if we study the development of these faiths through their different stages we shall find that it divides itself into two or three main heads. The first is the stage of foundation, the second of apostolic succession and the third that of ordinary following. A great religion is, in fact, founded by a great man of extraordinary enthusiasm and faith—by one who raises himself higher than his surroundings and reflects in himself all that is best, noblest and purest of his time. Such, in fact, is the moral of the life-story of the great Shankarasharya. And does not the life of Buddha but emphasise the same moral? For, did he not put forth his best efforts to rescue mankind from the degradation into which it had fallen consequent on the demoralized condition of the Hinduism of the day? And did not Christ too, when he purified the Religion of the Jews which had become perverted—a bundle of bigotry and superstition—tower above the rest of mankind as one consumed with an all-devouring love for mankind, that sought no rest save in the betterment of the lot of humanity? Christ founded his religion, the apostles propagated it, and how it has influenced the ordinary mass of humanity is now a matter of daily experience. The history of a great religion, therefore, is the history of a great man who feels himself charged with a message from God and delivers it to erring humanity freely and fearlessly, yet with a sympathy born of a love for mankind. That feature common to all religions is also characteristic of the Theistic movement of India.

The idea that Brahmoism is a religion completely alien from what is known as Hinduism has got such a strong hold on the minds of some of our people that it is necessary to refer to it a little on the present occasion. The impression has gained ground, because this Church does not accept the Vedas and other ancient scriptures as revelation and is founded on the broad principle that no particular book is a revelation from God, that God has revealed Himself to mankind in the past in diverse ways and

that He has not ceased to reveal Himself to erring humanity even in these so-called degenerate days. But because this Church has taken its stand on these broad principles, to say that it does not acknowledge its obligations to the past history of the country is not correct. For, let us remember that we should never hope to build the future if we ignore the past. And the Church founded by Raja Ram Mohun Roy, though apparently it seems to be an alien growth, has its foundations deep down in the traditions of the nation. The nation had fallen into a long sleep and, as a result, had lost its vitality. And Raja Ram Mohun Roy did what eminent doctors do when they find their patient so hopelessly diseased as to lose all powers of self-recuperation and that it is necessary to insulate him and to electrify him with some internal life. Thus it is that we see that in the history of reform a great man who strives to improve mankind, when all ordinary measures fail has like the doctor to resort to electric force. And when he sets himself to separate what is pure and permanent from what is corrupt and diseased in the environment, he finds that, in spite of the apparently diverse teachings of the Vedas, the Bible and the Gita, there is an under-current running through them all which emerges in the three cardinal principles that the voice of God speaks through them all, that humanity is one and that God is the Father and mankind are brethren. The moment this light dawns upon you, your ideals grow higher and you begin to measure all human achievements by the common standard. You feel that there is a stage in human activities where all the diversities meet—that there is but one goal towards which we are all moving—that the heart of humanity beats with but one common emotion and that God is ever and anon influencing us; for, the best teachings of St. Augustine, Christ and Tukaram, though strung to different tunes, after all that is claimed for them by their followers, but meet in this common harmony. And if in Raja Ram Mohun Roy people find one who did not believe in the Vedas—one who had departed from the ancient moorings—one who had rebelled against the practices of his time, they will find that he shares this feature in common with all the teachers of the world. Raja Ram Mohan Roy laid the foundation of the theistic religion, Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore who passed away the other day loved and respected by all, raised the superstructure and it was Keshub Chander Sen who practically propagated the religion com-

monly known as Brahmoism. Of these three it was Devendra Nath Tagore, who gave a practical shape to the idea of the founder and thus paved the way for Keshub's work of propagation. Devendra Nath Tagore may be most correctly described as the Saint of the Samaj. His was the kind of saintliness that is but seldom seen in these days of practical action. He lived in constant communion with God and in spite of the fact that he had means that should have easily tempted him to make an ostentation of life, he practically cut himself off from all mundane affairs and devoted himself to one department of life, i. e. communion with God. The longer he laboured there, his influence over those who came in contact with him grew stronger and thus it was that he was able to communicate to Keshub the electric force that he had developed in himself by his constant communion with God.

In studying the history of Christianity we find that that religion derived its strength, first from three persons—from Christ the founder, Peter the apostle and Paul the preacher. The same phenomena under slightly different conditions are to be seen in the history of the Theistic Religion of India. We had Ram Mohun Roy the founder, Devendra Nath Tagore the apostle and Keshub Chunder Sen the preacher. Now that the last of the race has passed away and the sad event having occurred at a time when we are celebrating the seventy fifth anniversary of this Samaj, we are apt to lose heart and say—now that we have been deprived of the guidance of these great men, the seed sown and watered by these men must necessarily perish as they have left no successor to carry on the work they had started. Situated as we are it is but natural that this mood of despondency should come over us. But if we will but reflect a little on God's ways and the constitution of this world, we shall see that great as our loss is, there is no cause for us to lose heart. In the history of the world great men but appear in our midst at long intervals, and pass away, after sowing the seeds of a great movement, leaving the work of completion to ordinary mortals like us. It is not that great men are always necessary for our development, and as the majority of the world is made of ordinary men like us—men possessed of mediocre powers—it cannot be God's intention to withhold from us the strength necessary to carry on this work of these great men—if we but strive to work in the right spirit. Shankaracharya died at 32, about the age at which Christ was crucified. And in the history

of the Brahma Samaj although Tagore has now retired at the ripe age of 89, did not Keshub pass away when only 43 years old? In the nature of things, man's existence in this world is bound to be of a brief duration. But though the man passes away his example remains and it is for us, so to mould our lives that it should become to us a source of strength and inspiration. This is the heritage that is handed down to us by those great men whether we shall make ourselves worthy of it or not, mainly rests with ourselves. Let us, therefore, while we are celebrating this anniversary, remember the one important lesson that these great men have taught us—that the pure in heart alone see God. Let us, therefore, as Tukaram has sung in the hymn, try to purify our minds—although it is true that it is not given to mortals to command absolute purity—purity in the sense that whether you are rich or poor, learned or otherwise, you will try to do your duty in the world with trust in God and in spite of all that may be said of you by those who do not see their way to act as you are acting. When we have learned to do this and so long as we strive to do this—it matters little if we fail—let us remember that it is the voice of those great men like Ram Mohan Roy, Tagore and Keshub that is encouraging us onwards in our path of duty and let us take courage—bearing in mind that though they are not in flesh with us, still their spirits are watching over us and will continue to watch over us as long as we strive to practise the truth they have preached.

FAITH.

The one feature peculiar to writings of saints like Tukaram is the diversity of expressions with which their teachings abound, but which in fact stands for so many hinges on which they try to hang the central idea that underlies their teachings. It is this central idea—the one principle underlying this diversity of expression—that forms the basis, the centre, the very soul and life, as it were, of the teachings of these great masters. The hymns which we have just sung but give expression to the one thought that faith is the very essence of life—the basis on which the superstructure of what we call humanity is raised. When we get at this central idea of the saint's teachings we are inclined to ask ourselves the question—Is this faith on which Tukaram insists really practicable by men like us who have got to live their ordinary routine of life? This brings us to the question “what is faith?”. “He who has *steps* has faith” was remarked by Oliver Cromwell. Interpreted in ordinary language it means, he alone can be called a man of faith who goes through life unperturbed; he who keeps an evenness of temper in performing the various duties of life—be they heavy or light,—pleasant or unpleasant. Which is the character that we ordinarily most admire? Do we not even where we ordinary men are concerned, admire him the most who takes things as they come and is not elated by successes or depressed by reverses? From our childhood to our grave it is faith that links together in a complete chain, as it were, our various acts, and makes of them what we call life. Have we not seen children when they are sick and suffering, trustingly take from the hands of their mothers some bitter pills because they are told they would do them good and relieve them of their pain? Faith, therefore, teaches you first to forego some present pleasure and put up with some immediate unpleasantness, in the hope of future enjoyment. Therefore, when I speak of faith as the basis of life, I mean to apply the principle that underlies it, to ordinary as well as extra-ordinary acts of life to our ideas of public service, social reform and religious progress. In whatever department of our activities you may be engaged, the one thing you are expected to do is to forego all present enjoyment and to be willing to make some present sacrifices. It is this supreme quality—this gift of faith—that keeps us firm, in the midst

of dangers, difficulty and opposition and in the long run leads us to accomplish something really good and great. It was this gift of faith that supported the historian Gibbon, in his years of toil, spent in the preparation of history, forgoing ease and pleasure and secured for him and his history a well-earned and well-deserved immortality. Contrast his sensations of joy when he was at his work with the mood of dejection that came over him when the last line of his great book was written and you at once feel what it is to have your heart set on the accomplishment of some great object, to toil for it years and years undismayed by difficulties, with your resolution unshaken, ever anxious about its ultimate success, ever confident about it and once having reached the goal, do you not look upon these periods of anxiety as the brightest episodes of your life to which you would most willingly return? This sort of life spent in the pursuit of a great object and sustained in the struggle by such supreme joy, is the life that the saints want us to live when they ask us to cultivate the virtue of "unworldliness." To live in the world, to listen to its noise and bustle and yet to pass it by silently, in pursuit of our ideal, is what the saints mean when they ask us men of the world "to live the life of unworldliness" and this is merely the concentrated essence of all worldly experience. Faith, therefore, wants us to live above the ordinary humdrum life of humanity, to be above the tyranny of the present and above the temptations of society. To be above the tyranny of the present means not to put off your work, under any circumstances, but to continue working in "the living present" in the faith that in the fulness of time your efforts will be crowned with success. Do not pass away the present moments, in idleness, in the vain hope that, at some future day, the difficulties with which you have got to deal, will, of themselves, disappear. In short, the saints warn us not to make of ourselves slaves of our senses.

The promptings of our senses, at first sight, appear to us sweet and bewitching, but, in fact, they are like deadly poisons which are beautiful to look at, but never fail to bring misery and death to those who are tempted to swallow them. Institutions, like individuals, have to preserve themselves against the evergrowing influence of senses, with which social and individual life are alike infested. We have to live a life of conflicts—conflict of ideas and ideals—we have to realize our ideals and translate our inner consciousness into action and how shall we do it, if we did not—ere it

is not too late—learn to put up with present inconveniences in the hope of future benefits? And can we do this, otherwise than, by refusing to be carried away from the pursuit of our ideals by the blandishments of society? Between the individual and society there is an unwritten compact based on the very simple principle of “give and take.” We have therefore not to make violence to the conscience of society nor to rouse it to obstinate opposition to our ideals by trying to force them upon it. With an evenness of temper and steadfastness of purpose, who have to go on working for our ideals, in the faith that if it is against us to-day, tomorrow it is bound to come round, if we will but keep to our faith, unperturbed either by its smiles or frowns. Complete self-abnegation, conscious only of the influence of great ideas and swayed by the ambition to be of service to his society or country, the man with faith, when the right moment comes, does not hesitate to speak the right word, which, he trusts, will eventually lead to right action. But, let us remember that great actions are only possible when we make it a rule to act up to these principles even in our daily routine of life. Hence, instead of wasting our time and energy in speaking about the glory of great deeds we will be living a more useful life if we will but try to act up to our ideals in our ordinary affairs. It is no use saying that humanity is bad and the human heart corrupt. We find humanity bad because we ourselves are bad and have no faith in our goodness. And you cannot be a man of faith unless you make up your mind to shape your life on the basis of the three principles of “*Dan, Daman and Dharma*” that is charity, self-restraint and self-reverence. Charity means giving to the poor our mite, loving those that are suffering and down-trodden, forgiving those that have done us harm. Self-restraint means capacity to restrain yourselves, to keep your feelings and passions under control, for, he alone is able to conquer others, who has first learnt to conquer himself. Self-reverence means charity towards the weaknesses of others but no dallying with your own failings—but living a life so pure and chaste that those that come in contact with you may, quite unconsciously almost against their wishes, be influenced by your example. The cultivation of these three virtues,—charity, self-restraint and self-reverence constitutes faith. And when we say with the saint that it is practical for ordinary men to live the life described by Tukaram, what we say is that we should constantly try to make these virtues a part and parcel of life and thus pave the way for great actions with which faith ultimately inspires you.

SIMPLE LIFE.

It is perhaps natural and good for one who has identified himself with a particular institution, to be optimistic regarding the future of that institution. And I have come to the conclusion, after observing things for myself for the last forty years, that the spirit of optimism is the best equipment of life. For the purpose of holding one's mind and soul aloft, and for the improvement of one's own self and the regeneration of the land, the spirit of pessimism will not do. A man who sets to work with a hopeful heart and does not trouble himself whether he will achieve anything great but goes on doing his duty with faith in himself and in God, lays the foundation of a better and more lasting success than he who imbued with the spirit of pessimism goes to work with a drooping heart and a morbid mind. I have always felt that with regard to the various problems of the day, the key to their solution is the buoyant and hopeful spirit, which, I am glad to find, is becoming more and more observable in these days. With regard to the religious movement with which we are so closely connected, there is more room than anywhere else for entertaining the spirit of optimism. For, in spite of the indifference which many educated people show to religion, it appears to me, if I read the signs of the times correctly, that spirituality is gaining ground even among them. No doubt the number of those who have openly joined the Theistic Church is small and not proportionate to the time of the existence of the Church but the influence which it is exerting on the many thoughtful young men who attend the services from week to week is enough to make even the greatest pessimist among us hopeful of the future of our Church. I have been witnessing the spiritual growth for the last four years and I must admit that it has not only been not disappointing but highly encouraging to me. I happened to read some criticism of the Prarthana Samaj the other day in an Anglo-Marathi daily of Bombay. It complained that although the Prarthana Samaj deserved to prosper it had not done so, as was manifest from the small number of members on its rolls. Now the habit of applying the numerical test to the prosperity of any institution especially a religious institution like ours, was al-

together a wrong one, because the potency of such institutions must be gauged by the good influence they spread and not by the number of those who openly join them. The writer in the said journal went further to assert that the fault of the Samaj having been not as successful as it should have been must be laid at the doors of the Samajists and not of the Hindu society. Now a criticism of this kind only shows the woeful lack on the part of the writer of understanding his duty. If the writer in question and other people like him feel that they can sympathise with the aspirations of the Samaj as he says he can and does, their duty is to join it openly and to help in making it prosperous and successful. Religious and social questions stand on a different footing from political ones. In politics one may indulge in criticism of Government and its measures, resting secure all the time, because he will not be at all called upon to take the reins of Government in his own hand and to guide its policy. But in religious and social matters mere criticism is of no use. Success or otherwise in religion is a matter of our own making and if we truly sympathise with a particular religious movement it behoves us as earnest and faithful men to join that movement and to work heart and soul for it. That however apart, in religion as I have just now said the numerical test is not always a correct one. The path of religion is full of difficulties and not easy to tread. Religion is not of rapid growth simply because it is the highest and most abiding of all. As Martineau says, such is the creation that has most rapid growth which is lowest in the scale of nature. God has so arranged matter that which lives long also takes long to grow. Hence let no one be disappointed by the smallness of number of the members of our Samaj. All religions that have influenced mankind for good have been slow to spread. Christianity with the great apostle St. Paul as its exponent did not make much progress for the first many years of its existence. What is wanted for the growth of every religion is not intellect or largeness of the number of its followers but that those few who identify themselves with it should be persons of sound hearts and truly prayerful dispositions. Sincerity and earnestness are what must be the ruling principles of their lives. In other words those who join the Samaj must be persons prepared to lead "simple lives."

We talk of 'simple life' as if it were very easy to lead. No doubt the expression 'simple life' is very enchanting and com-

paring ourselves with people of Europe whom we find to be always after wealth and the comforts of the world, we pride ourselves on the simplicity of our life. The ancient Hindus our forefathers really led simple, in the sense of godly lives, and we, their descendants could boast of it if that were permissible. But so far as our own lives are concerned, I am not certain that it could be said with any degree of correctness that they are simple. For, simplicity does not consist in putting on a dhotar and leading careless, meagre and unmeaning lives. If fewness of wants were a test of simplicity, barbarians would be the simplest of human beings on earth. But if simplicity means godliness as I presently intend to show to you it does, then you will admit that such lives are not easy to lead. They mean an effort of supreme magnitude and cultivation of our faculties in no small measure. A simple life means a strenuous and therefore a religious life which must spread its influence quietly yet surely on all who come in contact with it. To illustrate what I mean by simplicity of life I shall take a few illustrations. Take the works of Addison and mark the style. How simple, chaste and imitable it appears to be. Still a little reflection will show that in spite of its apparent imitability it is the most difficult to understand and to master. The style is simple because it is free from ostentation. There is a genuineness about it which attracts you and which gives you the impression that you could easily make it your own. Or again take the instance of a picture, which is faithful to the original. The picture is simple because it is free from gorgeousness. Or let us take the instance of nature. As Carlyle says, a grain of wheat is mixed up with a good deal of chaff and rubbish and sowed in the earth. Mother earth does not complain of the chaff but takes in the wheat as quietly as if there was no rubbish with it. The sun rises every morning without tom tom or noise and goes its regular rounds with patience and quietness. The flowers, the blossoms, the seasons, all come in their proper time without advertisement. There is quiet simplicity about nature which is not marred by even so much as a show of hurry, disorder or bustle. So also the man of simple life goes about his work in the most uncomplaining way. He is faithful to his Maker. God works in the simplest manner and the man who leads a simple life imitates God in this respect. Simplicity is not ostentations, nor is there any gorgeousness about it. It is neither shown nor disorderly but truthful, and faithful to the ori-

ginal. In order therefore that our lives may become simple, it is necessary to discipline them. Discipline turns vice into virtue and to be able to do it, we must learn to be strenuous and earnest. Strenuous or religious life is only possible when one gets to the centre of life which is God Himself. By cultivation of godliness can we realise our highest ideals in this world. To lead simple lives we must learn to cultivate godliness which our forefathers had and which we have well nigh forgotten. Simple life therefore does not mean a mongre life but a life that is free from show and which is full of genuineness and godliness. A life like that is essentially needed by every one who joins the Samaj. And as I conclude, let me tell those young men who have started this Prayer Union and who have been working quietly for the realisation of their cherished principles, to make God's will their own and to persevere in the noble work they have undertaken. Remember, yours are the stout hearts if you will so make them. If you are earnest, if you are true to your convictions, above all, if you are simple, that is, godly, let people frown at you, let them point the finger of scorn at you, let them revile or persecute you, you will stand undaunted, faithfully doing your duty by yourselves and your Maker.

THE SECRET OF THE HINDU CIVILIZATION.

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The question now and then arises in one's mind how far religion is a real living force in this country. It is a question which one feels forced, as it were, to answer, because I believe there has hardly been difference of opinion either in the civilized East or the civilized West upon the point that this country has been the land of religion or religions and that it contains within itself the germs of spirituality from which the civilized world in general can learn a great deal. I refer to that opinion not for the purpose of indulging in a feeling of pride, or what may be regarded as exaggerated patriotism. But we may accept that as an opinion that has found favour with the whole world that in the midst of a great deal that is discovered here you have much of the spiritual element in the writings and traditions of this country which if brought out may exert a wholesome influence upon the civilized world at large. For instance, I was reading yesterday a letter from an English lady published in one of the dailies in Madras, which I think is suggestive of several ideas. That letter was with reference to a communication which appeared in Madras some weeks ago about "The Instincts of our ladies." The writer, so far as one could judge was a Hindoo and his object in writing that letter was to show that Hindoo ladies do not require any education because they were educated already and he said that without the modern education a Hindoo woman is capable of thinking and even of managing affairs, and she has a great deal of wisdom. The Hindoos have a certain kind of subtlety. The philosophical talent of the Rishis has left, at least this much for us, that we can suggest an argument and use it for our own purpose. But there is some truth in what the writer says. And this English lady, who has written the letter to which I just referred with reference to the communication of the Hindoo gentleman, confirms it. She says that during her residence in India she came in contact with a large number of Hindoo ladies and that she was surprised to find that they did not know reading, writing or reckoning and with all they had a capacity for thinking and that too in marked contrast with the West.

And her contact with our civilization has led her to the belief or rather to the conviction that in India one sees germs of a real civilization which means peace and rest whereas the rest of the civilization is one merely of locomotion; and she illustrates it by means of instances which will go to the minds of you all. Now you have bicycles, motor cars of different movements. You want to be hurried over distances; you want to get the news of yesterday to day, and the result is that man is always in a hurry, always in excitement. Things learnt to-day are forgotten to-morrow and some other exciting things come before you. If you have not learnt to live a life of peace you are apt to be tossed about in this world like an insect in the midst of a storm. The lady says that a Hindoo realises the true spirit of civilization. But after all one is afraid of giving approval to such an idea because there is a kind of patriotism about us which takes hold of this and says "we are superior to the Westerns." Let us find out what the true spirit of our civilization is, Asceticism or Athletism? There cannot be any doubt that the real civilization is one of Asceticism. We are when born brutes and we are created by God so that we may tame the brute in us.

And the true spirit of the civilization that was aimed at by the Rishis was to tame down the brute in man. The ancient Rishis taught it, Christ taught it and Mahomed himself taught it. The spirit of this civilization was indeed good, but the mistake committed was that in taming down man by rubbing all the brutish in him, I believe, our customs have taken off a good deal that ought not to have been taken and that is self-resolution and the courage of one's conviction. Because, without resolution, without the courage to stick fast to your ideas you cannot do anything. What is love? It must be intense, otherwise it is not love at all. It is a platonic love. If your love is not exerted strongly and intensely, if it is not active it hardly deserves to be called love. But if love is intense there is behind it the resolution, the courage, the spirit of sacrifice. Take the character of Moses. The Bible speaks of him as meek. You know what meekness means. It does not mean that you are to sit quiet. It means that once you were a man of excitable temperament but by discipline you have educated yourself so well that you know when to be angry and when not to be angry. Anger becomes a vice if it is exerted indiscriminately but when it is used in the cause of suffering, oppression and arbi-

trary conduct it is a virtue. But all that requires self-resolution and it is here that a mistake was committed in civilization. The spirit of Athletism was gone and the spirit of Asceticism remained and we became tame and hence we are called the mild Hindoos instead of the meek Hindoos.

Look at our ideals now. Take a man who has the courage of his conviction, a man like Mr Vireshalingum Pantalu who thinks that he should not worship idols. You may agree with his views or not, but what is the criticism hurled on a man like this? Men who are talking of self-sacrifice, who say that we ought not to be timid forget that whether a man is right or wrong if he has this germ of steadfastness of conviction then they have got a national asset. Vireshalingum Pantalu is a man of whom we do not hear much because he is not one of the popular men of the day. He and his wife have never amassed wealth, but whatever they had they have dedicated it to the cause of poor widows. He will be remembered as the one man who has purified the sacred literature and who is in every inch of him a man of spotless character, bold, humble, meek but at the same time resolute. He says "these are my convictions" and what is the criticism passed against such a man? They say he has ruined the cause of Social Reform. Thus this one criticism shows in what direction the feeling is growing. Whither are we going? What is the trend of our thought? We talk of selflessness. But the question is, how many of us are prepared to suffer for them. How many of us are prepared to speak the truth, act the truth, and to live the truth?

During my recent tour in certain parts of the country I came across men who said to me that there is more of talk and very little of action. One thing I have learnt—the man who really acts never complains about talkers but a man who never acts complains that others do not act. Mr. Vireshalingum Pantalu has never raised a cry of woe. Just as the Saint knows some of the vices of a vicious man, the man who acts knows about the infirmities of others. With your progress and reform must be the reform of your self. Reform yourself and you find that the country reforms itself. Here we have not learnt as yet to realize the fact that there cannot be anything without the meekness of Moses which comes out of that quiet, that calm and stern resolution. Massine says "where personal wrong is done silence is good and when another creature is ill-treated then silence is a sin" Where others suffer, yours it is

to rise for them, to fight their cause and do the best that you can to alleviate their suffering. Hence, we live for one another. But the mistake committed by our civilization was that this meekness passed into mildness. You start a movement and if it does not show signs of progress during a few years you say it is useless. If I were asked what is Education I would put it thus. Let every man make it a rule to ask what inconvenience he has suffered for his country and he has tried to get over it. That ought to be your discipline. Each one must say to himself that to-day he will deprive himself of something. It was once said that the Hindu community cannot stand the strain of anything for a length of time; when they find that nothing comes out of it they give it up. But young men in particular can do it and I ask you young men to do this. Learn every day to suffer some inconvenience. Thus Education will not be of use if your ideals are merely earthly and you confine your activities only to things for one day. Remember that after all man is God incarnate. That this body has been given to you because God resides in it and having done that make the love of God the centre of your actions. It is a great thing for a man to cultivate the habit of prayer in the morning so that he may know what his resolutions for the day are. Any work started after ten minutes of prayer in the morning is resolutely done. The pith of your resolutions must be this that to do anything you will suffer some inconvenience. Begin that way and then you will be able to learn the art of suffering and struggling. But above all it is only by means of religion that you can acquire a spirit of optimism, a spirit of hopefulness, without which no activity can fructify. We are wanting in this Philosophy which will teach us how to rise from high to higher, and become better in point of truth and love. For that, it is necessary, as Namdev points out, to take the name of God. But if your God is upon your lips and not in your hearts, it is useless as having no God at all. But in order that you may do that you must have what is called the habits coupled with the company of the saints which are respectively the 3rd and 4th elements of भक्ति viz नामस्मरण and पादसेवन which teach you that you are servants of God; that in order that it may enable you to understand in what spirit to do it, you must go forward and always cultivate the company of Saints. Some say how are we to be in the company of Saints unless we have living Saints before us. You do not know your living Saints because you do not go with the

spirit to find them. The man who is false himself will always suspect others of falsehood. We will find Saints if we have some of the attributes of Saints. All places become heaven to him who is himself heavenly. This is what is wanting. The question has been raised whether the Prarthana Samaj is popular or not and if it is not popular, to what its unpopularity is to be attributed. Have we the resolution to act upon our principles or not? We are loose in that respect. The Prarthana Samaj will become popular in its own time. But whether it is Prarthana Samaj or any other Samaj unless there is behind that national asceticism which has shown itself in so remarkable a manner in him whom I consider the real hero of the day, Mr. Vireshalingum Pantulu, I think all movements are bound to suffer from general debility. However, young men in particular, I ask you to cultivate this habit of resolution and courage. If your sincerity and courage are born of faith in God and by means of them you feel that it is your duty to be what you are, I am quite sure that you will get light in the midst of darkness. I am glad to find that whatever the weakness of the present generation, there is the younger generation which is to be the generation for the future, which seems to be fired with this idea that you must not be insincere. They hate a man who says one thing and does another. You young men should have that purity of sentiment, then your life will be in perfect harmony with your inward life and also your public life. It is only then that a spirit of optimism will come. It is only then you will say that life is worth living. And when you have got that, when the law of life is service and love then you have everything that is necessary to make your country not a by-word of reproach but a country of which not you yourselves but others can speak with respect. And by means of godliness which will enable you to learn above everything sincerity of life which gives us not the excitement of life but that real peace, that meekness which is founded on grit, be strong, be men of nerve and speak as you do and do as you speak. Without that, all else seems tinsel and all our progress, our right to be great, our right to everything will be decided by the sincerity of conviction we have. You know, Lecky says that the real test of a country's greatness is how its leaders are, who they are, whether they are men of nimble tongue, of small lives or whether they are men who stand fast by what they say. Do they care for popularity or will they stand as if in the sight of God and say I am true to my own self and to my God.

in politics? I demur. Calmly view the situation. Examine the permanent element making for progress, which is discerned for us by the slow but steady development of the Councils of the Empire; the appointments of Indians to some of the higher offices; and so on. Things have not indeed gone as fast as some or most of us wish. But who will deny that England's pace in the government of this country has been, on the whole, forwards, not backwards. Is it of social reform you talk? There is a vast amount of work to be done, it is true; compared to that, what has been achieved is indeed very little. But judge wisely. Has there not been an awakening? Is not the heart of every community more or less stirred? Do you speak of religion? There too the social mind is awakening slowly, silently.

We see more of the evil than the soul of goodness in the situation around us; because the evil presses more palpably and the element of good, as is its nature, works slowly, silently, and unostentatiously. That is God's way —

“In quietude Thy Spirit grows
In Man from hour to hour,
In calm eternal onwards flows
Thy all-redeeming power.”

The elements of reaction are noisy: the elements of progress are quiet. Caught by the exciting sights of the former, we miss the vision of the latter. Thunder and lightning impress us as the forces of Nature because of their noise; but it is the slow march of the steady rain or the dew's silent fall that fertilises the fields and yields at last the harvest. God is patient and works silently:—

तुका म्हणे माझा स्वामी अबोलना ।
पुरवे खुणे खुणा जाणतरी ॥

If things present seem to carry us backwards, not forwards, remember that is but one law of progress. To go onwards, we have to go back a little. Progress does not mean motion in a straight line. Scientists truly say that there are no straight lines in the physical world. Nor are there in the world of spirit. We have to be virtuous by fighting with vices; we have to be godly by resisting temptation. What is true of the individual is true, more or less, of men collectively—of communities, societies, and

nations. Because we see dissensions, controversies, conflicts, race against race, caste against caste, class against class, we think that all this conflict, opposition, disunion mean that, in spite of education and other instruments of progress, we are going backwards—No ; all this conflict means the stirring of men's minds and hearts. The spirit of the age is for progress—but before it can establish itself, it must conquer the ignorance, superstition, prejudice of ages. And it cannot conquer before a conflict. And the conflict must rouse passions, the blind forces of racial, caste, and class prejudice. But in the back ground of all this is the *Universal Mind* slowly, steadily asserting itself, conquering inch by inch.

* * * *

What is this Spirit of the Age in which we live and which we fail to recognise in our weaker moments ? In religion, that spirit seeks to break the barriers between God and Man. Whether it is Christianity, Hinduism, or Mahomedanism, the leading minds of each no more think of God as a Person who sits in a Heaven above, but as the Supreme Being, who is in Nature, is in Man, is in History. It is the Divine Immanence, as the Upanishads tell us. Christianity in Europe is coming more and more to this truth. Dr. Gore, one of the prominent Christian divines, says in his "New Theology and Religion".

"God, says the New Theology, is the self of the Universe and He is my deeper self and yours."

And this is what Tukaram said in the hymn which I have referred to at the beginning of these notes. The best Hindu minds too have perceived it—and even Hinduism is becoming alive to the teaching which is as ancient as the Vedas.

In social reform and politics the Spirit of the Age means the breaking of the barriers between man and man—that caste and class are obstacles to progress, that all of us, even the lowest and meanest, are "born to share in the life of society." Of course, this spirit is as yet weak and struggling. But that is because it is new.

The test then of progress is "not more men, but more man." Let each of us develop the true man, by cultivating the spirit of truth, of love, of hard work, and quiet thinking. Let us give up noise and bluster, show and semblance. The country is God's—it

is part of His Universe ; the people are His. As Tukaram says, we rest in and within Him. Why despair and hold gloomy views, when we, each of us, however humble, can by communion with Him, prayer to Him, catch His spirit of silent power to strive for public good ? He is on the side of those who work and faint not.

Most of us have learnt to talk about the grand teaching of the *Bhagavad Gita*—‘Duty.’ Psychologists tell us how man is so constituted that “industry is its own wages” to him. The highest, the best, and the only resource for *Man* individually and *men* collectively is effort, endeavour. “Effort is the prerogative of Virtue ;” and comes easy in its genuine form to become productive of progress for the people, when it is inspired by faith, hope, and charity.

And now my dear reader, here is a lesson for you and for me to save us from despondency. Tukaram says : “Despair not.” Have you heard of the great American divine, Channing ? In 1842 when things in America seemed to go wrong and men despaired of the country’s future, that child of God wrote almost in the same strain that Tukaram sung about his times here 300 years ago : Channing wrote, “I find more to hope for in society at the very time that its evils weigh more on my mind.”

Let that be our attitude. If the country goes wrong, rest assured, it is because you and I go wrong. The pessimist is making it go wrong. If you and I, dear reader, whatever we are, learn and try “to listen to stars and birds, babes and sages with open heart ; to study hard ; to think quietly ; act frankly ; talk gently, await occasions, hurry never,” our motherland will move onwards more quickly than it does. Not institutions, not societies, so much as souls, the country needs. Let us then learn to pray and live by means of silent prayer lives of worship—

“Lord, grant my soul to hear at length
Thy deep and silent Voice,
To work in stillness, wait in strength,
With calmness to rejoice
“Gods fade but God abides”

My pilgrimage of this year is over. My Maharshi has gone from this place of hill and valley to resume his work in his city

and in a day I shall return to mine. During the three weeks that he was here for the season my mornings and evenings were spent in his company. I thank God I have learnt much from all that has flowed from his lips. And this morning as I took leave of him and he pronounced his benediction upon me, the spirit within was moved with silent joy, and the Maharshi's presence, with the light of love revealed in it, reminded me of the words uttered of old by the Jewish Prophet : "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings of good !"

This was a morning of good tidings more than any previous of these three weeks. Here upon the hills we two were familiar spirits in close communion. And the subject this day was the promise of our Faith and the prospect of our Church. After some words of hope and encouragement to me about some work I was doing, my Maharshi turned to the question of the future of our Samaj. "There is, I fear, a tendency, something more than a tendency I should say, on the part of some members of our Faith, to subordinate the work of spiritual growth and elevation to the interests of social reform. Now, social reform is indeed one of the crying needs of the day. We have to break down the barriers created by caste between man and man ; but to fasten our minds on to it to the neglect more or less of the cultivation of the Spirit and the elevation of the heart by the development of character is to begin at the wrong end, I think. Some years ago at one of our anniversary celebrations some of us met together and resolved that each of those present should say what his ideals of our Faith were. Some of the company declared that they had joined the Faith mainly with the object of breaking down the tyranny of caste and the pride of superiority which, in its name, had for ages enabled Brahmins to keep down and degrade others as Shudras." "That is," I interposed, "according to those who joined the Faith with that object, our Church is to work for the elevation of the castes considered low or 'untouchable' in a spirit of rivalry with the castes deemed higher."

"Exactly," replied the Maharshi, "that is their motive power and their end, so far as I have been able to judge. In fact they have said so." I interrupted—"If it is the spirit of rivalry that moves them, no enduring good shall come out of all this effort and activity. No work, however noble, can last, which is the result of

rivalry, says a high authority, and history proves it." "The Maharshi continued—"Keep God before you; elevate yourself and try to elevate others by subordinating all reform to the reform of the heart and the improvement of character, and you make the basis of all secular reform secure, steady, and enduring." I again interrupted—"That is the Gospel of old :—'Seek ye the Kingdom of God and all things shall be added unto it' That was how Christ Jesus, Buddha, Mahomed, and Nanak went to work and succeeded." The Maharshi : "But we forget or rather underrate all that and subordinate the sacred to the secular. The result is all our movements meant for our good, even our religious movements, dominated by the secular spirit, fall off from their ideals and become breeding places of strife and discord. That is what I fear will happen to our Faith, if social reform is placed first and spiritual progress is kept in the background, instead of being made the soul of all reform. It is happening already."

"Is not that what Tukaram also has said in one of his most inspiring hymns?", I asked, and I quoted—

आवडी श्रीहरि गाईजे एकांती ।
अलभ्य ते येती लाभ घरा ॥

(Sing the name of God with devotion in solitude. And then all those fruits of the Spirit will come home to you without your seeking)

"That is it," exclaimed my Maharshi, roused by the words of Tukaram. He recited and repeated the lines more than once and seemed entranced by their melody. After a few minutes he continued—"How does the hymn begin, pray? I learnt it by heart but sometimes my memory fails to catch the commencing words" I gave those words—

हित ह्मैं तरी दम दूरि देवा ।
चित्त छुद्धि सेवा देवाजीचे ॥

(If you desire your good, keep insincerity at bay; have a pure mind; and serve the Lord.)

"What a beautiful hymn! How simple and yet stirring! it gives you the whole essence, the practical philosophy of life, does it not?" asked the Maharshi. I bowed in silent but reverential

assent. The Mahārshi seemed absorbed for a minute or so in silent meditation on the music of the hymn ; and again recited it with his accustomed fervour.

And when he had done reciting, I exclaimed : " Thereby hang the law and the prophets ! The hymn sums up the creed of creeds—it contains the seed of all progress, all reform. We fail in our movements and despair—whether these be political, municipal, social, or industrial—because of want of sincerity born of silent communion with God, and for lack of faith in the reflexes of power from the Supreme Spirit."

Here the flow of the fountain of our conversation was interrupted ; and it was time for me to part from the Mahārshi for a few days till we should meet again a fortnight hence in Bombay. I rose to take leave, he stood up, and with the gentle and loving embrace of a father—for such to me spiritually he is—he gave me some cheering words, and I left with his blessing.

But his conversation did not leave me. It led my thoughts on the lines he had marked out. " Here "—so my thoughts ran—" here we have the Municipality of the second City in the Presidency deprived of its franchise for want of method, of regularity, of punctuality, and for caste jealousies and internal discord among its members. How we suffer because we base everything on secular aims and make even religion, which ought to be the guide, the follower of those aims ! Secular reform, says James Martineau somewhere, is born of spiritual elevation. Our earthly progress must be kindred to points of heaven and home. That was Gladstone's ideal of national development. Character, which is completely fashioned will, is the need. That absent, all is lost—or is mere vexation of spirit ; or struggle for power and eventually,—despair.

Are those of us wrong who think so ? Let the mission of Christ Jesus, of Buddha, of Guru Nanak speak and say if we are. All ages of national advancement have been preceded by religious upheavals of faith, hope and love. They seem to say :—" Touch

the heart of man above all. Teach him to bow silently before God and pray. Instruct him in reverence and love of God and Man and all progress will follow." Guru Nanak was never tired of saying, "I am a singer of low caste," but all his secular reform he based on the heart turned Godwards (उन्मुखकर्म). And when the Emperor Baber sought his advice, he said "Worship God in spirit and truth." And he summed up all his ideas of progress in this one lesson : "Concentrate thy mind and meditate on the Unseen One."

* * * *

The meditation which neglects the world and makes ascetics of men, sending them into retirement away from practical work, mere misanthropes, is not what Nanak meant. True meditation, sincere faith in and devotion to God, are manifested in genuine form, when, fostering love for society and mankind, they sweeten life individual and collective, and enable us to find beauty and blessing in "life's familiar face." We then become active in the healthy promotion of secular reform. Then it is that, in spite of difficulties and disappointments, we become ashamed of "the ungirt loin and the unlit lamp," and find exertion for the good of our fellows, a living joy, because Faith in the Eternal upholds our drooping spirits, making even failure a prelude to success.

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All reform means not "more men" but "more man"—that is, reform of the character of the individual units of society. Without religion, no people can live or has lived. But it must be the religion of the heart, of love, of devotion—not of forms, of lip-worship or hatred. Oh ! my country : God has offered thee so many opportunities and yet thou hast not obeyed His call ! The Upanishads summoned thee in the name and to the Glory of One God. The *Gita* proclaimed His Love. Buddha warned against narrow creeds and the curse of caste. Tukaram and the other saints of the *Bhakti* school invited the people to union of hearts by means of devotion to the Adored and Adorable One :

तुका झणे वार्हे ।

वाचां गेली ब्रह्मवर्द्धे ॥

(Tuka says : Disputation has turned to waste the places of Brahmin-dom.)

And now to the mighty voices of these great ones, so far fallen on deaf ears, are added the voices of Christ, of Ram Mohan Roy, of Keshub Chunder Sen, of Maharshi Dewendra Nath Tagore, and of my Maharshi. Hearkenest thou not, my beloved Mother—my land of Ind ! God speaks now and across the ages ! “One God, one Truth, one Love, one Humanity.” Not until we make that our working faith, preach and practise it and carry its devotional spirit into our lives, public and private, shall we succeed in our efforts of social or any other kind of secular reform.

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This, I know will pass for mere empty words with many. The industrial spirit of the age, the rise of Japan, and the confusion of creeds, have led many to think that God and the religious spirit are not essential to reform and progress. But what a one-sided view of reform—how opposed to the voice of true history ! Here what Mr. James Bryce, the British Ambassador to the United States of America, says on this subject in his recently published book, “Hindrances to Good Citizenship.” Mr. Bryce has been a politician ; his volumes on America are a mine of useful information on American institutions ; he has the genuine imagination and insight of the historian. And in his latest book he tells us that “intelligence, self-control, and conscience” constitute the three civic virtues giving capacity for political and social activity of a healthy character. I quote his words :—

“In the words of the Gospel, it is the inside of the cup and platter that must be made clean. The central problem of civic duty is the ethical problem. What we have called ‘the better conscience’ must be grafted on to the ‘wild stock’ of the natural Average Man. One must try to reach the will through the soul.”

A WRESTLING SOUL.

II.

"HUMAN HEARTS ARE DIVINELY STRUNG."

[A SYMPHONY OF MY SAMAJ]

I do not know how the sight of the Prarthana Samaj strikes other minds but to me it is a sacred symbol of life and eternity. What do I not owe to my Samaj? What it has done for me during the 28 years that I have been privileged to be one of its members is far, far more than anything by way of humble service I can claim to have done for it. I have with the growth of my manhood come to look upon it as the centre of my best thoughts and affections; and I have learnt to measure all my actions by the standard of its rules and ideals.

Some or perhaps many there are who think that it is a matter of no practical concern to a man or woman to what faith he or she belongs and professes to belong, so long as his or her life is pure and life's work is done in the spirit of truth and love. There is some force in that. But we are human beings and need light to guide us. Some one said once to Pascal:—"How I wish I could do your deeds!" Pascal replied: "Believe my creed and you will do my deeds." The old controversy between *Faith* and *works* among Christians, and between the path of knowledge (*Jnana*) and the path of action (*Karma*) among Hindus, has merely a metaphysical interest. Experience is the best judge in these matters. And experience tells us that a creed is valueless without deeds, and that deeds are apt to degenerate into selfish actions unless they are inspired and elevated by a lofty creed.

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Men must have an ideal to live by. And nothing regulates individual life better than a settled consciousness that the individual is attached to a religious body as a member. Such attachment brings with it a sense of responsibility, and the individual

knows by what measure or rule of conduct he is to be judged in all his relations. Life ceases in such a case to be an aimless affair.

Above everything else, the call my Samaj makes upon its members to attend the divine service at it every Sunday has a sobering effect upon the mind and I have come to regard attendance at the service as one of the best preparations for life's duties and work in a spirit of correct man-hood in this world of distractions. We all value Sunday as a day of rest. But our notions of rest differ. There are those who think that it is the one day when, having all time to themselves, free from the cares and drudgery of their usual work, they ought to give themselves away to some pleasure which can restore the mind to its elasticity. That is the purpose of a day of rest, no doubt. But all depends on the kind of pleasure we seek.

A Sunday to me is nothing, is spoiled of all its recuperative power, if the pleasures it gives and the sense of rest and recreation it imparts, are not arising out of what is witnessed on that day in my Samaj. Rising early, I begin the morning as a rule on every Sunday with a visit to some place in this beautiful island, where I can witness some inspiring sight of natural scenery—some sight which arouses in the mind thoughts of health and holiness and calms the spirits. Crowded cities like Bombay are supposed to be lacking in the beauty of Nature's scenery, because they are centres of humanity and possess nothing of the grandeur of hills, valleys and forests. But Bombay has its own beauties, and some of them have their own fascination. One has only to go of a morning, for instance, to the Apollo Pier an hour or two after the Sun has risen and sheds his rays on the wide expanse of sea and hills across the harbour. What a glorious sight is presented to the eye?

The sea in the harbour is not the sea crossed by currents or trying to spend itself, as it were, in waves. It meets you with the calmness of a pond—the waters are still, unless it is the monsoon, when even ponds are disturbed. And the gentleness of heaven which generally rests on the sea in Bombay harbour contrasts strikingly with its restlessness outside the harbour, as if, in obedience to the Divine Will, the Ocean approaches the precincts of,

human abode in Bombay from its home to make friends of man and be an example to him of "stillness on the base of power."

This spirit of tranquillity, which rests on the waters of the sea in Bombay's harbour, is imparted to the vessels—steamers, ships, crafts, and tiny boats—which lie on the lap of the Ocean, as if, after their labours, they were enjoying their repose. Now and again, while you are drinking in this sight of stillness, your eyes catch the sight of a steamer slowly marching along the waters of the harbour and putting out to sea. Its slow, steady sail on the waters, majestic in its steps, gives it a grave look, and as it paces on, your imagination takes you to distant lands, for which the moving figure is destined with its passengers or its cargo or perhaps both. Commerce is its mission. In that you read the lessons of the brotherhood of the human race; and as the sailing ship crosses the boundary line of the harbour and is very nearly out of sight, you feel how life is likewise launched into Eternity! And how human beings in all climes are linked together or intended to be linked together by a lengthening chain of the Ocean of Love.

As you are meditating on this picturesque view of sea and ship, suggestive of God's wonderful ways, your eyes are caught by the line of hills across the harbour. The wide expanse of the waters, stretching from the shores of this island into the inland coast towards north and south is strangely caught in its course by those hills, which rearing their heads high above the ocean, look like some silent souls resting on the shores across the harbour to commune with God and contemplate His Majesty by communicating with the Ocean, which has come from afar, after holding intercourse with distant climes. These hills across the harbour become invested with a beauty of their own, particularly when they are covered with a haze of mist. It is then that they seem resting like—*Rishis* on the shore, engaged in communion with the Great Soul. The mists on their faces shroud their green, and look like the closed eye of a meditating mind and as your sight stretches from one hill to another and carries you far into the horizon, your spirit rises in rapture.

It is the rapture not of the senses but of the soul. In the

presence of such a scene, you feel the touch of God is on you. The hills rising far into the skies and losing themselves in a line in the horizon and then, as it were, gradually descending from above and gently sloping down to meet the ocean are a symbol of man's soul. It too has come from above to mix with other souls of humanity to work out its destiny by feeding on the pure bliss of the Ocean of Love. So helped and uplifted, by the sight of sea and hill, to which the Sun in the sky, by this time in his splendour, has added, I return home with my spirits gently excited.

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The excitation is gentle, because there is a disturbance of the passions but it is a disturbance of the passion for light and love. Every human face I see on my way home in the busy thoroughfares of Bombay seems to read a lesson from God—man working and struggling for his bread becomes to the mind a gospel of effort and hope in this world of trials. The shades of sorrow and strife, the conflict of creeds and castes—all these fade from the mind, which, inspired by the scene just witnessed, goes into the deep recesses of every human heart and finds there written, as it were, these words: "God and Love."

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And in this moment of the Great Presence in the Temple of my heart I take up my worn-out copy of Emerson's Essays and turn to his essay on "Self-reliance," for, there I have read that "whenever a mind is simple and receives a divine wisdom," "all things are made sacred by relation to it," "all things are dissolved to their centre by their cause," for it is God speaking in and inspiring the heart. Call you this mysticism? Let my Tukaram be my witness:

देवा ज्ञानीव गुंहुन । अर्थे भावनि प्रमाण ॥

"Keep aside your knowledge. Here faith is the proof."

This sunny height of the heart and soul prepares me for the divine service in my Samaj on Sunday evening. And as a few minutes before the service begins at half-past five I enter the *Mandir*, all in and about it seems to say "Peace, be still!" The noise of human crowds, or trams or carriages or motors drops not on the ears; the eye, as soon as I step into the *Mandir*, rests on it and its associations. The number of women, and men, who, like me, have come to hear God's words spoken and sing His Glory,

takes hold of my mind and this spirit of associated humanity so photographed by the mental vision stands to speak out by its very silence and reminds me how God has placed us in this world to live and love as His children. "Union is strength"—but union to be strong must rest on the strength of God as Love

Soon the sight attracts to itself the presence of two men, who are not members of the Samaj and yet are regular attendants at weekly services. What a lesson they teach me ! I do not know one of them ; to the other I have rarely spoken. And yet they stand enshrined in my hearts as models of piety and humility. They come quietly ; sit throughout silent in a corner of the *Mandir*, are all attention during the service, and from them too I learn to be "all eye and all ear" for the devotional spirit of the hour. And the ladies—my sisters of devotion—gracing the benches on the right of the pulpit ! Their simple and modest demeanour adds to the sanctity of the place and reminds me of God as our Mother !

As the eye, both visual and mental, is taking in these lessons, the small band of pious young men, sitting on a carpet before the pulpit and performing *bhajan*, calls you to the duty of devotion before you. Their singing composes the mind even more than it has been composed already ; and just as the clock shows it is half-past five, the preacher presents himself in the pulpit. The voices of several in the assembly commingle to sing the hymn of exhortation ; prayer follows, and then the sermon.

There are some who think the prayers and the sermons are generally tame and we learn nothing. I have heard that often said. But it all depends upon the hearer and learner. I can only speak for myself. There is not a single preacher in the pulpit from whose discourse I have not caught some inspiration of hope, some lesson of light which I have not learnt. If a man or woman thinks he or she is learned and wise and seeks for eloquence and philosophy—well, God bless him or her ! In the Temple of God we go to worship. It is there more than anywhere else that heart meets heart and realises the bond of brotherhood and sisterhood. God's word spoken and glory sung—what matters it who speaks and sings, so long as they are God's Word and Glory. It is here that the pride of heart, the self-conceit of learning, the froth of

fashion must be tamed and made to melt into patience, humility, and sympathy. If I am lowly in mind I can learn—and I *do* learn from every preacher from the pulpit of my Samaj, whether high or humble, literate or illiterate. The more humble the better, the more uneducated the nobler, for the very fact that he stands in the sacred place in God's name is to me a sacred sign. God is in the Temple of every human heart, high or low, and it is out of the mouths of babes and sucklings that wisdom is often learnt and acquired.

And when during the service any one rises and leaves the hall, my nerves are jarred. "Desecration," cries my heart. In all religions such conduct is condemned as insult to God. It is said that once in the midst of a *Kirtan* Shiwaji rose to leave the assembly. Tukaram, who was present, bade him sit down and attend "Leave not; sit out the *Kirtan* silently." Here is a lesson for us in courtesy and piety.

As the service comes to its close and the congregation stands to chant the "*Arati*," how the heart heaves with the grandeur of the scene! Voice mingled with voice, tones of harmony rising and falling, heads bowed here and there, hands clasped—are these not symbols of human hearts taught to harmonise in the feet presence of the Supreme? And do they not rouse the music in your soul? When the service is over, and you come home and enter the bosom of your family, does not the picture of piety so presented to your sight paint itself on your heart? Do not the hymns sung, the sacred words preached, and the prayers offered, linger with the soothing softness of love and make you forget that life is a burden? Yes, if you are wise and humble, even

"The spirit of the worm beneath the sod,
In love and worship blends itself with God."

My mother Samaj! Thou standest to me for Prayer—thou art the star of my life to chasten me and guide my steps! In God's name, under His inspiration, teach me to be patient, humble, and charitable, and

"Keep thou my feet—I do not ask to see,
The distant scene—one step enough for me,"

A WRESTLING SOUL.

III.

"HOW DIVINE A THING A WOMAN MAY BE MADE."

It is some years since a small event happened to me. It left an indelible impression upon my mind, which, so far from fading from memory, has "strengthened with the strength of time." I was returning to Bombay by steamer from one of the towns on the coast. Two small boats were carrying passengers from the pier to the steamer, which had anchored at some distance in the sea. There was a rush of passengers. The small boats had plied between the pier and the steamer more than once before my arrival. The last batch of passengers of whom I was one remained to be conveyed to the steamer. We all got into the boats; a woman carrying in her arms a child scarcely a year old, was a passenger in one of the boats. The crew wanted her to get out. They said, the boat was too full and there was no place for her. "But then," said she plaintively, "I shall miss the steamer?" "Of course you will, we cannot help that," answered the *tindal*. The poor woman looked up to a man who was sitting beside her; he was her husband. He begged of the crew but they would not listen; and the unfortunate pair were forced out of the boat.

The woman with tears in her eyes and her helpless husband were heard to say as they got out of the boat: "It is a sin to be poor." As I heard that, I asked the *tindal* whether he was serious. "We have, Sir," he said, "to obey the law and carry not more than a certain number of passengers." "Very well," I observed, "but you see that woman has a child and surely you have children. Why of all the passengers in the boat do you force her out?" The *tindal* was silent. I told him that I could not bear the sight of that woman and her child being left out like that. I

at once stopped out of the boat and asked her and her husband to enter in. There was a flutter among the crew. They did not like to leave me out for fear of their absent master, owner of the boat, who was my friend. At the same time they dared not infringe the law. They appealed to me. I said that sympathy for the child, if not respect for the woman as woman, demanded that she should be carried to the stowmner before any other passenger and that I could not understand why she had been forced out of the boat, and none else. No sooner was this said than a male passenger got out of the boat and made way for the woman and her child.

That little act of kindness brought forth a light on her face. And as she, a modest looking woman, looked up to me, a stranger to her, in silent thankfulness, I thought her kind expression reflected "a heart whose love was innocent."

But the incident had its darker side. How often are we in this country wanting in those graces of good manners, which our *Shastras* claim from us in our behaviour towards women? Go where you will of a day and man's want of respect for woman meets you as a sickly sight. To mention a common occurrence, on benches provided as seats for passengers on the platforms of railway stations, on seats of stone or wood placed for people in public gardens or recreation grounds, you see men occupying the seats to the neglect of women.

This want of manners in men is due not so much to the teachings of our *Shastras* as to a neglect of those teachings with reverence to the dignity of womanhood. Verses are often quoted from Manu to show that he had a low opinion about women but there are passages of a more or less similar character in the Bible, especially St Paul's writings. But Manu's famous verse, where he says that that home is blessed where women are adored, reflects the genuine spirit of Hinduism. And it has found its best and highest exponents in our poets like Kalidas and Bhavabhuti.

It is a saying of Ruskin's that some of the great masters of literature delight to make out that salvation to man comes from woman as his redeeming angel. He cites in illustration the dra-

mas of Shakespeare and the novels of Sir Walter Scott, and remarks of them that when things go wrong, man meddles only to muddle but it is woman who alone interferes to mend. That may seem a poetic fancy and not true to reality. But it is true. An eccentric woman, it is said, is more rare than an eccentric man. And observation supports that remark.

Our duty to be kind and courteous to woman is often put upon the ground that she is "the weaker vessel" or, as they say in Sanskrit, *abala* (अबला). That, I think, is a low ground of duty to take, because it assigns to her a position inferior to that of man in almost every respect, and drops out of view those aspects of womanhood which make her divine.

Just think of this. Can any idea of God, to which human tongue has given utterance, be more impressive as bringing out the conception of Him as Love (आनंदरूपम्) than this that He is what our Saints delight to describe Him as, our Mother? "मागो नेने परि माय जाणे वर्म" says Tuka. "I do not know to ask and yet my Mother knows the secret of my wants"

There was a theory propounded in Europe by some *savants* in the forties of the 19th century that every man inherits his intellectual power from his mother and his morals from his father. It was that theory which led De Quincey to write that famous sentence in his Essay on Shakespeare: "To have been the mother of Shakespeare!" This is more or less an exploded theory now; science does not countenance it. But the biographies of most great men show how much they owed to their mothers—more than to their fathers.

If for nothing else, for this privilege of motherhood alone, woman has a right to respect from all of us, whatever her position or caste. That accounts for Guru Nanak's remonstrance when he found the female sex reviled:—"Why call her bad from whom kings are born?"

How often do we meet with men, light-hearted and lewd, who take pleasure in speaking and gossiping lightly about women? So many are ready to take liberties with women's reputation on vague

suspicion and the fun of it ! A society or community in which such a spirit is tolerated has no chance of salvation.

And on this subject hear what Thoreau writes :—"I know a man who never speaks of the sexual relation but jestingly, though it is a subject to be approached only with reverence and affection. What can be the character of that man's love ? It is ever the subject of a stale jest, though his health or his dinner can be seriously considered. The glory of this world is seen only by a chaste mind. To whomsoever this fact is not an awful but beautiful mystery, there are no flowers in Nature."

Our Shastras and Puranas contain many a lesson on this point. Of these let me recount one here. On one occasion, it is said, the soft-hearted saint Muktabai with her brothers, Jnanadev, Sopana, Nivrutti, visited Namdev, attracted by his reputation as a saint. But he, in the pride of his heart, engendered by praise of him by people for his saintliness, looked down upon his visitors and would not condescend to so much as speak to them. Muktabai broke down his pride. She addressed him in a poem, words of admonition which went straight like arrows into his heart :—

अखंड जयाला देवाचा सेजार ।
कारे अहंकार नाही गेला ॥

That brought Namdev down on his knees. That very moment—so the story runs—he subjected himself to rigorous discipline and ever afterwards kept a watch on his sense of pride.

The story of Namdev's conversion used to be told by the late Mr. Justice Ranade with somewhat different details, in which Muktabai did not figure. But as I have had it from another source, it has a high moral. Woman is the tamer of man ! The goddess Rama brought Hari under control by her implicit obedience, by her loving faith, and devotion. Therefore she is called *Tirovasha* (तिरोवशा controlling by obedience). The first form of the Lord is a female—*Gayatri* (गायत्री)—representing Speech, "The great Musician Saviour." This in its noblest aspect is the Hindu ideal of womanhood. Let us, therefore, never talk lightly of woman or treat her with want of respect or consideration. She is made to be "a light to young or old"

A WRESTLING SOUL.

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IV.

“HOPE FOR HIGHER RAPTURES.”

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Another day of delight ushered in quietly by one of devotion. I am in this place, where “The milder minstrelsies of rural scenes” meet the sight that seeks them, though town life has been making its inroads here on account of its easy accessibility to Bombay! Months of fine weather and sunny sky have passed and the clouds are beginning to gather now and then on the top of yonder hills. But they come and go—whither we know not. We all look out for rain, for then we say—we who have come up to the hills to escape from the sweat and heat of the plains—the weather will be magnificent. Days pass in this wise; we scan daily the newspapers to see if the monsoon has burst somewhere near that we might expect it here.

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At last it poured one day; and it came unexpectedly. With two beloved friends I had been out for a walk of an afternoon, and we had not long been discussing with animation, when we had to turn back because we were being nearly drenched in rain. I left my friends at their houses and got into my carriage to drive down to mine. Both within and without me it was a storm. Inwardly my mind had been somewhat perturbed by the discussion; outwardly, the rain was falling in torrents accompanied almost every minute by the noise of thunder and flashes of lightning, as if external Nature was conspiring with my feeling to disturb my mind which had already been disquieted.

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It was a fairly long drive along a somewhat circuitous road. I was anxious about my animal which was driving me home in the midst of this rough weather; but it trudged on without showing any sign of agitation, though the streaks of lightning every now and then blinded on its eyes and made me apprehensive lest it should give way and stumble. But nothing daunted, my good animal—a well-bred waler—answered faithfully to my coach-

man's drive, and trotted with its usual calmness, "unhasting, un-resting," not mindful of the stress of storm, as if it had discovered its master's perturbed spirits and was anxious to give him by its own example a lesson of calmness. Did I not feel then as if some Voice from on high whispered into the ear of my heart. "Your horse which serves you is now your master. Learn from it and live !"

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A reflex of quiet power came unto me at the sight of that heavenly Vision. My soul felt smitten by a sublime idea ; and when I arrived home, everything about me seemed in harmony with the composed state of mind which the Vision had wrought. Then rain had ceased ; and with it thunder and lightning. The sky was still overcast with clouds but Earth had drunk of the new nectar of showers. And there was life-giving freshness and coolness about the night's breeze. And as before retiring for the night I sat with bowed head in supplication to the Supreme, and was thinking of what I should say by way of prayer, somehow the words uttered by the Master of old to serve as a light for life's journey came spontaneously to my lips from the depth of my heart. "I and the Father are one ;" "I speak not of myself, but the Father that dwelleth in Me, He doeth the works."

* * * *

That was another call for the calmness from on high. The night's sleep was restful and sweet. I rose in the morning, refreshed and found that the storm of the previous evening was followed by a serene day. All nature seemed bathed. The Sun was trying to peep through the clouds that still hung on the eastern hill, from where he rose to turn his course, the breezes were blowing gently ; the birds were singing soft music ; and a single cuckoo from some invisible haunt was somewhat lustily sending forth its note of spring, as if it was inviting its beloved to come and join in the soft jubilation. And as I was looking on all this, "All eye and all ear" for Nature's serene aspects, once more I felt touched and the voice whispered the sacred words of the previous night. "I and the Father are one"

* * * *

Inspired by this soft and silent joy I set out and after a cheering drive of some twenty minutes I joined my Maharshi. He was in one of his spiritual moods. When is he not ? His presence

added to the present happiness of my soul, and, as always happens when he and I are together, I gently and with reverence, not free at the same time from the familiarity of mutual attachment, tried to draw him out so as to catch something of his devout spirit. "I and the Father are one," "I speak not of myself; but the Father that dwelleth in me, He doeth the works." This is what Christ Jesus said and the sacred words uttered nearly two thousand years ago in Palestine have lived to lighten the sorrows of life for toiling and suffering humanity. And have not our Saints in India said the same in exactly the same language? I was the questioner and my Maharshi was all aflame with the spirit divine as he poured forth hymn after hymn of Tukaram, in which that child of God proclaimed "I and the Father are one" to make it clear unto the world that God is in us, speaks unto us, and guides us every moment of our lives—only we are listless and hearken not in the pride of our hearts and the conceit of our passions.

So instructed I returned home and there another joy awaited me. Two beloved friends—a Christian missionary and his wife—had called and were waiting for me. We spent the day together and we talked about the sacred words: "I and the Father are one." We read and religiously enjoyed the 14th, 15th, and 16th Chapters of the Gospel of St. John. I compared them with some of the sacred songs of our Hindu saints, *Savanta* and *Namdev*, and with the melodious hymns of that sweet songstress of Hindu devotion—my lady Saint Muktabai.

The word "I and the Father are one" seemed thus to follow me and ring in my ears throughout the day. In the evening I set out for a walk with my Maharshi. We had for our companions two friends both kindly and cultured—one a lawyer and the other an engineer. We took the direction of a hillock which had a large plateau. Years ago it had been every evening the resort of the Maharshi, myself and one dear but departed soul—the late Mr. Justice Telang. From there we used to enjoy then Nature's beauties. How in those days was I wont to hang, as it were, on the lips of the Maharshi and of Telang of blessed memory, and make mental notes of what each said! But since then the place has become private property; buildings for residence have risen on it; in the midst stands a chapel or what looks like a chapel. The owner, a

friend of mine had told me some days previously that I could roam about the place whenever I liked. With this liberty given with the Maharshi and the two other friends, I proceeded to the place and we were looking out for a spot where we could sit, talk, and muse a little while. Nature was disporting herself in her evening garb. The owner of the place, a pious Christian, caught sight of us and hastened to where we were. He led us to his house standing on the highest ground there, and we were going up to his terrace, when a magnificent sight presented itself.

The sky in the west, visible from where we were looking on, was spread out before us like a sea. The Sun had just set and the horizon in the west which had seen him just go down glittering, as also the earth below it, was covered over with the mist of dark blue, a colour which they seemed to have borrowed from the sky above. And we found Nature like an Artist painting on the clouds pictures for our delight. "There, there, look Maharshi !" I exclaimed, "God has drawn for us what is a most faithful likeness of the Duke's Nose." My companions looked and two of them, scientific in spirit, said : "yes, exactly, how like the Duke's Nose !" And then another drawing by Nature on the sky a bit of cloud figured like a ship with all its sails unfurled. And yet a third—something like a seal. It seemed as if God was playing the greatest and Supreme Artist that He ever is for our delight and devotion. From the terrace of my Christian friend we drank in the beautiful scene. It was a sober evening because of its soft light ; and it gave repose to our hearts because it seemed so friendly to devotion. We sat for nearly an hour ; spoke of God and duty among other things ; and left the place silently blessed in spirit by Power Divine!!!

I shall never forget that day. A succession of sweet sensations born of the inspiring words "I and the Father are one," strengthened further by the inspiring company of my Maharshi, the Christian couple, who are so much attached to me, and finally made sink in my heart and live there as permanent presences by the Supreme Soul, who enabled my companions and me to witness the play of Nature on the western horizon.

comprehensive view, "And be not afraid." That is the durable happiness, the glory of the soul. And then you can and will be a star unto men, because for them you can shine in the riches of the spirit, Lord Almighty !

Oh might I see
As in a glass the glory of Thy love
That so on me
That light reflected, I to men might prove
A mirror that might show something of Thee.

A WRESTLING SOUL.

V

THE HEROES OF "THE LOWTHER RANGE."

"SAY LITTLE, SAVE ALL, PASS ON."

The story of "the Lowther Range" and "the Trieste" has been told in the papers, talked of in social circles, and has for now over a fortnight been the theme of both private and public admiration. Its lessons are deep and suggestive; and a schoolmaster teaching his pupils, or a mother training her child, cannot do better than tell this tale of loving heroism to the young, and drive it deep into their hearts, so as to make them, when they grow, capable of remaining cheerful, serene, and hopeful, thinking only of "service, duty, and love," in all situations, however trying.

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That is one and a great lesson we learn from the heroic conduct of the Captain, officers, and crew of the skipper "Lowther Range," when for days they braved the heavy seas, and died, in spite of danger to their own lives and their ship, to save the Trieste. And just think of this! The Trieste a large passenger boat, also carrying cargo,—the "Lowther Range" a mere skipper, a coal-carrying ship; compare the former to a man in high life, the latter to one in humble life, and you have once more, in the world's history, God's lesson taught how even small humble men become His chosen to save the great! Great or small, we live for one another—service is the rule, love the law of life.

* * * *

It is not position, not riches, not greatness as the world understands it, which makes the manhood of man. It is not the profession of piety and the mere saying of prayers that constitute religion. "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, but he that doth the will of my Father, which is in Heaven." That is character. And on no other occasion we do the will of our Father than when, in the sight of others suffering, we gird our loins and

spend ourselves, help the distressed and the diseased, if need be at the cost of our own lives. That is the glory of man—the perpetuity of humanity.

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We think of happiness and live to be happy. But the law is as old as the world and it has not changed—the only happiness worth having is that which is derived from service to others. The secret of a truly successful life lies in that it has lived by forgetting itself. What is true of the real artist must be true of all of us—his art consists in self-annihilation.

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We read in the graphic accounts given in the papers that the second officer of the Lowther Range lost his life, while trying to do his part of the duty in saving the Trieste. Lost his life rather than leave his duty! Truly speaking, he has found his life, blessed be his name and memory! He was only the second officer but his title to God's greatness is that he was one of a band of brave men, *in humble life*, struggling to save the lives of others, forgetting their own safety and imperilling their own ship! No thought of self! It was all one act of courage, obedience, and faith—courage to dare and do, while high seas were running, strong winds raging, and mountain-like waves were threatening every moment to make the men their victims—obedient to the nobler impulses of humanity, to God's Love and therefore God's Will; and all because they were faithful to Him! Just picture to yourselves this scene of strife and struggle with the warring elements of the sea! These brave men of the Lowther Range, cool, calm, persevering, thinking of nothing—not even of their own lives—in the midst of the perils of the seas—and all to save another ship and other beings!

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There you get a picture of "the high calm which marks the strong." What must have been the state of mind of the second officer of the Lowther Range, when bravely, silently, coolly, he stood on the deck of his ship to do his share of the sacred work? The work that lay before him—there his mind and heart were! He yielded up his self and thought only for others—the lives he was called on to save. It was his sense of self-sacrifice which gave him mastery over himself. His was an humble life but once

more in the history of men we find the truth illustrated that "it is in humble lives that is found the substance of great lives."

It is this calmness, this capacity to stand by duty even in the most trying of circumstances which deserves the name of Character. That is genius. What we call genius in the great celebrities of the earth is not talent so much as a determined will taking "the instant way" at the call of duty. The second officer of the Lowther Range stands for us to-day as one of so many of earth's sanctified, because he has shown by his example and his death how life must be lived to be a rich blessing in the sight of God and man.

It may be that, as he was bravely facing the storm and imperilling his life, his faith was now and then shaken. Such doubts may come into heroic souls when they are in the midst of storm only to make them braver. But they are the preludes to success. We are told that "Christ's intensest doubt came just before the victory of his faith: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken Me?" was the minor prelude preceding the triumphant cadence. That occurs to noble lives spent in helping and saving others. Though the second officer lost his life, his faith in duty triumphed—and the Trieste was saved at last! One of the heroes is dead and yet in death he lives crowned as one of God's and Man's chosen—an example to us all of duty and manhood.

It is such characters that make life worth living. Life without its tragedies, its sorrows and pains, its dangers and difficulties, would be robbed of all its dignity and divinity. Of all that James Martineau has written nothing appeals and ought to appeal more to our hearts than this sublime thought. "It is the great crises of peril that, as they are passing, train a people's character. ... There is no epic of the certainties; and no lyric without the surprise of sorrow and the sigh of fever.. Whatever is higher than happiness is revealed to us only in the loss of happiness."

We, therefore, all need "the discipline of darkness" to strengthen our wills, soften our hearts, and stir our conscience to a just perception and clear vision of our duties as human beings, to make

us feel and live and work that "we are members one of another," which is not a mere phrase of fancy but a sober truth.

And hence the stormy story of the Trieste completes itself by telling us that, when her passengers were in danger and waited day after day, hoping for relief but in vain, and saw death staring in their faces, "they prayed." It is in adversity that man runs to God. It is affliction which, when borne in patience and suffered with courage, helps us to be godlike. Browning is called by some the poet of an impracticable optimism, but his is the true philosophy of life, which teaches us that pain, sorrow, obstacle are but the incentives to a higher life, man's best friends:—

"Then welcome each rebuff
That turns earth's smoothness rough
Each sting that bids—nor sit nor
stand, but go."

What we call "evil" and dread is, says the author of "Alice in Wonderland," the word "*live*" spelled backwards. It is often said that the danger of the present age is that, in the midst of its commerce and industry, money-making and money-grabbing, politics and votes, honours and dignities, it is apt to forget that, not happiness but a higher aim, that of life through love, is the gospel for man. "There is one thing that can never turn into suffering, and that is the good we have done," because, "an act of goodness is of itself always an act of happiness." That is the keynote of modern civilisation, in witness whereof stand out the lives of men like Howard and Olark and women like Elizabeth Fry and Florence Nightingale.

We are all thinking of and discussing the question of religious and moral instruction in our schools. Here is an opportunity for the schoolmaster. How many of our teachers, I should like to know, have taken up this story of the Trieste and the Lowther Range and turned it to use by teaching their pupils the lesson of love, of service, of duty, and life spent to relieve distress? Our young men have caught up the story in their own crude way as they have read it in the papers, but, not until it is developed on right lines and lighted up with its gleam of sunshine, can it impress and influence a young mind to be gentle, courteous, and unselfish.

But whether we be young or old, the story must live in our memories to teach us that we are only then happy when we seek the happiness of others, that our character only then grows when we are least occupied with ourselves and our own petty interests. We must cultivate what the great divine Chalmers called "expulsive power of a new affection," loving the good if we would shun the evil, living for our fellows and serving them, and, above all, sacrificing ourselves to help the needy, relieve the suffering, and help to the best of our powers, all good and generous causes, which seek to uplift humanity. All of us, high or low, can do that. God teaches us the lesson every moment.

* * *

But, because we are apt to be listless, He sends now and then His more vivid lessons like those of the Lowther Range. Some years ago humble men, soldiers, "fell in to meet inevitable death on the deck of the *Birkenhead* as quietly as they would have fallen in on a parade," and they "did die accordingly with impassive calmness." To-day the tragedy is repeated in the person of the second officer of the Lowther Range.

* * *

These lives seem to us little, because they do not adorn high places, but, humble as they are, their acts of love and devotion to duty serve to light our path and hearten us with hope and aspiration to be unselfish and loving. They are among "the monuments of the humanities." As Buddha said :—

" Not by flowers or sandal powder,
 Not by Music's heavenly strain,
 Is the soul's true worship rendered ;
 Useless are these things and vain ;
 But the brother and the sister,
 Man devout and holy,
 Pure in life, *in duty faithful*,
 They perform the worship truly "

* * *

" In duty faithful." That is thy motto and message, Lowther Range ! Thy name be imperishable, and thy men be among the lights of men !

A WRESTLING SOUL.

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VI.

A SUNSET TOUCH.

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Of all the healthy ways of recreating ourselves in the evening after a day's hard work none commends to me as communion with sunset touches. Nature, then, revealing herself on the cerulean sky and disporting with the changing clouds and golden rays of the Sun, is often at her best, and seems to provide a most invigorating tonic for the mind and heart of man. Poets and prophets have never tired of chanting the glories of sunset. Readers of Wordsworth hug to the bosom his sweet sonnet recording his impressions and inspiration of the beautiful and calm evening which he witnessed from the beach of Calais—when to him “the holy time was quiet as a nun breathless with adoration.” Browning has adored “a last remains” of the setting Sun, and Emerson, the mystic, bids us open our eyes to know what “rainbows teach and sunsets show.”

* * * *

In the morning the Sun rises with glowing splendour—life is before him and he paces up to dispel the mists of night. During the day he is hard at work. But as the shades of evening approach and life is about to close upon him, he seems to gather all his rays into a gentle fold and the very clouds and the blue of the sky join with him in preaching to us by symbols and signs the holiness of life and the immortality of the soul. I do not wonder then, that Francois Millet drew the best of his pictures in that sight of sunset, when Nature calls man to kneel before His God and pray before retiring to his rest for the night.

* * * *

Of such a cameo of evening let me here record. It was about the beginning of October last. The preceding months had seen the earth refreshed by a seasonable rainfall. As I was walking along the Back Bay shore, eyeing the changing features of the sky and waiting for some scene of beauty reaching the soul and leading to “composure and ennobling harmony,” I saw the Sun stand out on the horizon like a ball of fire. In front of him lay the water of the Bay stretched out like a carpet of blue. The sky overhead was clear with here and there a star peeping out, waiting for the darkness of the night to make it clearly visible. On the setting Sun's right, all along his line, there was a dark cloud

spread out like a map, with the solar rays reflected from its left and giving a golden, not silver, lining to its top.

It was a gorgeous scene ! And as its impression gained on my eyes, entered my mind, and slowly sank into heart, the Soul within burst out with the prayer of the Upanishads and joined by the beloved companion of my walks I exclaimed :—

हृदयमयेन पात्रेण सत्यस्यापिहितं मुखम् ।

तत्त्वं पूषन्नपावृणु सत्यधर्माय हृदये ॥

O God of our Fathers, Supreme Soul, "Nourisher" that Thou art, take me behind this mystery. Why hidest thou ? Thy face behind this "brilliant disc of the Sun" ? Remove the Veil, and admit me to see the Sun of Suns behind this Sun, who is Thy handiwork, that I may see the light that is Truth, Love, Life Eternal.

These lines of the Ishopanishad, which I had read before, stood out before my friend and me in all their majesty—we had never before understood how they focussed the might of man's soul :

O Joy ! that in our embers
Is something that doth live !

But this sunset touch was to us a sermon from God Himself. The Sun standing so close to the dark cloud hanging on the horizon with a golden lining on his top, reflected from the solar rays—is it not a picture of man's life ? Life has its lights and shades—its clouds of sorrow and suffering, its joys and sunshine. That dark cloud is representative of our life ; we are born to work, to struggle ; and endure in darkness ; but out of darkness comes light. Hence the saying every cloud has its silver lining. Pleasure palls ; luxury weakens ; enjoyment debases. It is working, serving, struggling and, if need be, suffering that rear manhood and lead to greatness. Welcome adversity and affliction—the cross of Christ, the burden of Buddha, and the patience and faith of Tukaram, for what appears a cloud has its golden lining and in us is God as the Sun was near the cloud :

जेथें जातो तेथे तू माझा सांगाती ।

चालविसी हातीं धरोनीयां ॥

That should be the song of life, for.

"Be the day weary or be the day long,
At last it ringeth to evensong."

AN ANNIVERSARY VISION.

Sermon preached on the 1st day of the Anniversary, 1910, by the Hon. Sir N. G. Chandavarkar.

How others are feeling on an occasion, like this, when we are celebrating the anniversary of our Samaj, I do not know. But speaking for myself I look upon this celebration as the best time for reviewing the events of the past, and to draw from them the hope and inspiration, to revivify ourselves, for our work in the future. On an occasion like this one cannot but bring before his mind a vision of the past and ask himself the question what has the Lord taught him in these days when we are celebrating the anniversary of the Samaj. I do not know what your experience in this respect is. But speaking for myself, I say it deliberately with the long experience that I have of this Church, and the responsibility and the weight that may attach to my words, that I thank God that I live in an age, which is distinguished for the struggle that is going on all around, for the betterment of humanity and that I am born in a country, in which this struggle is getting keener day by day and what is more that I am a member of the Samaj, an unworthy member it may be, which has taken and is taking its full share in this struggle. I thank God for the age I live in because it is an age not of the hero, not of the saint, but of poor average commonplace man, an age, in which literature, statesmanship and the resources, which the accumulated experience of ages have made available to us, are all devoted towards making the life of the ordinary man as musical and rhythmical as it could be made. This is an age of democracy, the age for men like you and me and not of heroes and of saints. It is we who are the heroes of this age and the sound of the age, to sum it up, is the worship of the ordinary citizen, the man like you and me and the struggle of the age is to make him more capable day by day for the performance of his various duties. In the Bhagwad Gita, Shri Krishna has said that when religions decay, God takes birth ages after ages to renovate and purify them. If great men are to appear in this world let them appear; that does not concern me. If God is to

come into the world let Him come when He likes ; His appearance will not disturb me. What concerns me is the lot of the ordinary man—not a saint but a sinner. Sinning has its tragedies, no doubt, but it has its poetry as well. It is the privilege and the prerogative of the ordinary man to support his father, mother, sister, wife and children and live the life of a householder, struggling on his way, battling with temptations. It is of such a man, of such a struggle that the poets of the day are singing and not of your saint or great man, the one in a million. It is for the sake of the average man that Buddha gave up hearth, home and wife, devoted himself to the cause of religion. And does not our Tukaram too sing of the average man's troubles, his trials and temptations ? And is not his message to us one of cheerfulness and hope ? I do not know much about God's appearance amongst us in the future ; but I know that God always has been with the sinner and is with us even now. If we will but cease to be prosaic and ordinary in our conceptions of life for a while and open our eyes, and try to go to the root of things, and put some poetry into what we see, we cannot fail to see that the lot of humanity in general is much brighter and happier, than what we ordinarily conceive it to be.

There are some amongst us who mourn the fortunes of India and say that we are going down in the scale of nations. What they say may be true or false, right or wrong. But I thank God that I am born in this country, the birth-place of different religions and the witness of their struggles. And when I think of those ancients who lived in this country and soared in the regions of moral and mental heights, who meditated on the problems of life and death and also sang of the beauties and horrors of Nature, and also of the mighty rivers like the Ganges, the Jamuna and the Nerbada that water it, and of the mountain Himalaya, whose heights, the poet's imaginations have made the abodes of Gods themselves ; when I think of all this, I thank God, that I am born in India. It may be that we have gone astray from the path chalked out for us by the ancient Sages and it may be that we have fallen from our spiritual elevation. Fallen as we may be, I see about me signs that show that we are moving onward, slowly it is true, but peacefully and harmoniously. My hope for you rests in some institution, from which you could draw impulses from day to day, and which would be like loadstar to persons connected with it. If it is a religious institution or a church so much the better, for,

it is religion that will make or mar you as you choose. Your connection with a church or a religion always keeps before your mind the question "Whence I came and who am I"; and your constant meditation upon it, in the long run helps you to realize the truth that there is but one God and therefore one Humanity. And this truth when once it is realized by you, makes you humble in spirit, and you feel that your connection with your church imposes certain responsibilities upon you. This leads to self-introspection and you ask yourselves the question "what have I done in the past to serve my church or the society to which I belong." You perhaps feel that your past has been all wasted and that you have thrown so many opportunities of doing good, or serving others, and that taken as a whole your past life has been a dismal failure. To such men, these celebrations have a message to give. They tell them that life is not gone, they bid them to be of good cheer and to refresh themselves for work, by imbibing some of the enthusiasm that characterises these celebrations. We are all children of God, and if some of us have failed in their duty in the past and neglected their opportunities, if they will but sincerely repent and throwing themselves on the mercy of God, make an effort to do as faithfully as they can, their allotted task, God will not fail to give the requisite strength to carry the struggle onwards, and make of you and me altogether new men. When you have once strengthened yourselves with this faith, then, worry, care, trial and temptations of the world will all vanish and there will dawn upon you, all of a sudden, a gleam of light Divine. Who amongst us is here, who has not to hang down his head in these days of anniversary celebrations for sins of omission and commission done by him in the years that are past? A Marathi poet, who was also a saint, calls one, who always talks of the past and dwells on it, a learned fool (पढत मूर्ख). I am sorry I cannot subscribe to the saint's opinion. He who draws upon the past for lessons for his present and future guidance is certainly not a learned fool but on the contrary a very wise man indeed! The vision of the past is not to be invoked to apologise for our inaction and weakness, but to bring before our minds a picture of what we have done and in what we have failed. A writer in a newspaper has recently said that the Prarthana Samaj is dead. I do not know in what sense the writer has used his words, but if by death he means that the Samaj to-day is not as active as it was when first formed and that therefore it has begun

to languish, my reply to him is that every institution has to pass through various stages of transition and the inactivity of the Samaj in certain matters to-day, is not a sign of exhaustion, but is a witness of the fact that the elements that were once opposed to the Samaj being converted to its side, its activities in certain directions have come to a natural stop. There was a time in the history of the Samaj when our weekly services were thinly attended and the benches in this hall used to be practically empty. But can any one looking at the large audience before me this evening composed mostly of outsiders men who are in no way connected with this church, except by the common bond of similar aspirations, and amongst whom I see many who belong to a different faith, that the Prarthana Samaj is dead ?

The Samaj was founded in Bombay in 1867 by a band of some 15 or 20 souls, men in no way cast in heroic moulds, it is true, but men imbued with a high sense of duty and inspiring principles quite conscious of their own unworthiness but realising their responsibility and doing their best to discharge it according to their lights and opportunities. The Samaj, as it is to-day, is the legacy of these earnest souls to us their unworthy successors. And although they are long since dead, they must be watching over us this evening in spirit, and the message of these men who founded our church to us their successors is "Devote the best that is in you to the service of your Samaj" These men have sown the seed of simplicity, of faith, of steadfastness of purpose, of service of God and men, and it is for us to water it for the sake of those who will come after us. And India will not have to wait long to reach her spiritual elevation, if we will but contribute our share of work, to the building of the edifice broad-based on faith in God and love for man.

HE LIGHTENS OUR BURDENS.

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*The Third sermon delivered by Sri Narayanao Chundavarkar
on Tukaram's abhang which begins with the lines :*

जेथे जातो तेथे तूं माझा सांगाती

(Wherever I go, Thou art with me).

On the last occasion I tried to explain the thought contained in the first two lines of this hymn. There the relation established between God and Man was that of Master and Servant ; the law ruling man was that of obedience. To-day let us fix our attention on the next two lines of the hymn, which bring us to another relation between God and Man—the relation of Companion. "When we walk along the path of life, Thine is our support ; and Thou enablest me to carry my burden with ease." Here God changes from Master to Companion. Mark the successive changes of the relation. We start in life with God as our Master ; we begin by obeying Him ; His will is our law ; and soon the Master develops for us into our friend as we go on serving Him ; and the Master and Servant begin to be familiar ; and the Master stoops to serve the Servant. There are two ways of enjoying this hymn—one as a piece of poetry ; the other as a text of the true philosophy of life. A good poem is that in which the thought moves from line to line and carries the reader forward until when you get to the last line you feel as if you have been borne aloft to the summit of a hill with a cool breeze freshening your face and new life is put into you. Good poetry is best enjoyed when we hear it recited by one who has caught its spirit. Gladstone who constantly read Wordsworth felt uplifted in soul when he heard recited the poet's sonnet on London as seen one morning from Westminster Bridge. Bright learnt to appreciate Tennyson's *Maid* when he heard it read aloud. The nectar of Tukaram's hymns is shed for us when they are sung ; and of this hymn it is especially true. It has no falls—line rises upon line, thought grows with thought, and the poet pictures to us our God changing from Master into Friend, Teacher, Lover until

at last his companionship turns Him into our very being That is philosophy because true poetry is also true philosophy The poet (कवि) is the seer because he is the revealer of life, his insight brings home to us the fixed realities.

The figure of speech borrowed by Tukaram, is from our act of walking. Life he compares to a journey on a foot along a path of wild and waste, to reach some desired destination a long way off. To get to it we have to trudge on with the load of our belongings on our head or backs bearing cold and heat and hunger if need be. This figure of speech is common with us in speaking of life and its troubles. But I venture to think that Tukaram had in mind the pilgrims of the time to Pandharpur in developing his thought. Those were days when travelling was not easy. The pilgrim had to cover miles of travel before he could reach his Pandhari, bear many hardships, and yet what kept his heart up was the name of his God, and his ardent desire to be there. He felt God travelled with him to take him to his home. And we are all pilgrims on this earth. We are all marching and our life is a walking. I know of nothing so suggestive for the growth of our character as a walking exercise. Gymnastics, cricket, lawn-tennis, golf have undoubtedly their own virtues but the virtues are partial. A good walk, as Leslie Stephen wrote once is an ideal exercise for man's body, mind, and soul. With the sky hanging over head, making pictures out of its blue and its cloud, for your delectation, with the earth spread beneath your feet like a carpet of various colours, with the open air invigorating you, with scene after scene changing to delight your eye, you move on and if you are alone, you are able to move within your soul and then, then it is that your soul feels the companionship of God. If you have a friend beside you, talk with him adds to the pleasure; and you are able to cover miles of distance without marking time or feeling tired. But walking merely for exercise is good but to make it yield its rich reward, it must be taken with an aim to visit some place of interest or to see the sights of nature around and over you as you walk. In that case it becomes bracing both for body and mind. Equally life is a walking, a journey and we must have a friend to talk to if we wish to forget its tedium and the fatigue. After a time walk is apt to become a monotony especially when we have to walk alone and we have not learnt to think and muse for ourselves. Life is like walking for exercise, because we form

our character day by day by exercising ourselves in our duty as we exercise the body by walking. Life is a like journey—and its sorrows, its misfortunes, its vicissitudes, its temptations are the load we carry. And just as when we journey on foot, it is good to have a friend with us to whom we can talk, and to whom we can turn to lighten our load and help us when we are tired, so in life we need the help and comfort and companionship of wife, children, friends, society and so forth. But these can stand by us and walk with us up to a certain point. Alone man or woman is born; alone man or woman has to struggle, work, and suffer and think; alone he dies. When we retire for the night, then is it that we feel how we have to fall back upon our own individual selves for strength. And yet not alone! Earthly companions in the shape of husband, wife, children, friends are not our only companions. There is One who seeketh us, whispereth to us and is our hiding place (हृदिमनावाप्त) the hidden of the heart—the still small voice within. Hence said the Roman "Never less alone than when alone." During this blessed season of Christmas let us join our Christian friends and think for instance of one of the last acts of Christ Jesus before he was crucified. He was with the multitude; he preached; and then with his twelve disciples left; and there from among them he selected three; went to a mountain, left them also after asking them to pray and watch until his return. He retired to a solitary place and there prayed to His Father. There is a lesson for us in this selective process. To be able to work with and for our fellows we must seek inspiration and grow from within. And growth from within means walking with God, feeling His touch, realising His presence and communing with Him and feeling ourselves with the spirit of what the Bible speaks of as the Holy Ghost and the Upanishads term मातरिश्वात्. We must live among our people, move with our friends, share their joys and sorrows—but to do that well we must feel that above them all is One who is constantly with us and that He is the lightener of our Life's Sorrows and Burdens. Tukaram mixed with people performed kirtans and preached; but there was never a day without retirement on his part to the hill at Dehu for there he could speak to His God eye to eye, ear to ear, spirit to spirit and from thence he marched on in life and with God. That constant companion thus sought in communion walks with us every moment in the daily struggle of life; and sorrow, difficulties, misfortunes fall into

their proper place not as punishment but as chasteners. The yoke of life becomes easy; duty is no longer drudgery but wears the aspect of dignity; life becomes love because God is Love. And with Him abiding with us and we abiding in Him every moment of life's passage with its changing scenes or dull monotony becomes a moment of joy because of its peace. Hence said Christ, "Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy-laden and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn of me. For I am meek and lowly in heart and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy and my burden is light." And so also God proclaims in the Bhagawad Gita : सर्वधर्मान्परित्यज्य मामेकं शरणं ब्रज । अहं त्वां सर्व पापेभ्यो मोक्षयिष्यामि मा शुचः That is the true solution of life—walk with God ; commune with him and in the world—the earth of sorrows and drudgery—you find a new world revealed, a living world where sorrow is not sorrow but becomes delight ; drudgery passes from dullness into freshness, sanctified by the inward happiness created for us by God's Company ; and all burdens become blessings, because he nerves our spirit within to bear them with ease. Blessed are those who see this and know it—more blessed still who realise it by experience, for this companionship of God can be realised only by experience.

धाई अंतर्द्विष्टा सुखें ।
 काय बडबड वाचा सुखें ॥
 विधिविध कर फोडी ।
 जेव नाही अनुभवगोडी ॥ १ ॥

The bliss, the reality are for those who are the doers of the doctrine, not the scoffers, the doubters and pleasure-hunters.

LOVE, THE PRINCIPLE OF LIFE.

भवये जन मन झाले लोकपाल ।

सोईरे सकळ प्राणसखे ॥

It is said of Napoleon Bonaparte that he was once asked by a friend as what was the secret of this influence and the mastery, which he exercised over every one with whom he came in contact. His friend said : " You not only are feared, respected and obeyed by the army you command and the people you rule but that you are able to exercise an influence of a most dominating character over consummate politicians and diplomats who happen to come before you. What may be the secret of it ! Napoleon's answer was given in one word With a grave countenance he said, " Reserve, Sir, it is reserve." To a great extent this is true. The man, who is of many words, who is frank and gives out his heart, you trust, you love ; but he is not a man whom you confide in with your secrets or wish to be by your side in case of emergencies or to whom you look up.

There is a higher kind of reserve than that of Napoleon. His reserve and calmness were those of a man who felt that he was born to conquer others and to rule over them. It was inspired by a desire for power and glory. But there is another kind of reserve of men who are calm, quiet, loving, who have all the strength of a lion but are yet as gentle as a lamb, who are loth to proclaim their personal misfortunes and afflictions, to the world but, on the contrary, are able and willing to take upon themselves the burdens of the world and to infuse patience and peace wherever they go. Such are the saints and the heroes. What is it that makes them such ?

We are let into the secret by the *abhangs* of Tukaram which we have sung just now. Tukaram gives in it his experience. He says that it was by walking with God that he became able to see him more and more everywhere in the world ; that not only his burdens were lightened, but light began to smile on him, that as he contemplated God and prayed to Him, he felt divine irradiation in his heart and he became bold of speech, that he could not rest

till he spoke about God to others asking them to live in obedience to Him, to live with him at all times ; that this divine presence in his heart removed all his doubts and inspired him to right conduct. It revealed to him more and more the love of God so that the world became to him as if every human being in it stood for him as brother or sister. Not only the world of men, but the whole universe appeared to him as the garment of God's holiness. *

Is this a mere sentiment which Tukaram tries to bring to our minds ? The world has gone on full of its distinctions of creed and race, and one nation warring against another ; it has been full of jealousy, envy, competition ; and a few years ago we were seriously told that in this world might was right and that evolution consisted in the survival of those who were the fittest for the struggle. But happily the world is again coming to its own and the voice of God is asserting itself. The keynote of modern civilisation forcing itself upon the minds of all, in the religious world as also in the world of politics, is that each soul, each human being, has its own intrinsic worth and must be the object of our sympathy, care and support ; the ancient idea of Government which looked to humanity in the masses has lost its force and man individually is coming to be regarded as a member of an organism the guiding principle of which ought to be love. What statesman is there who in his deliberations in the senate or in his harangues on the platform will dare to say that it was not his duty to do something to help the struggling man or to save the starving man. It is true that this ideal of the brotherhood of man has not been realised in practice. But none can deny that a distinct step has been gained in the recognition that the weak and the suffering poor ought not to be left to themselves, but that those, who are more fortunately circumstanced, have a duty to the poor and the miserable

It is this principle which recognises that every human being must be regarded as worthy in the eyes of God and man ; that is gradually coming to regulate all our actions and institutions. Hence our hospitals, orphanages and other philanthropic institutions. Do not therefore be led away by those who tell you that this is a mere sentiment and that those who speak of love as the key-note of modern civilisation are indulging in a dream. For even scientists have now modified their theory of evolution and they have begun to say that the fittest to survive are those who show the greatest sympathy and love and all altruistic virtues.

And this is what our own heart teaches us The characters, which we admire and worship, are not the rich who will do nothing for the poor, nor the selfish who are full of their caste and race, prejudices, but men like Bright or Gladstone, who always felt that the love of God was beaming through the world, and that the denizens of it were all brothers who owed a duty to each other. It is this which all the saints and prophets have preached from times immemorial; that it is love which keeps men together; and that race or caste distinctions and jealousies were merely barriers in the way of its fuller and fuller manifestation. Oh! God, bless us with love so that by means of it, we may remove all these barriers and steadily march on so that the world will be full of love We all of us have an instinctive faith that some day such a millennium will come; but it is to come through individual efforts, and each one can try to hasten its advent Each one of us must exemplify love in his own life. We must walk with God and then every human being will stand for us as our brother or sister as it did to Tukaram. We must meditate and pray to God in solitude and then, when we come back into the world, we will be able to read God in the face of everybody. The idea of God and his love will dominate our every sentiment, our every impulse.

And in the truth, love is the highest and deepest reality in life. As Sir Walter Scott has said .—

“ In peace, love tunes the shepherd’s reed ;
 • In war, he mounts the warrior’s steed ;
 In halls in gay attire is seen ;
 In hamlets, dances on the green.
 Love rules the court, the camp, the grove,
 And men below, and saints above ;
 For love is heaven and heaven is love ”

A child must have love, a man must have love. Without love the world will not go on ; it is by its means that we live and grow. It is true we are often tempted to feel jealous of one another, to quarrel with one another, but after all it is love which heals. When we are so tempted we ought always to pray to God and if we do so, God will soften our hearts, and clear our vision so that we would be able to see the spark of divine light, the impulse of goodness that exists in all and which it is which unites us to each other and to God. Howsoever weak and poor a man’s outward life might appear, the divinity in man is made manifest when-

ever an appeal is made to it. Whenever we hear a saint stand up and tell us to worship God, to speak the truth, to be good and pure and to love all, do not his words find a response in the hearts of everybody? Has not the worst sinner occasionally a consciousness that he does not belong to this earth, that he is not earthly but that he comes from another world and that his home is there.

Develop this divine light, this consciousness by walking with God. This is Tukaram's message to us. It is a truth which all poets and seers have ever recognised. Love and the capacity of the human heart for it is infinite. As Shakespeare has put it in the mouth of his Juliet, every one of us can say :

“ My bounty is as boundless as the sea,
My love as deep ; the more I give to thee,
The more I have, for both are infinite.”

We find the Upanishads preach love, the Gita preaches love, the Bible preaches love, the Koran preaches love. The voice of all the religions tells us : Love and develop the sentiment of love, make it the guiding principle of life, feel that you are children of God and that it is the privilege of all to bask in the sunshine of God's love. Realise, in short, that God walks with us and we walk with Him.
